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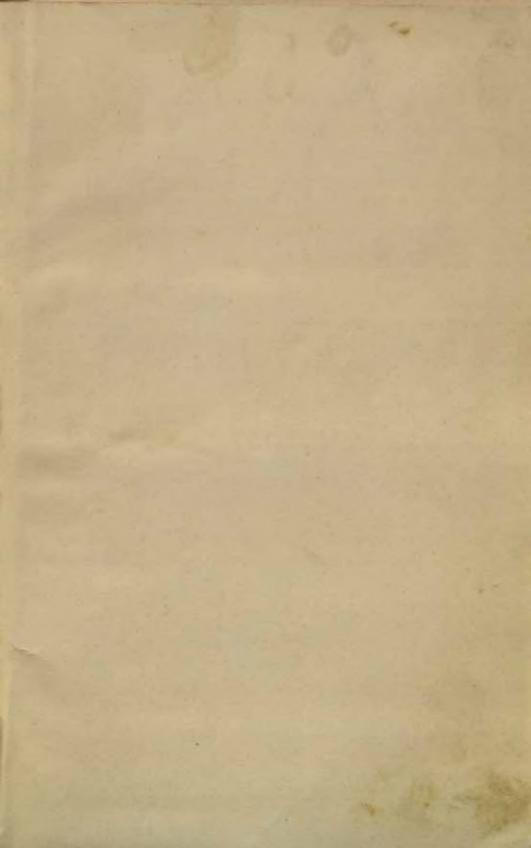
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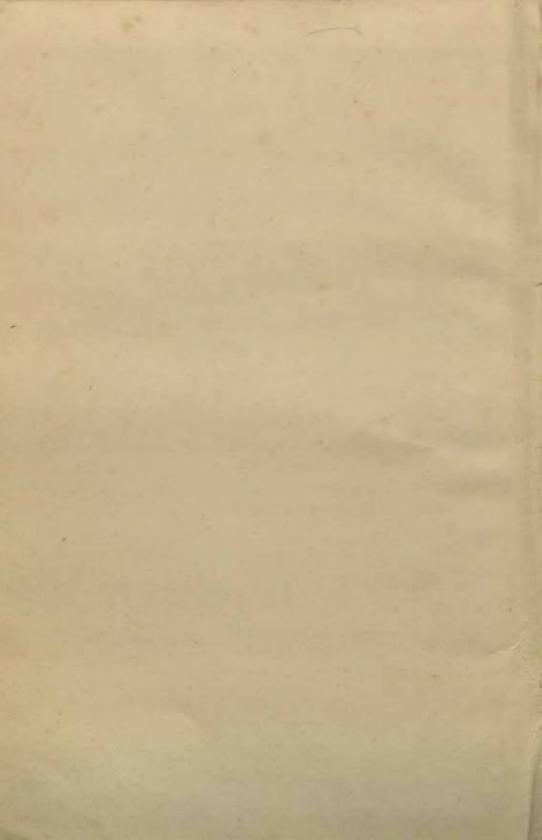
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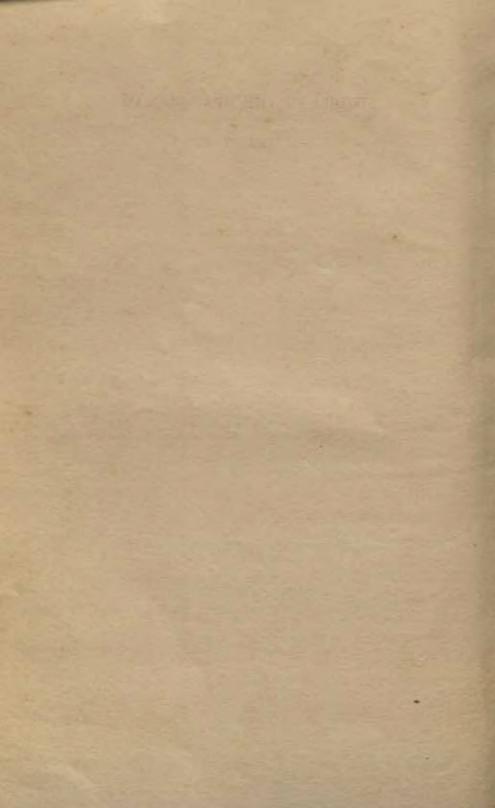
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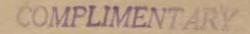
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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀŅAS VOL. II

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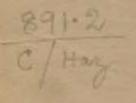
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FOREWORD

Five years ago we published the first volume of Studies in the Upapurāṇas. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the book has been appreciated by scholars all over the world. The present volume contains an account of the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas. The third volume on the Śaiva and the Gāṇapatya Upapurāṇas is almost ready for the press, and we hope to publish it early next year.

Sanskrit College Calcutta, March, 1963.

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GAURINATH SASTRI



PREFACE

It is with a feeling of much relief, though not without some amount of diffidence, that I present before the scholarly world the second volume of my 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas', in which I have dealt with the Śākta and the non-sectarian Upapurāṇas now available in printed forms and also a number of extinct ones of these two classes. As the Śākta Upapurāṇas still lying in Mss have been preserved at places beyond my easy reach, they have been reserved for future treatment. They are only a few in number, and most of them are of minor importance and come from comparatively late dates.

Although it was my intention to make all the volumes of my 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' approximately equal in length, the extent of the present volume has far exceeded that of the first, and for this, I think, I should offer an explanation.

When, about two years back, the manuscript copy of the present volume was sent to the press, it contained chapters on the Sakta and the Ganapatya Upapuranas, but a little before the beginning of its printing I was told by our Publication Department that the matter, sent to the press, might be too insufficient for a volume of 400 pages. So, I felt extremely nervous. After much thought I recalled my manuscript from the press, replaced the Chapter on the Ganapatya Upapuranas with two more extensive ones on the non-sectarian Upapuranas which were meant for the third volume, and wrote in great hurry pp. 94-188 on the linguistic study of the Devi-purana, which I had kept off for more detailed and elaborate treatment in a separate and independent work. I do not know how my ideas put forth in these pages will be received by scholars, but I crave their indulgence for any slips that may, in their opinion, have occurred in the arrangement of materials in these pages. As a matter of fact, some of the grammatical forms occurring in the Devi-purana were highly confusing to me. For

instance, in the expression 'ketumuechrayam', used in Devipurāņa 11.57, I could not be sure whether the 'm' immediately following the word 'ketu' was an intervening Saṃdhiconsonant (or hiatus-bridger) or it was due to the second case-ending used irregularly in connection with the Kṛd-anta noun 'uechraya' (cf. the expressions 'tvāṃ-kāmayā', 'māṃ kāmena', 'kṣīraṃ pāṇe', etc. used in the Vedic works).

As to my use of a Ms of the Ekāmra-purāņa instead of the Cuttack edition of this work printed in Odiya script, I should like to say that although I could procure a copy of this edition not very long after the manuscript copy of the present volume had been sent to the press, I was compelled to set it aside due to my complete unfamiliarity with the Odiya alphabet. For my use of the Vangavāsī Press editions of certain Purāṇic texts I have already stated the reasons in my Preface to Volume I of the present work.

As regards certain names the varied spellings given at different places in a particular Upapurāņa (such as 'jalpiṣa' and 'jalpiṣa' in Kālikā-purāṇa, chaps. 60 and 80 respectively, and 'varṇāṣā' and 'varṇāṣā' in Kālikā-purāṇa, chap. 81) have been retained in the summaries of the relevant chapters

from linguistic and other considerations.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not take this opportunity to express my gratitude to our Principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for his keen interest in the speedy publication of this volume. But for his sympathetic help and encouragement it would not be possible for me to have it published so soon. I should also thank Pandit Dinesh Chandra Sastri and more particularly Pandit Nanigopal Tarkatirtha of the Publication Department for their kind service in times of need,

Some portions of this work appeared as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have tried my best to improve considerably upon these published portions with much interesting material collected by more recent studies.

Sanskrit College, Calcutta. March, 1963. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI=Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Adyar Library Cat.=A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).

AnSS=Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

ASB=Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

ASB Cat.—See 'Shastri, ASB Cat.' below.

As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.

Benares Sans. College Cat. - Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

Bhāg. - Bhāgavata-purāņa.

Bhandarkar, Report—R. G. Bhandarkar, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90, and 1890-91.

Bhandarkar, Vaispavism etc. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaispavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems.

Bhav. = Bhavisya-purāna.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society, Calcutta).

Bikaner Cat. -- See 'Mitra, Bikaner Cat.' below.

Bod. Cat. - See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat.' above.

Bṛhaddh.=Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.

B. S.=Bengali Samvat.

Bühler, Report=G. Bühler, Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India.

Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.

Bv=Brahmavaivarta-purāna.

Calcutta Sans. College (or, Cal. Sans. Coll.) - Calcutta

Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).

Calcutta Sans. College Cat. (or, Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.)—See 'Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat.' below.

Cat. = Catalogue.

Cat. of Sans. Mss in Private Libraries in the North-West Provinces=A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of the North-West Provinces. Part I. Benares, 1874.

Chakravarti, Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sāhitya Parisat

(Calcutta).

Chap., chaps.=Chapter, chapters.

Com. = Commentary.

Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.

Dbh=Devi-bhāgavata.

Dbht, Dpt, Dv (Śrīn.), Dv (Śūl.)—See p. 2, footnote 4.

Ed., eds. = Edition, editions.

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) = Julius Eggeling, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).

Ep. Ind.=Epigraphia Indica.

Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India.

Fol., fols.=Folio, folios.

Hari-bh. = Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.

Hazra, Purāņic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāņic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.

Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar=Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

IHQ=Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).

Ind. Off.=India Office (London).

Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) —See 'Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat.' above.

JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
JBBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society (Bombay).

Jīv.=Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta).

JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).

Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue)=A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London).

-kh. (as in 'Srsti-kh.', 'Bhūmi-kh.' etc.) =-khanda.

Kr, Kt-See p. 2, footnote 4.

Kūr.=Kūrma-purāņa.

Kv-See p. 2, footnote 4.

Lewis Rice, Cat. of Sans. Mss=Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore. Mysore Government Press. 1884.

Lg=Linga-purāņa.

Mahābhāg. = Mahābhāgavata-purāņa.

Mārk.=Mārkaņdeya-purāņa.

Mat. = Matsya-purāņa.

Mbh=Mahābhārata.

Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Bikaner Cat. = R. L. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner.

Mitra (or, R. L. Mitra), Notices=R. L. Mitra, Notices of

Sanskrit Manuscripts.

M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat.=M. Rangacharya, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Ms, Mss=Manuscript, Manuscripts.

Ns-See p. 2, footnote 4.

P., pp.=Page, pages.

-p. (as in 'Matsya-p.', 'Devi-p.' ctc.) =-purana.

Pd=Padma-purăna,

Poleman, Census of Indic Mss=H. 1. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.

P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat.=P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.

Ps=Pauşkara-samhitä.

Roth, Tübingen Cat.=R. Roth, Verzeichniss Indischer Handschriften der Königlichen Universitats-Bibliothek in Tübingen. Anhang. Indische Handschriften der Königlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek in Stuttgart. Tübingen, 1885.

Sans. = Sanskrit.

Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat. = Hrishikeša Shastri and Sivacandra Gui, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), ASB Cat.=Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), Nepal Cat.=Haraprasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal.

Shastri (or, Haraprasad Shastri), Notices=Haraprasad Shastri, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series.

Sm.=Samvat.

S. K. De, Vaisnava Faith and Movement=Sushil Kumar De, Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal.

Sp, St-See p. 2, footnote 4.

Stein, Jammu Cat.=M. A. Stein, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Tübingen Cat.-See 'Roth, Tübingen Cat.' above.

Univ.=University.

Vām.=Vāmana-purāņa.

Vanga,=Vangavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Vangīya Sāhitya Parişat Cat.—See 'Chakravarti, Vangīya Sāhitya Parişat Cat.' above.

Var.=Varāha-purāņa.

Venkat. = Venkatesvara Press (Bombay).

Viș.=Vișnu-purăna.

Vk-See p. 2, footnote 4.

Vol., Vols.=Volume, Volumes.

V.S.=Vikrama Samvat.

Weber, Berlin Cat. = A. Weber, Verzeichniss der Sanskritund Prakrit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin.

Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853=A. Weber, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek, Vol. I (Verzeichniss der Sanskrit Handschriften). Berlin, 1853.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Subjec | t | | | | Page |
|---------|---|--------------|--------------|-------|------|
| | reword | | • • • | | vii |
| Preface | | | | ix | |
| Lis | t of Abl | previations | | | xi |
| Снарт | ER | | | | |
| I. | THE S | ĀKTA UPAPU | RĀNAS | | 1 |
| | 1. | | | | 35 |
| | 2. | The Kālikā- | | | 194 |
| | | The Mahāb | | | |
| | | purăņa | | | 259 |
| | 4. | The Devi-bl | ıägavata | | 284 |
| | | | | | |
| 11. | | ON-SECTARIA | | | |
| | | RĀŅAS | | | 362 |
| | | The Bhavisy | | | 366 |
| | 2. | The Brhadd | harma-purāņa | • • • | 396 |
| III. | THE I | OST ŠĀRTA | | | |
| | UPAPU | RĀŅAS | | | 466 |
| | | | andike vara- | | |
| | | purāņa | | | 466 |
| | 2. | The Kālikā- | | | 470 |
| | 3. | The Nanda- | | | |
| | | purăņa | | | 470 |
| | 4. | | Svara-purāņa | | 470 |
| | 5. | The Nandi-J | urāņa | | 47.1 |
| | | The Sāradā- | | | 188 |
| | | The Saukeya | | | 489 |
| | 8. | | Upapurāņa | | 189 |
| | 9. | The Vāyaviy | a-upapurāņa | | 489 |
| TXZ | Save I | com Una reco | | | |
| IV, | Some Lost Upapurāņas of Non-sectarian or Unknown | | | | |
| | | | NANOWN | | 100 |
| | ORIGIN | | | | 490 |

[xviii]

| 1. The Āditya-purāṇa | | 490 |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| 2. The Ākheṭaka-upapurāṇa | | 501 |
| 3. The Ausanasa-upapurāṇa | | 501 |
| 4. The Barhaspatya- | | |
| upapurāņa | | 502 |
| 5. The Bhāgavata-upapurāņ | | 502 |
| 6. The Brahmāṇḍa- | | |
| upapurāņa | | 503 |
| | | |
| 7. The Bṛhad-ausanasa- upapurāṇa | | 504 |
| | | 505 |
| | | 505 |
| 9. The Găruda Upapurāṇa | | 505 |
| 10. The Kūrma-upapurāņa | | |
| 11. The Laghu-brahmavaivai | | 506 |
| purāņa | • • • | 506 |
| 12. The Lilāvatī-upapurāṇa | | 506 |
| 13. The Mādhavi-purāṇa (?) | | 507 |
| 14. The Māheśa-upapurāņa | • • • | 307 |
| 15. The Mṛtyuñjaya- | | 508 |
| upapurāņa | | 508 |
| 16. The Nāradīya-upapurāņa | 1 | 509 |
| 17. The Puskara-purāņa | | 510 |
| 18. The Rudra-purāņa | | 511 |
| 19. The Saura-purāņa | • • • | 511 |
| 20. The Soma-purāņa | | |
| 21. The Tvāṣṭra-purāṇa | | 511 |
| 22. The Urdhva-purāņa | | 511 |
| 23. The Uttara-saura | | 512 |
| 24. The Vāmana-upapurāņa | | 512 |
| 25. The Yama-purāṇa | | 512 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | | 515 |
| INDEX | | 511 |

CHAPTER I

THE ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀŅAS

The history of the worship of female deities in India goes back to a remote past, as early literary evidence from the Vedic period downwards and the excavations at Moheniodaro, Harappa and other places amply indicate, but the conception of a central goddess Devi as Sakti, to whom all other female deities were affiliated as her parts or incarnations, and the compilation of Purāņic works dealing with her praise, nature, exploits and worship, were matters of comparatively late ages. As a matter of fact, there have been Mahapuranas on the rites, customs and faiths of the Brāhmas, Pāncarātras and Pāsupatas from long before the beginning of the Christian era, but not a single work of this class has ever dealt exhaustively or even principally with Śakti-worship, although chapters on the praise and worship of the different forms of Devi are to be found in the Markandeya-p., Vāmana-p., Varāha-p., Kūrma-p., and so out. In comparatively late days there arose a number of Śākta Upapurāņas of note, of which the following have come down to us: Devi-p., Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata, Devibhāgavata, Bhagavati-p., Candi-p. (or Candikā-p.), Devirahasya, and a second Kālikā-p. (which is also called Kālī-p. and Sati-p. and is quite different from the Kälika-p. mentioned above). Of these, the first four are available in printed forms and the rest still exist in Msss. In the present Chapter we shall deal with the printed works only, leaving out the remaining ones for future treatment. It may be mentioned here that these Upapuranas relate very often to

¹ See Märk, 81-93 (=Venkar, ed., chaps, 76-90), Vaint, 17-21 and 51-56, Var. 21-28 and 20-96, Kür. I. 11-12. Also Mbh IV. 6 and VI. 23 (containing hymns to Durga) and Harivannia II, chaps. 2-4 and 22 (in which Devi has been praised).

⁶ For these Mar see Mitra, Bikaner Can, p. 167, No. 415 (Rhagavati-p.), and Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1202-05, Nor. 3300-61 (Candisp or Candika-p.) also called Biogavati-p. and Kālikā-p.), and pp. 1193-98, No. 3344 (Kālikā-p., also called Kāli-p. and Satī-p.). See also Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 208-9, No. 370 (for description of a Ms of the Candi-p.).

the central goddess Devi and sometimes to one or other of her principal forms such as Durgā, Kālī (or Kālikā), Caṇḍī, Satī, etc., although the growing popularity of the conception of Śakti in India inspired people to look upon every female deity as a Śakti (Active Energy) of a particular male god, to whom she was associated very often as a wife.

Besides the Purāṇic works mentioned above, there are also a few others, such as the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Bhavisyottara³, which contain chapters on Devi-worship; and among the Purāṇic verses quoted in the Smṛti Nibandhas of different parts of India on the praise and worship of Devi we find a large number which cannot be traced in any of the Purāṇic works now extant. For instance, in the Bengal Nibandhas a good number of verses on the autumnal worship of Durgā has been ascribed to the Bhaviṣya-p¹., Linga-p³., Nandikeśvara-p⁴., Bṛhan-nandi-

* Ses Kv, pp. 512, 513; Dv (Sûl.), pp. 1-2, o, 7, 9, 10, 14-17, 19-21, 23-26; Dv Srîn., p. 12; Kt, fol. 62a, Vk pp. 367, 372, 376, 378-9, 385-7, 391, 390-7; Dpt, pp. 5-7, 13-14, 16-24, 30-32, 37, 38, 44; Sr, 1, pp. 67, 68, 75, 76, 83, 87, 88, 90, 98, 101-3.

The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes 4-62 of the present Chapter:

Dhht Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņi (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya of Mithilā).

Dpt Durgā-pūjā-tattva (of Raghunandana of Bengal).

Dv (Śrin.) Durgotsava-viveka (of Śrinātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaņi of Bengal).

Dv (Sul.) Durgotsava-viveka (of Sülapäņi of Bengal).

Kr - Krtya-ratnākara (of Candelvara Thakkura of Mithilā).

Kt Krtya-tattvárnava (of Śrinātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaņi of Bengal),

Kv=Kālaviveka (of Jimūtavāhana of Bengal).

No Nirnaya-andhu (of Kamalakara-bhatta of Benarea).

Sp Samvatsara-pradipa (a Smrti work of Bengal).

St. Smiti-tativa of Raghinandana of Bengal).

Vk Varşa-kaumudi (of Govindananda Kavikańkaŋācārya of Bengal).

See Dv (Súl.), pp. 7, 8 (?), 9; Vk, pp. 367, 375, 420; Dpt, pp. 2, 7, 38, St, I, pp. 69.

76, 86, 91.

⁸ This Upapurāṇa has been printed as the fourth Book (called Uttara-parvan) of the Venkat, ed. of the Bhaviaya-p. It will be examined in details in Chapter II of the prient Volume. For our brief analysis of its contents and a discussion on the problems relating to its date, provenance, etc. see Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, III, 1953-54, pp. 8-27.

See Kv, p. 312; Sp, fela. 23b (anonymous), 24a (anonymous); Dv (Sūl.), pp. 2, 5,
 B. 22; Dv Srin.) pp. 43-45, 50; Kt, fela. 60a, 62a (anonymous), 62b (anonymous),
 63b-64a; Vk, pp. 368, 371 (anonymous), 375 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 4, 44; St, I, pp. 65,
 74, 76, 87.

No verse on Durgā-pūjā is found quoted from the 'Linga-p.' in the Smṛti Nibandhav of Śridatta Upādhyāya, Candelvara or any other comparatively early writer of Mithilā except Vidyāpati, who ascribes only one verse to the 'Linga-p.' in his Dbht, p. 46.

keśvara-p⁷., Bhagavatī-p⁸., Kālikā-p. (which is now available in printed forms) and Devī-p⁸., to Satya¹⁶, and to a work named as Jyotiṣa¹¹. Many of these verses occur in the Nibandhas of Kāmarūpa and Mithilā¹² also and only a few are found quoted in Bhoja's Rāja-mārtaṇḍa, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, etc., but the great majority of them, especially those on the rites mentioned below, is remarkably wanting in the Nibandhas of Orissa and Southern India.¹²

See also Śridatra Upādhyāya's Samava-pradipa, fols. 41b-43a (for verses ascribed to the Devi-p, and the Brahma-p, and Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Vrata-paddhati, fol. 28a-b (for two verses ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p,').

is In Kamalākara-bhatta's Niruaya-sin Ihu, pp. 127-8 the line 'saithyām sāyam prakurvīta bilva-vṛkse'dhivāsanam' line been deri el from a work named 'Kalpataru'; but this line is not found in the section on Mahānavamī-pūjā the great autumnal worship of Durgā given in Lakunidhara's Kṛṭya-kalpataru, XI [Rājadharma-kānda], pp. 191-5. As a matter of fact, Lakunidhara draws only upon the Devi-p, for his description of the Mahānavamī-pūjā.

In Bhoja's Rāja-mārtanda, fol, 79a the following three verses have been quoted anonymously:

```
'aim rāvanasya vachārthāya rāmasyānugrahāya ca /
akāle brāhmanā (? brahmanā) bodho dev ās tvam priyaktt purā (?) //
aham apy āvvine tadvaj jyethāyām bodhayāmi te /
ártfaila-sikhare jāta ári-phala tri-niketana //
netavyo 'a sa—lga cha pūjvo durgā-svarūpatah /
saptamyāni mūla-yuktāvām patrikāin ca praveiya ca / ["
```

In Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintamani, II. i, pp. 906-7 these three verses and also another, viz.,

```
'mulähhäve 'pi saptamyām kevalāyām praveisyet /
uhhābhyām nava-bilvasya phalābhyām šākhikām tathā / /',
```

No Smrti-writer of Mithilâ draws upon the 'Nandikesvara-p,' in connection with Durgā-pūjā.

¹ See Dv (Sul.), pp. 8, 12-13, 22, 24; Dpt. pp. 8, 10, 31, 37, 44.

Not a single verse on Durgă-pujă has been quoted from the 'Bṛhan-nandikeivara-p.' in the Nibandhai of Mithilă.

^{*} See Kv, p. 511; Sp, fol. 23b (an mymoun).

In Kv, p. 515 two verses have been quoted with the word 'Kātvāyanl-ilokau', but the first of these two verses has been ascribed to the 'Bhagavati-p.' in Kālasāra, p. 109 and to 'Kātyāyana' in Vidyāpati's Dbht, p. 44 and quoted anonymously in Bhojadeva's Rāja-mārtanda, fol. 79a. Both these verses have been ascribed to 'Kātyāyana' in Dv (Seln.), pp. 44-45 and Kt, fol. 63h.

See Dv (Sûl.), pp. 7, 8; Dblit, pp. 3, 37-38, St, 1, pp. 72, 75; and so on.

In See Kv, pp. 514-5.

¹¹ See Dv (Sûl.), pp. 9, 10, 14, 26; Dv (Srin.), p. 49 (anonymous); Dpt, pp. 1, 10, 16-17, 45; Kt. fols. 63a, 66a; St. 1, pp. 76-77, 103.

to the 'Bhagavati-p.' and 'Satya' in Jimutavahana's Kv. pp. 511 and 514 and to the 'Bhagavati-p.' in Vidyāpati's Dbht, pp. 37-38, and Vidyāpati's Dbht, pp. 37-38, and Vidyāpati's Dbht, pp. 37ff. (for verses of the 'Bhagavati-p.', 'Kalikā-p.', 'Bhavisya-p.', 'Devi-p.' and 'Jyotih-fatra' on Devi's bodhana, patril -pre-set, etc.

(i) 'Bodhana' of Devî in a Bilva tree (generally on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī or Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi) on the eve of her worship.¹¹

(ii) Offer of different articles (such as keśa-saṃskāra-dravya, paṭṭa-dora, darpaṇa, etc.) to Devi on the different

Tithis from Śukla-pratipad to Śukla-pañcamī¹⁸.

(iii) The untying of Devi's hair (devi-keśa-vimocana) on the Śukla-caturthi Tithi¹⁶.

have been ascribed to the 'Linga-p.'

(The Caturvarga-cintămani reads 'devyās tvayi kṛtaḥ purā' for the second half of the second line, 'aham apy ādrītaḥ ṣaṣṭḥyāṇ xāyāhac bodhayāmy ataḥ' for the third line, '-fikhare jātaḥ krī-phalaḥ śri-niketanaḥ' in the fourth line, 'mayā gaucha' for 'samū-gaucha' in the fifth line, and 'saṇṭamyāṇ prātas tārp ālkhāṃ grhaṃ chittvā pravesayet' for the sixth line.

The verse 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyām' is quoted in Nirgaya-sindhu, p. 128 with the words 'tad uktam hemūdrau laińge').

It is to be noted that in the first verse ('aim rāvanasya vadhārthāya', which is a mastes) Durgā-pūjā has been connected with the story of Rāma. As it is the Nibandhawriters of Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa who are found to prescribe this mastes (aim rāvanasya vadhārthāya etc.) to be used in Devi's bodham in the evening of the Āśvinasiukia-ṣaṣṣhī, and as the tradition of Rāma's performance of Durgā-pūjā for killing Rāvaṇa appears to be of East Indian origin, it is probable that the above-mentioned verses of the 'Linga-p,' were taken by Bhojadeva and Hemādri from some work or works of Bengal or Mithilā.

'şaşthydın bilva-tarou bodhanı sâyam samdiyasu körayet' (ascribed to the 'Bhaviyya-p.' in Śūlapāni's Dv, p. 7, as well as in Dpt, pp. 6, 7, St. I, pp. 75, 102, Vk, p. 367, and Dhbt, pp. 40, 62; derived from the 'Durgā-bbakti-tarangini' in Ns, p. 127).

'bodhayed bilva-šākhāyām şaşıhyām devīm phaleşu ca' (ascribed to the 'Kalikā-p.' in Śōlapāni'a Dv. p. 7, as well as in Vk. p. 365, St. 1, p. 75, Dpt. pp. 7, 10, and Dbht. pp. 41, 61; derived in Ns. p. 127 from the 'Kalikā-p. as quoted in the Gauda-nibandha'; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62, 7b).

'patri-praveiāt pūrvedyuh sāyāhue vindhya-vāsinīm / caņdim āvāhayed vidvān nātra kāryā paraskriyā / /'

(ascribed to the 'Nandikeivara-p.' in Sülapäņi's Dv. p. 7, to the 'Brahmända-p.' and 'Nandikeivara-p.' in Dpt, p. 7 and St, I, p. 76, and to the 'Bhaviya-p.' in Dpt, p. 7; not occurring in the Nibandhas of Mithilä, at least in these of comparatively early dates).

** 'keia-samakāra-dravyāņi pradadyāt pratipad-dine / paţta-doram dvitiyāyām keia-samyama-hetave // darpaṇam tu trījyāyām sindūrālaktakam tathā / madhuparkam caturihyām tu tilakam netra-mandanam / / pañcamyām aṅga-rāgāmi ca iaktyālamkatanāni ca / /

(ascribed to the 'Bhaviyya-p.' in Sülapâni's Dv. p. 6, as well as in Dpt. p. 6, St. 1, pp. 101-2, and Dbht, p. 40; derived in Ns. p. 127 from the 'Bhaviyya-p. as quoted in the Durgā-bhakti-tarangint'. Kamalākara reads 'pakva-tailam' for 'paṭṭa-doram' and says that the latter reading is given by the Gaudas—paṭṭa-doram iti gauda-pāṭhaḥ).

ii 'iukla-pake caturthyām to devi-keia-vimoramm' (ascribed to the 'Bhagavati-p.' in Kv, p. 511 and Dbht, p. 37, and to the

(iv) 'Adhivāsa' of Devī in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of patrikā-praveša¹⁷.

(v) 'Nava-patrikā-praveśa', i.e. the bringing of the nine plants, viz., rambhā, kaccī, haridrā, jayantī, bilva, dāḍima, aśoka, mānaka and dhānya, into the pūjā-maṇḍapa, and the worship of nine Durgās in them^{ta}.

'Kālikā-p.' in Vk, p. 369; quoted with the words 'ligtāb pathami' in Kr, p. 362; being the same as Kālikā-p. 62, 18a).

'itskla-pakje caturthyām (tr. devl-keia-vimokjanam' (ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Šelnātha's Dv. p. 43 and Ks. fol. 60a).

'saashyām sāyam prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe 'dhivāsanam' (ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Srinātha's Dv., p. 43 and Ki, fol. 60a; quoted anonymously in Kt, fol. 62a and Vk, p. 371; derived in Ns, p. 127 from the 'Linga-p. as quoted in the Kṛtya-tattvārṇava').

'atyam austhyām tu kartavyam pārvatyāš cādhivāsanam / sasthy-abhāve tu kartavyam saptamyām apt nārada / /' (ascribed to 'Smṛti' in Sūlapāṇi's Dv, p. 8 and in Dpt, p. 7, and quoted anonymously in St, I, p. 76).

'pûrvedyur adhivâsyaiva bilva-vṛkṣe tathāmbikām' (aseri)ed to the 'Nandikeivara-p.' in Dpt, p. 2),

'saptamyām patrikā-pūjā rambhādi-qavabhir yutā / rambhā kaeci haridrā ca jayanti bilva-dādimau / nioko māmakai caiva dhānyam ca nava-patrikā / /

(ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeiyara-p.' in Śūlapāṇi's Dv, pp. 12-13 and in Dpt, pp. 8 and 10),

'rambhit kacel baridrā ca jayanti bliva-dāḍimau / nioko mānakai caiva dhānyaṃ ca nava-patrikāḥ / / (ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Śrinātha's Dv, p. 50, and to the 'Bhaviyya-p.' in Vk, p. 372; quoted anonymously in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, Vk, p. 401; derived in Na, p. 129 from

the 'Kṛṭya-tattvārṇava').

'brahmāṇi kadali-kāṇḍe dāḍime rakta-dantikā /
dhānye lakṣmīr haridrāyāṇi dungā mānaka-patrake / /
cāmuṇḍā kālīkā kaceyāṇi divā bilve pratiṇṭbilā /
nioke loka-rahitā ļayantyāṇi kārtiki matā / /

(ascribed to the 'Bhaviyya-p.' in Vk, p. 391; quoted in Dbht, p. 63 with the words 'intah pathanti'; derived from the 'Durgā-bhakti-tarangint' in Dpt, p. 12).

'pürvähne navn-patrikā inbhakari dharmārtha-niddhi-pradā ārogyam dhanadā karoti vijayam patri-praveie nuhhā / madhyāhne jana-pidana-kṣayakarī sarngrāma-ghorāvahā sāyāhne yadha-handhanādi-kataham sarpa-kṣatam saryadā / /*

(secribed to 'Jyotiya' in Śūlapāṇl's Dv, p. 10, Śrinātha's Dv, p. 40, Kt, fol, 63a, and St, J, p. 7a).

'kadalî dâjîmî dhânyan haridră mânakan kacub / biiyo 'koko jayanî ca vijdeyâ nava-patrikâ / /'

(quoted anonymously in Rudradhara's Yrata-paddhad, fot 27b with v. 1. 'dhānyā huridrāmalakom' and 'bilvātokau' for 'dhānyanp baridrā mānakom' and 'bilvo 'ioko' respectively and in St. 1, p. 77 and II. p. 694; quoted with the words 'intāh pathanu' on p. 69 and anonymously on p. 132 of the Dbht).

It is remarkable that in his Durgotsava-padrihati (fol. 15a) Udayasimha Rüpanārāyana, who was a king of Gorakşanagara (modern Gorakhpur) in Norshern Kotala (vi) The tying of the nine plants (constituting the nava-patrikā) with an Aparājitā creeper10.

(vii) The performance of the Śāvarotsava on the Daśami

Tithi20.

and preceded Vidvāpati by a short period, prescribes the worship of the nine Mother Goddesses (mātṛkāḥ, mātaraḥ) not in the nine plants called na -patṛkāḥ but in an eightpetalled lotus painted on the ground with sandal-paste, etc. The present Kālikā-p. (62. 51b-52a) also says: "The propitious nine Durgās are likewis to be worshipped in the proximity of Devi with Jayanti and other fragrant flowers, because they are the forms of Devi." For information about Udayasınıha Rūp mārayana and his works see our article in Our Heritage, IV, 1950, pp. 157-176.

10 'ivetāparājitā-baddhāh sarva-sampat-samtddhalāh'

(ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Srinātha's Dv, p. 50).

"antapādo nidā-bhāge iravaņasya lihaved yadi / tadā samptesanaņi devyā daiamyām Livarotsavaḥ / /"

(ascribed to 'Satya' in Kv, p. 514).

'sampūjya presanam kuryād dalamyām tāvarotsavaih'

(ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.' in Dpt. pp. to and 42, St, 1, p. 102, and Dbht, p. 41).

'visarjananı dalamyam tu kuryad vai savarotsavaih'

(ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śūlapāni's Dv, p. 24, as well as in Vk. p. 366, Dpt, p. 7, St, I, p. 75, and Dblit, p. 41; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the Kālikā-p. as quoted in the Gauda-nibandha; being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 18a and resembling very much Kālikā-p. 62. 10a).

'tatab sampregită devi dasamyan savarot avaih'

(ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Vk, pp. 358, 374; being the same as K likā-p. 62. 31b).

'bhaga-lingābhidhānaii ca bhaga-linga-pragitakaii / bhaga-linga-kriyābhii ca kridayeyur alam janāh / parair nāksipyate yas tu yah param nāksipaty api / kruddhā bhagavatī taiya šāpam dadyāt sudāmmam /

(ascribed to 'Sarya' in Kv. p. 514, and to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Śrīnātha's Dv. p. 51 and Kt. fol. 65b, in Vk. pp. 377-8, and in Dhht, p. 42; quoted anonymously in Kr. p. 362; derived in Ns. p. 130 from 'the Kālikā-p. as quoted in the Krtya-tattvārnava's being the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 21b-23a).

dhûli-kardama-vika-paib kridā-kantuka-mangalaib / bhaga-lingābhidhānaii ca bhaga-linga-pragliakaib / bhaga-linga-krivābhii ca kridayeyur alalināb / /'

(ascribed to the 'kālikā-p' in Śūlapāni's Dv. p. 24, as well as in Vk. pp. 377 and 449, Dpt, p. 7, St, I, p. 75, and Dbht, p. 42; being the same as Kālikā-p. (3 21-22a).

'nau-yūnair nara- ānair vā nītvā bhagavatīm šivām / iroto-jale praksipeyuh krīdā-kautuka-mas talaih // parair nāksipyute yas tu param nāksipate tu yah / tasya krizīdhā bhagavatī iāpam dadvāt sudārunam //

(ascribed to the 'Brhan-nandik ivara-p,' in Sûlapâni's Dv. p. 21 and in Dpt. p. 44, and to the 'Nandikeivara-p,' in Dpt. p. 3; the second verse being the same as Kālikā-p. 63 22b-23a).

'visarjan in dasanyām tu krīdā-kautuka-man alaih' (ascribed to the 'Linga-p' in Kv, p. 512 and Kt, fol. 52a and to the 'Kālikā-p.' in Vk. p. 369; quoted anonymously in Sp. f. 24a; being the sine as Kālikā-p. 62. 20a.

According to Jimütavāhana, the word 'krīdā-kautuka-maigalaih' in the abovementioned line means the Śāvarotsava.—See Kv. p. 514—tathā satvah '....... Even on 'Patrikā-praveša' (i.e. the rite of cutting, from a young Bilva tree, a small branch having two Bilva fruits and taking this branch to the pūjā-maṇḍapa for worshipping Devī in it), which, as the Rāja-mārtaṇḍa¹¹ and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi²¹ show, was known outside Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, there are a number of verses, found quoted in the Smṛti works of Eastern India, which do not occur in those of other provinces. As instances of such verses we may mention the following:

'saptamyām mūla-yuktāyām patrikāyāh pravešanam/'aa 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyām kevalāyām pravešayet/ tathā tithy-antare 'py evam rkṣeṣu ca phaloccayaḥ//'aa 'saptamyām bilva-śākhām tām āhṛtya pratipūjayet/'as 'saptamyām patrikā-pūjā kartavyā cātha mānavaiḥ/'aa 'saptamyām astagāyām yadi višati gṛham patrikā śriphalāḍhyā

rājñaḥ saptāṅga-rājyaṃ jana-sukham akhilaṃ hanti mūlānurodhāt/

tasmāt sūryodayasthām narapati-śubhadām saptamīm prāpya devim

^{...} tadā sampresanam devyā daiamyām išvarotsavah / /ˈ avara-varma iva parnādyāvṛta-kardamādi-lipta-iarīro nānā-vidhāsambaddha-valgita-nṛṭya-gīta-vādyādi-paro bhūtvā iti išvarotsava-padārthaḥ /).

as See fol. 78b saptamyām mīlia-yukte prathama-pada-gate patrikā thāpan in ca, etc. See also the verse 'saptamyām patrikā-pūjā astamyām cāpy uposa am, tr.' quoted in fol. 79a. In his Durgotsava-paddhati (fol. 6b-7a Uda ast. a Rū tu rājana derives the firmer verse from the 'Rāja-mārtaṇḍa' and reada it a 'saptam ārp tūla-va prathama-pada-gate patrikā pūjanīyā, etc.'

⁸¹ II, i, pp. 906-7. For the relevant lines see footnote 13 above.

[&]quot;Ascribed to the 'Devi-p.' in Sūlapāni's Dv, p. 8, Dpt, p. 3, and Ki, for to the 'Nandikesvara-p.' in Dpt, p. 2, and to the 'Linga-p' in Srinātha's D., p. 11, quot d' anonymously in Sp, fel. 23b; mentioned in Dhit, p. 16 as occurring in a 'Gautanihandha'; derived in Ni, p. 1.8 from 'the Devi-p. as quoted in the Gauda-nihandha'.

³³ Ascribed to the 'Nandikesvara-p,' in Vk, p. 367, and to the 'Linga-p,' in Sûlap ini's Dv, p. 8, Śrinātha's Dv, p. 45, St, I, p. 74, and Vk, p. 368, quantil anonymusty in Sp, fol. 24a, Kt, fol. 62b, and Krtya-cintāmani, p. 28, derived from a 'Gauda-nibandha' in Dbht, p. 46.

A similar verse, agreeing in the first line but differing in the second, is found quited from a 'Linga-p.' in Hemadri's Caturvarga-cintamani. For the text of this are see footnote 13 above. Kamal kara-bhatta took this verse of the Linga-p. from 'Hematri' See Ns. p. 1281.

³⁸ Ascribed to the 'Kälikä-p,' in Śūlapāni'a Dv, p. 13, in Dbht, p. 41, and in Dpt, p. 10; derived in Ns, p. 128 from the 'Kälikä-p, as quoted in the Cauda niba-tha.'

¹⁴ Ascribed to a 'dusprāpa-kālikā-purānāntara' in Drt. p. 8.

bhūpālo vešayet tām sakala-jana-hitām rākṣasarksam vihāya//'27

'mûla-yoge tu saptamyām patrikāyāh pravesanam/ yad uktam tad-dvayābhāve kevalāvām tithāv api//'se As regards the line 'saptamyām patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyām cāpy uposanam' there is some scope for doubt. This line, which is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 19a, has been ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha's Durgotsavaviveka, p. 43 and Krtya-tattvårnava, fol. 60a, to the 'Bhagavati-p.' in Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, p. 38, and to the 'Kālikāp.' in Varsa-kaumudi, pp. 369, 371 and 375. It has been quoted anonymously in Samvatsara-pradipa, of fol. 24a, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 362, and Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, p. 27. On the other hand, Bhojadeva of Dhārā is found to quote it in his Rāja-mārtaṇḍa (fol. 79a) without mentioning its source, and Udayasimha Rūpanārāyana, who has it in his Durgotsava-paddhati (fol. 6b), ascribes it to 'sistas', by whom he must have meant those of Bengal (because he flourished earlier than Vidyāpati, who only, among the Maithila Nibandha-writers, is found to quote the said line in his Durgā-bhakti-taranginī).

Besides the verses mentioned above, there are also many others which are peculiar to Bengal and in some cases to Mithilā and Kāmarūpa also. But, as we have already said, the comparatively early Smṛṭi-writers of Western and Southern India have no knowledge either of these verses or of the rites based on them and the later ones record some of these on the authority of the works of Bengal and Mithilā. For instance, in his Niṛṇaya-sindhu (pp. 126-141) Kamalā-kara-bhaṭṭa deals with most of the above-mentioned rites and quotes many of the relevant verses, but Kamalākara's

²⁷ A mibed to 'Jyotia' in Sulapăni's Dv. pp. 9-10, Śrinātha's Dv. p. 49, and St. 1, p. 77.

²⁸ Averibed to the 'Nandikelvara-p' in Dpt, p. 3

This work, as occurring in Mis at present, belongs to Bengal.—See Hazra in HQ, XXI, 1945, pp. 49-55, and D. Bhattacharya in Our Heritage, I, pp. 159-160. See also D. Bhattacharya's Introduction pp. xl-xln) to his edition of Halamalaa's Brahmana-sarvasya.

sources are invariably the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā, 20 the Devī-p. (a work of Bengal) on 'satru-bali' only21, and the present Kālikā-p. (which, we shall see hereinafter, must have been written either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it). That neither Kamalā-kara nor his countrymen were familiar with the rites mentioned above, is shown by the following facts.

(i) In his Nirnaya-sindhu, pp. 120-126 Kamalākarabhatta deals claborately with the proper time and method of performing the Navarātra-vrata without mentioning any of these rites or quoting any of the relevant verses of the 'Bhavişya-p.', 'Linga-p.', etc. mentioned above. He then begins, from p. 126, to deal with these peculiar rites with the words 'atha pratipadidisu višeso durgā-bhakti-taranginyām bhavisye ', and bases his treatment of these rites on the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithilā as well as on the Devi-p. (with regard to 'satru-bali' only) and the Kālikā-p. Had these characteristic rites been in vogue in his country, he would not have dealt with them separately after describing the method of performing the Navaratravrata, nor would he have derived his materials from the present Devi-p., Kālikā-p. and the Nibandhas of Bengal and Mithila.

In his Durgotsava-paddhati Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaņa also says nothing about the peculiar rites mentioned above. In this work he quotes two verses²¹ on patrikā-praveša on the authority of the 'šiṣṭas' (who, as we have already seen, must be the Smārtas of Bengal) and also another verse²² on the same topic by mentioning as his source the 'Rāja-mārtanda'

³⁰ The only exception is the verse 'mûlâbhâve 'pi saptamyâm etc.' |on petrik d-formetal, which Kamalâkara derived from 'Hemâdri'. See footnote 13 above.

at Nirnaya-sindhu, p. 137-

khadgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-vidākhayih //

This verse is the same as Devi-p. 22. 16.

^{32 &#}x27;saptamyām patrikā-pūjā aṣṭamyām cāpy upoṣanam' etc. and 'mūlena saphalām bilva-iākhām āhṛṭya pūjavet' etc. (on fol. 6b).

a 'aaptamyān mūla-yoge prathama-pada-gate patrikā pūjanīs i etc. (on ble tib-7a).

(which must have taken it from some work of Bengal or Mithilā), but he prescribes the rite of satru-bali on the authority of the Devi-p.31, which is a work of Bengal.

(ii) In the Bengal Nibandhas there is a verse, viz., 'rambhā kacci haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau/ asoko mānakas caiva dhānyam ca nava-patrikāḥ//'25

which mentions the names of the nine plants constituting the nava-patrikā. In treating of nava-patrikā-pūjā Kamalākara quotes this verse with the mention of the 'Krtya-tattvārņava' as his source, but reads 'kavi' for 'kacci' and 'māna-vṛkṣaś ca' for 'māṇakaś caiva'ss. These readings 'kavī' and 'māṇavṛkṣaś ca' clearly show that neither Kamalākara nor his countrymen were familiar with 'kacci' and 'māna'. The learned editor of the printed text of the Nirnaya-sindhu frankly admits that he did not understand what objects were meant by the words 'mana' and 'kavi' occurring in the text of the Nirnaya-sindhus. Now, the word 'kacci' (meaning 'kacvi' or 'kacu'-Arum Colocasia) has been used in the above verse to mean the 'kacu' plant so well known in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa, and its peculiar spelling with '= 'is common in the Bengal Nibandhas (and also perhaps in those of Mithilā)34. The 'mānaka' (popularly

** Nirnaya-sindhu, p. 128— iti kṛṭya-tattvārnava uktam / patrikās ni— 'rambhā kavī haridrā ca jayanti bilva-dāḍimau / asoko māna-vṛkṣas ca ilhānyādi navapatrikāb / /' iti tatraivoktāb /

For the reading 'kavi' for 'kaccī' see also Nīrṇaya-sindhu, p. 130—..... patrikāh pūjayet / kadalyām brahmātiim dādime rakta-dantikām dhānye lakṣmīm hari lrāyām duegām māne cāmuṇḍām kasan kālikām bilve sivām ašoke toka-rahitām jayantyām

kārtukim cāvāhva sampūjya durgāyai balim dadyāt /

²⁴ See Durgotsava-paddhati, fols. 4b and 15b.

¹⁸ For the names of the works quoting this vene see footnote 18 above.

See Sp, fol. 24a, Śūlapāni's Dv, pp. 12-13, Śrinātha's Dv, p. 50, Kt. fol. 62b, Vk, pp. 372, 401, and Dpt, pp. 8, 10. See also Vk, pp. 391, 402, 425, and Dpt, p. 12.

The word 'kaeu' occurs in Kavi Karnapūra's Kṛṇṇālinika-kaumudī, ii.

³⁹ See, for instance, the two verses 'brahmānī kadalī-kānde' and 'eāmundā kalikā kaccyāņi' derived by Raghunandana in his Dpt, p. 12 from the Durgā-hhakti-tarangint. The second verse mentions 'kacci'. But in these verses as occurring in the printed

called 'māna' or 'māna-kacu' in Bengal) is one of the varieties of arum. As neither 'kacci' nor 'mānaka' is mentioned in Amara-koṣa or any other famous lexicon⁴⁰, Kamalākara and his countrymen as well as the learned editor of the printed text of the Nirṇaya-sindhu totally failed to understand their meanings and made the mistakes mentioned above.

(iii) In two verses, of which one is derived by Kamalakara from the Durgā-bhakti-tarangini with the words 'durgā-bhaktitaranginyam bhavişye', and the other from the 'Kālikā-p.', the reading 'sāravotsavaiḥ' is given in place of 'śāvarotsavaih'n. This wrong reading shows that Kamalākara and his countrymen were not familiar with the Savarotsava which is mentioned in all the Bengal Nibandhas12 dealing with Durgotsava and which was widely performed, and is still performed in some form or other, in this province on the Vijayā Dasamī Tithi. Bhav. IV, chap. 138, which is one of the main sources of the description of the method of Durgā-pūjā as given in the Nibandhas of Orissa and of Western and Southern India13, refers to none of the abovementioned rites. As a matter of fact, all these characteristic rites are of East Indian origin. Some of them have been expressly mentioned in the Bengal Nibandhas as local customs prevailing in this province. For instance, the performance

" Jațădharăcărya's Paryâya-nânăriba-koșa and Cakranâni-datta's S. l. l. -c. - frikă mention 'kacv!' but do not spell it as 'kacci'.

In his Vidhāna-pārijāta (II, p. 630) Anantahhatta also quotes the said line of the Bhaviyya-p, with the wrong reading 'aāravotsavaih'.

See, for instance, Kälatära, pp. 103-115 (wherein verses 1-2, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16, 21-23 and 28-30a of Bhay, IV, 138 have been quoted), and Camirvarga-cintamant, II, I, pp. 908-920 (wherein the whole of Bhay, IV, 138 has been quoted). See als Kalasara, p. 229—seyam navami bhayiyyat-purānokta-durgā-vratādau draitavyā.

edition of the Durgā-bhaku-tarangini (p. 63) the name of the plant is given a "k-u" and not 'kacci". In his Vrata-paddhati (fol. 27b) Rudradhara al-> names it as 'kac-i in the verse containing the names of the Nava-patrikā. (See figure 18 abov-)

^{Nirmaya-sindhu, p. 120 (durgā-bhaku-taraṅginy îm bhavay um-pūjya presanam kuryād datamyām tāravottavaih / und p. 127 (kāhkā-purā be visarjanam daiamyām tu kuryād vai tāravottavaih /}

⁶³ Though the Samvanara-pradipa does not make any capters mention of the Savarotsava, it anonymously quotes the line 'visarjanam dasamvām tu krkin-kaunukamangalaih' (which is astribed to the Linga-p. in Kv, p. 512, Srinātha's Dv. p. 43, and Kt, fell. 60a). According to Jimūtavāhana the word 'krīdā-kaunuka-mangalaih' meam the Savarotsava see Kv, p. 514).

of Devi's adhivāsa in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of patrikā-praveša is sanctioned by Śūlapāņi and Raghunandana on the authority of a verse ascribed to 'Smṛti's and by Śrīnātha on the authority of a metrical line 'şaşthyām sāyam prakurvīta' ascribed to the 'Linga-p.'45 But Govindananda says that this rite is based on a local custom, that the line 'şaşthyām sāyam prakurvīta' is not found in the Nibandhas of Maithilas and others and is, therefore, unfounded, and that if this line was taken to be 'samūla', it would go against 'sistācāra'.46 The tying of the Nava-patrikā with an Aparājitā creeper, again, is mentioned in Śrinātha's Durgotsava-viveka47 and Govindānanda's Varsakaumudī, to but is called a local custom in the Samvatsarapradîpa49 and the Durgā-pūjā-tattva50. In his Durgā-bhaktitarangini, which must have been written later than the Samvatsara-pradīpa, Vidyāpati also refers to this customai but

As a matter of fact the line 'sayam sasthyāni prakurvīta' of the 'Linga-p.' does not occur in the works of Candesvara, Vidyāpati or any other Smṛti-writer of Mithila.

•• P. 401—..... 'rambhā kacci haridrā ca jayantī bilva-dāḍimau / asoko mānakaš caiva dhānyādi nava-patrikāh / / ˈ ctā ekīkṛṭya aparājītā-latayā saṃveṣṭya

6 Fol. 24a—ācāra-vajāc ca bilva-iākhayā saha rambhādi-nava-patrikām aparājitālatā-baddhām praveiayet /

№ P. 51—tata ācārād aparājītā-latā-baddhāqi nava-patrikātp bilva-šākhām ca sthāpayitvā /

It is to be noted that Canderwara or any other Smrti-writer of Michila does not mention this custom. On the other hand, both Candedvara and Vidyapati give, without naming any authority, the procedure of worshipping the Apar jua creeper on the Dasami Tithi after the immersion of the image of Durga in water and mention it as a 'sutacara' or simply 'ācāra' (See Kr. p. 365 and Dbht, pp. 208-9). But this custom was not followed in Bengal at least down to the time of Raghunandana. It is not mentioned or referred to in Jimūtavāhana's Kālavīveka, Šūlapāni's Durgotava-viveka, Šrīnātha Ācārya-cūdāmaṇi's Durgotava-viveka and Kṛṭya-tattvārṇava or any other pre-Raghu-

⁴⁴ For this verse see footnote 17 above.

⁴⁴ For this line are f stnote 17 above.

[&]quot;Varşa-kaumudi, pp. 370-371—patri-praveia-pürva-dine tv adhivāsa ācāra-prāpta eva, w'pi gandha-puṣp dyaih patri-bhūṣā-rūpa eva / yat tu "vāyam ṣaṣṭhyāṇi prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣē 'dhivāsanam' iti nāma-tūnva-vacanaṇi kenacil likbitaṃ tan maithilādi-nibandheṣv adarianān nirmūlam eva / i-ţācāropasṭambhaka-samūlatv-ābhtmāne tu /

e² P. 50—nava-patrikā/ coktā lingapurāne—'rambhā kaccī haridrā ca jayanti bilva-dāḍimau / aioko mānakai caiva dhānyam ca nava-patrikāḥ / / śvetāparājitā-baddhāh sarva-sampat-sampddhidāb / /'

does not name or quote any authority. It is highly probable that Vidyāpati derived this custom from the Nibandhas of Gauda, to which he refers on other occasions. Further, all the plants constituting the Nava-patrikā are very common

nandana Smrti work of Bengal. Even Govindananda, who was a contemporary of Raghusandana and deals claisorately with Dorga-paja in his Varsa-kaumutil (pp. 365-449), makes no mention of this custom. It is only in the section on Durgonava in Raghusandana's Tithi-tanva that the custom has been mentioned in the following lines:

evam ca ghatikona-dašamyām aparājitā-pūjānarhatvāt tatpūjanam pūrva-dine / ata eva tat-param evedam

"aśvine śukla-paksasya daśamyām pūjayes tathā/ ekādaiyām na kurvīta pūjanam cāparājitam//"

iti sivarahanyoktaikädasi-yukta-dasami-nijedhaka-vacamam / tatas ca tat-pürvakṛṭyaṃ devl-vinarjanam api tadaiva, tadantāpakarṣa-nyāyāt / vācuspati-misro 'py evam /

(See Smytl-tautva, I, pp. 88-89. This is a reference to Vācaspatimišra's Kṛṭya-mahārṇava, fol. 72a).

But the genuineness of these lines becomes extremely doubtful when we take into consideration the following facts:

(i) In his Durgā-pūjā-tatīva Raghutandana dents elaborately with Durgā-pūjā; but neither in the section on Pramāna nor in that on Prayoga does he exfer to the custom of Aparājītā-pūjā, although this work is, on one occasion, referred to in the Tithi-tatīva for detailed treatment of the method of Durgā-pūjā (pūjāyāta višesas tu durgā-pūjā-tatīve 'amandheyaḥ—Tithi-tatīva, p. 93) and, in commenting on the above-mentioned lines, Kāšītāma Vācaspati speaks of the high authority of the Durgā-pūjā-tatīva in matters of Durgā-worship in the following worsh;

tutrodaya-gāminyām muhūrdayūnāyām dasamyām iravaņā-naksatru-yuktāyām kevolāyam vā dašamyām visarjamam iti durgārcana-tatīva-likhanam / emd-grantha-prāmānyam tu 'pūjāyām visesas tu durgā-pūjā-innve anusapulheya' iti tithi-tatīva-likhanena drilbikriam / (See Tithi-tatīva with Khilsāma Vācaspati's commentary, p. 283).

(ii) In his Kṛṭya-tanva Raghmandana deab beiefly with Durgotava (see Smṛṇi-tanva, II, pp. 444-5), but there also be makes no mention of Aparājūā-pūjā.

(iii) The above-mentioned lines of the Tuthi-tativa (in which Apara)ntă-păjă has been mentioned) do not occur in their right place after treatment of Devi's aumenion (visarjana), which is to precede, and not follow, Apara)ntă-păjă.

(iv) From the statements of Käilräma Väcaspati and the Durgåreana-laumudi (a post-Raghunandana work mentioned by Käilräma Väcaspati in his commentary on the Tithi-tattva, p. 263), it appears that even in post-Raghunandana days the custom of Aparäjitä-pūjā attained popularity in a limited circle and did not obtain the sanction of renowned Surri-writers like Raghunandana. See Käilräma's commentary (on the said lines of the Tithi-tattva): visarjanam daiamyām iti rātry-ādau visarjanam na kāryam/devi-parāne "patri-pravesanam rātrau visargam vā karoti yah / tanya rāqta-vinājah syād rājā ca vikalo bhavet //" rātrāv iti paryudasta-kālopalakṣaṇam iti durgāreā-kaumudī // Also Durgāreana-kaumudī (foh. 65b-66a): "atra kreit dev l-visarjanānantaram yadi para-dine daiami aparājitā-(pūjā-yog/yā na prāpyste tudā navami-yukta-daiamyām evodaya-saṃbaudh-āhḥāve 'pi visarjanam kāryam tanya tad-uttara-kāla-kartavyatvāt / "ekādasyām na kurvīta pūjitam cāparājītā-pūjanarya kālab

in Bengal, Mîthilā and Kāmarūpa, and they do not include 'yava' or any other plant which is peculiar to Western or Southern India. So, the verses of the 'Bhavisya-p.', 'Linga-p.', Nandikeśvara-p., Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., etc. mentioned above must have been written in Eastern India, mostly in Bengal. We shall see hereinafter that the Kālikā-p. was written either in Kāmarūpa in Assam or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, and the Devi-p., Nandikeśvara-p. and

Brhan-nandikeśvara-p. were written in Bengal.

As regards the verses ascribed to the Bhavisya-p. and the Linga-p., it is disappointing to find that none of them occurs in the present texts of the Bhavisya and the Linga-p. On the other hand, manuscripts are still found in Bengal of Smrti works on the 'Bhavişya-purāņokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati';52 and Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva, testifies to the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, prescribed by the 'Linga-p.', was once followed in Bengal.53 Regarding the verse 'vrati prapujayed devim', ascribed to the 'Bhavişya' in Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva,64 Gadādhara says that it was respected in 'Gauda-deśa' but not in Orissa.53 We can reasonably presume, therefore, that chapters consisting of verses on the methods of Durga-pūjā, as followed in Bengal, were written by the scholars of this province and inserted into the texts of the Bhavisya and the Linga-p. current among them, so that these methods, though determined mostly by the local customs of Bengal, might be regarded as based on authoritative Sastric injunctions. But all the verses ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.' and the 'Linga-p.' were not written at the same time. For instance, the lines

¹³ See, for instance, Dacca University Mss. Nos. 2261 and 4055, in which the work is called 'Brhan-nandikesivara-purag-anugrhim-bhavisya-puragokta-durgapaja-paddhati'.

See Kāširāma's commentary—evam ca lingapurān-āmusāreņa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyām astādaia-bhūjāyā bodhanam, kālikāpurān-āmusāreņa cet pūjā kriyate tadā navamyām daia-bhujāyā bodhanam iti bodhyam /—Tithi-tattva, pp. 248-9.

¹¹ Sec Smrű-tattva, I, p. 87.

"ṣaṣṭhyāṃ sāyaṃ prakurvīta bilva-vṛkṣe 'dhivāsanam" and "śvetāparājitā-baddhāḥ sarva-saṃpat-samṛddhidāḥ", which record two of the most characteristic customs of Bengal and Mithilā and which have been ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' by Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, were added at a comparatively late date²⁴. It may be that Śrīnātha himself added these two lines to those already current in his time under the name of the 'Linga-p.'

We have already mentioned the names of more than half a dozen Śākta Upapurāṇas which are still extant, and from our examination of these works we shall see that all of them were not written at the same time or at the same place. Hence the question arises as to why the people of later ages felt encouraged to write new Purāṇic works or chapters on Śakti-worship, although they inherited works of similar nature from their predecessors. In the following pages we shall try to answer this question before we proceed to analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

We have already seen that the peculiar customs of the people of Eastern India encouraged them to compose new verses and even write new Purānic works in order to furnish these customs with a Śāstric basis. People of other provinces

so The late date of these two lines is shown by the following facta-

In his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 Srinātha ascribes to the 'Linga p.' is emetrical lines, in which the line 'tanthyām aayam prakurvīta' occupies the fifth place. Of these nine lines, lines 3-4 have been ascribed to the 'Rhagavati-p.' in Kv. p. 512, but there is no mention of line 5 (santhyām aāyam prakurvīta, etc.) in the Kālavivela. Line 2-4 and 6-9 agree with Kālikā-p. 62.17-20, but line 5 santh am aā am prakurvīta etc. is not found there. The Samvataara-pradipa quotes lines 6-8 but not line 5. Sūlapām and Raghunandana support the performance of Devl's diese in a Bilva tree in the evening of the day previous to that of partid-pravia in the authority of a verse derived from a 'Smṛtu' but do not quote the line 'ma thyām diyam etc.' Governtamanda informu in that this line (santhyām aāyam) was not found in the Nibandhi of Mithiā and other provinces (see footnote 46 above). Hence the line 'ma thy mayam prakurvīta' must have been added later.

Of the three lines (rambhå bacci haridra ca, etc.), ascribed to the "Littarp" in Srinatha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 50, the third is 'ever partita' baddhåh sarva-rampat-amunddhidah'. Although the first two lines are quoted anonymously in Samvamara-pradipa, fol. 24a and Varsa-kaumudi, p. 401, and there is mention of the custom of tying the Nava-patrika with an Aparajita creeper in these two works as well as in the Durga-bhakti-taranguni (pp. 63 and 129) and the Durga-poja-tattva (p. 51), the line 'iv ta-parajita-baddhāh' is not found in any of these works. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the comparatively late date of this line.

also must have made similar attempts for the spread of Šaktiworship. But this was not the only cause of composition of new works and chapters on Šakti-worship in later days. There were other reasons, which will be evident from the following survey of the rise of Purāṇic Śāktism in India.

A perusal of the extant Purapas indicates that to the writers of these works the problem regarding Devi was not how she originated but how she was to be associated and conceived of. Yet the question of her origin played a great part in determining her nature and association. There is no denying the fact that in Devi, as we have her now, we have glimpses of Vedic deities, especially the earth-goddess Prthivi, but it must be admitted that in her present character she is pre-eminently a deity of non-Vedic origin. Modern research has made it sufficiently known that Mother-worship, in some form or other, prevailed from very ancient times among the different races and tribes, Aryan or non-Aryan, living in the vast tract of land extending from Greece to India. In Greece the only divinity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin is the Mountain-Mother, who is found figured in 'a scalimpression of late Minaon style (circa 1500 B. C.) found at Knossos'. In this impression the goddess stands on a mountain-top with a lion on either side. An ancient Greek work of about the ninth century B. C. identifies the Mother of the Gods with the Phrygian Mountain-Mother, who is the mistress of the swift-slaughtering lions. Pausanias, a Spartan of the fifth century B. C., records the existence of two ruined temples of the Mother of the Gods in Arcadia and also of two lions made of stone in the neighbourhood of one of them. In an Attic relief, dated about 400 B. C., the Mother Goddess appears as seated on a throne, with two lions couching at her feet. According to Sir John Marshall, female statuettes akin to those from the Indus Valley and Balüchisthän have been found in large numbers and over a wide range of countries between Persia and the Ægean, notably in Elam, Mesopotamia, Transcaspia, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades, the Balkans

and Egypt's. The Mahābhārata, " Harivaṃśa, " and the Purānas60 tell us that in early times female deities of different forms and names were worshipped in different parts of India 4 by the followers of the Vedas as well as by the Savaras, Varvaras, Pulindas, Kirātas, and many other non-Aryan tribes62. These female deities appear in these works generally as divine mothers associated as spouses with particular male gods, but much more prominently as virgin deities sporting on mountain-tops and being the sources of origin of the divine mothers. Thus, Durgi or Durga, a great mountain-goddess associated very often with the Himalayas, is called a virgin in early sources such as the Taittiriya-āraņyaka and the Mahābhāratasi; Vindhyavāsinī also appears as a virgin deity in all works; and in the Markandeya, Devi and other Puranas Devi, whether identified with Uma or with Vindhyavāsinī, is found to kill the demons in her virgin

66 IV Vicata-parvan, chap. 6, and VI (Bhima-parvan), chap. 23.

" II (Vanu-parvau, chaps. 2-4 and 22.

⁶⁶ Viz., Vagni-p. V. I; Märkandeya-p., chaps. 81-93, Bhaviaya-p. IV. 138; Dest-p.; Kälikä-p.; Varäha-p., chaps. 21-28 and 90-96; and so on.

*2 vāsas tava mahāderi vancyūpavancyu ca/

favarair varvara caiva pulinda ca supu ita //

Hariyaqua II, 3 (b-7a.

taravarşavarais căpi (? tavarair varvarais căpi) pulludais căpi pūno / vinduyavăuni (fuaurhe amoghe ambike lubhe //

Devl.p. 127, 110b-111a (See al.) Devl-p. 1) 142.

surā-māmsādy-upabārair japa-y nair vinā tu yā/ vinā antras tām i š kirātā im ca saumatā/

(ascribed to the 'Skanda' in Salapae'is Dv. p. 3, and to the Skanda' and the 'Bhavis'a' in St. I. p. 68, Dpt. p. 90, and Kalasara, p. 111).

According to the Kähkä-p (chap. 39) K a trupa was a seat of Devi-worship even when it was inhabited by Kir tas.

The remarkable absence of Sakti is a might be family of Southern India treat to show that these people were originally not associated with Sakti with up up

⁴³ The number of the divine meth role generally given as only or and en-⁴⁴ Talstiriya-Tranyaka X (Narayanopanisad). 1; Mahabhar ta IV. 6.7, 14, and

VI. 23.4.

⁶² Sir John Marshall M henjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. 1, p. 50.

⁴¹ Bhav. IV. 138. 9b - rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pujvate tīvā; V mu-p. V. I. 80 - tatab umbha-miumbhādin hatvā d tītyān sahasra ib uhānair an kaib prthivīri 5 m man lytiy i // Hari ama II 2. 49 - tatab ith na baira tvam prthivīm tobhavityasi (spoken of Vindhyavāsinī).

state⁶⁰. It is highly probable that the non-aryan tribes mentioned above had a matriarchal system of society⁶⁶ and that it was due to this system that the custom of worshipping female deities grew among them. In spite of the spread of the Aryans in India, a large section of the members of these tribes, who lived in impenetrable mountains and forests⁶⁷ and were thus able to maintain their freedom and individuality, used to worship, as they still do, their deities in these inaccessible parts of the country⁶⁸ with the offer of wine, meat and other things. It is highly probable that on these occasions they sacrificed human beings⁶⁰, drank wine⁷⁸,

kanyā devyā svayam proktā kanyā-rūpā tu sūlinī / yāvad akṣata-yoniḥ syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //

In Devl-p, 7.39 also Devl is called 'kanyā-rūpā'.

** R. P. Chanda, Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 153-156.

The Vedic Aryans, being born and brought up in a patriarchal state of society, conceived of their principal deities as male. The female deities occupy a subordinate position in the Vedic literature, no matter whether they appear as wives of great gods or not. In comparatively late periods, however, the mother came, in some Aryan families, to be regarded as more important than the father, and this is shown by the fact that the male members of these families were named after their mothers.

of It is not known definitely whether these aboriginal tribes originally dwelt in mountains and forests, or they were driven to these places by the invading Aryans. In the Atharvavecha the Kirātas have been mentioned as living in mountains. (See Atharvavecha X. 4. 14—kairātikā kumārikā sakā khanati bhejajam / hiranmaylihlir abhribhir girlnām upa sānusu //).

** Devi is said to be living in mountains and forests in Mbh VI. 23. 11b-14 (..... durg kāntāra-vāsini / kāntāra-bhaya-durgeşu bhaktānām cālayeşu ca / nityam vasati pātāle //), Harivamša II. 3.6 (parvatāgreşu ghoreşu nadişu ca guhāsu ca / vāsas tava mahādevi vaneşūpavaneşu ca //), Devi-p. 17-17 (hemakūte mahendre himādrau mahādhārini vindhya-tahyālaye šrīgirau samuthite) and 17.23 (saila-trūgeşu tungeşu vata kāntāra-vāsini), and so on.

Cf also Mbb IV. 6.20b-21 (kāntāreşv avasannānāṃ / tvaṃ gatiḥ // kāntāreşv aṭavīṣu ca //); Harivaṃsa II. 2.54 (kāntāreṣv avasannānāṃ / tvaṃ gatiḥ //).

19 Human sacrifice is allowed even by the present Kälikä-p. (chap. 71),

Reference is made in the Daia-kumāra-carita (Pūrva-plthikā, Ucchvāsa I) and other works to the sacrifice of human beings to deities by Kirātas, Šavaras and other tribes.

To For references to the use of wine and meat in Devi-worship as well as to Devi's liking for these things see Harivania II. 22. 53b-54a (arcyate dasyubhir ghorair mahābali-pasu-priyā / surā-pidita-pūrnābhyām kumbhābhyām upasobhitā //), Vis. V. 1.84a (surā-māṇs-opahārais tu bhakṣya-bhojyais ca pūjītā), and Bhav. IV. 138. 98a (surāsava-bhītaih kumbhais tarpayet parameivarīm). It is to be noted that chap. 138 of Bhav. IV deals with the method of Devi-worship during the Navarātra-vrata.

See also Mbh IV. 6. 17b (skihu-māṇusa-paiu-priye), Harivamia II. 2. 52, and

⁶⁵ Ser, for instance, DevI-p. 35. 17b-18a-

indulged in frantic revels, and practised sexual promiscuity".

The aboriginal tribes seem to have worshipped their female deities mainly for protection against ferocious wild beasts78 and ghosts78. They also appear to have believed

3. 12 (surā-mārpus-bali-priyā), Devi-p. 9. 56 (rudhīra-mārpus-madya-priye), etc. as well as the verse 'sura-maquasily-upaharaib, etc.' quoted in footnote 62 above,

11 In Devi-p. 39, 142 Savaras, Polindas and other aboriginal tribes are said to have

wordsipped Devi according to the 'Vâmācāra-mārga.'

Note also the Săvarottava mentioned in the Kälikā-p. [62,31 and 63,10], as well as in the veries ascribed to Sarya, Bhavinya-p., Linga-p., Brhan-nandikelvara-p., etc. in the Bengal Nibandhas. (See footnote 20 above).

11 Hariyanda II. 3.7-0-

iavarair varvarais caiva pulinduis ca supūjitā / mayūra-piecha-dhvajini lokka kramusi sarvaials // kukkutais uhāgalair mejaib simhair vyāghraib samākulā / ghantā-nināda-bahulā vindhya-vāsiny abhišrutā //

Devi-p. 17.26—nugendrair grhitam gajendrair vibblinnam khagendrair viluptam bhujangad ca dastam vane câpi mūdham rane blyamānam mahāgrāha-grastam māteva saiprakļase putravan nityam.

Mark, 92.25-29-

aranye printare vipi/ daryubbir vä vṛṭaḥ śûnye gṛhīto vāpi śatrubbih // slipha-vyäghe-ännyäto vä vane vä vana-hastibhih /

unaran mamaitae caritații naro mucyeta samkațăt // mama prabhāvāt aiņhādyā dasyavo vairiņas tathā / dür&d eva paláyante smoratní caritam moma //

and so on.

The story of DevI's killing of the demon Mahita (who had the form of a buffato) in a previous Kalps, and the tradition that whenever Devi killed the demons, she had a lion as her mount (valuana), seem to be based on the aboriginal conception of Devi as a spirit controlling wild beauts. The bell (ghangs), which is said to be carried by Devl, might have been originally meant for scaring away wild hearts. (For references to Devi's carrying a 'ghanja' see Mbh IV, 6.10, Harivamia II, 3.8, Mark 82.21 and 84.23, Devi-p. 17.23, and so on).

In Southern Bengal a desty popularly called 'Dakjin-rāy' (Daksina-rāya) is worshipped by villagers for genting rid of the havoc created by Royal Bengal tigger of the Sundarvans. This deity has an ugly face very much like that of a tiger but its body is that of a human being.

79 In Mbh IV. 6.18 and Hariyamia II. 2.52 DevI is said to be followed by ghosts (krelinnyātrā birdtaih).

In commenting on the Mahabbarata Nilakantha takes the word 'bbūta' (occurring in Mbh IV. 6.18) to mean 'Brahmā and others' (bhūtair brahmādyaih prācīnaih). But Nilakantha's interpretation is hardly acceptable.

See also Hariyaquia 11. 2.46 (kirnā bhūta-ganair ghoraib), and 22.53 (bhūtammgita-nipevitā); Bhav. IV. 138.1-2 (punyā mahānavamy asti/ sāmajtheyā // hhūja-preta-piskeānām prity-arthum cottavāya ca //); Devi-p. 31.15. 17a (dadyše ca dig-balim šakra sarva-dikņu samauvitah / blūta-vetāla-samalusya mantrenamena tuvrata // jaya tvam käli bhūteši sarva-bhūta-samāvate / rakja mām nija-bhittelshyo balim grhoa siya-priye //) and 17.17 (pramatha-laksair vyte

that these deities were able to protect them in all kinds of danger and to confer on them wealth and prosperity as well as victory in war74. As a matter of fact, the occasions for Devi's appearance on the Himalayas and the Vindhya, as given in the Markandeya-p., Devi-p., etc., show that she is conceived of in these works primarily as a war-goddess, with whom other female deities were identified. The very name of Śākambhari as well as her story given in Mārkandeyap. 92.42-46, and the fact that Durgā is called 'kāntāravāsini' and is said to protect those who fall in trouble (avasanna) in deep forests, tend to show that there were some female deities who were looked upon by the aborigines as vegetation spirits. It should be mentioned here that the character of Devi as a war-goddess explains why she is to be worshipped in autumn and spring, which are highly favourable for military expeditions.

We do not know the number and names of the female deities originally worshipped by these aboriginal tribes, and among the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras there are certainly some who owe their origin to the deification of abstract ideas; but it admits of little doubt that many of the Śākta deities of the Purāṇas and Tantras, viz., Umā, Kauśikī, Vindhyavāsinī, Durgā, Caṇḍī, Kālī, Kālikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kāmākhyā, Śākambharī and others, were modelled on the popular ones, especially those associated with mountains, viz., Himālaya and Vindhya. It is remarkable that the comparatively early Vedic works do not betray in any way their recognition, or even knowledge, of these Śākta deities, nor do they speak of the lion as a mount of any of their

candike); Mārk. 92.18 (rakso-bhūta-pilācānām pathanād eva nājanam); and so on. Bhav. IV. 136 describes a festival known as Bhūtamātrutsava (the festival of the mother of evil spirits), which is most probably borrowed from the Savaras and in which an ugly and hideous-looking female desty called Bhūta-mātā, is worshipped for protection of children from the permicious influence of evil spirits. This Bhūta-mātā, who is clearly of non-Aryan origin, is said to be born of Pārvati's urine and is thus called a form of libagavati herself.

The conception of Devi as a war-gooddess is certainly not of very late origin. In Mbh VI 23.4 and 8 Durgh is called 'siddhasenani generaless of the Siddhas) and 'rana-priya' (fond of war). See also Mark., chaps. 81ff., Bhav. IV. 138, Devi-p., and so on.

goddesses. On the other hand, in the Harivamáa Devi is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavásini by Šavaras, Varvaras and Pulindas, to be crowded by cocks, goats, sheep, lions and tigers, and to make a high and continuous sound with her bell. So, we find in Vindhyavásini an interesting parallel not only of the Mountain-Mother of Crete and Greece who is the mistress of lions but also of the Mother of the Gods, who is addressed in Homeric prelude 'as rejoicing in the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blare of pipes, and the roar of wolves and lions.' But the worship of neither the Purāṇic or Tantric Devi in India nor her parallels in Crete and Greece can be said to be a development from the vague conception of the Mother Earth.

Of whatever nature the female deities of the aboriginal tribes may have been, they were not allowed an easy access into the Vedic pantheon. The military spirit of the Vedic Aryans as well as their deep-rooted feeling of antagonism towards the natives stood in the way of their having any regard for the deities of the latter. As a matter of fact, none of the names of the different forms of Durgā is mentioned in the Vedic Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. It was only at a much later date that the aboriginal deities began to be admitted by a very slow process of assimilation. In the different texts of the Yajurveda as well as in its Brāhmaṇas there are, of course, passages in which Ambikā has been mentioned and often called Rudra's sister and once his

¹⁴ For the relevant verses of the Harivagnia see footnote 72 observe.

Kapisthala-katha-tamhitā VIII. 10-tame as in the Taittiriya-tamhitā quoted above.

Kājluska-samhirā IX. 7—esa te rodru bliāgali saha avasrāmbikayā tam jusasva avāliā;

and XXXVI. 14—csa te cudra bhāgab iaha svanāmbikayā tam junasva svāheti tarad vai rudrasya svasāmbikā tām eso 'nvavacarati tasmād esa šaradi bhūyistbam bami /

Maitrāyaņi Samkirā I. 10.4—eja ie rodra bhāgas tam Jusasva saha tvasrāmbikayā srābā;

and I. 10.20—eya te rudra bhōgas tam jusasva saha svasrāmbikayā avābesi sorad vai rudrasya yonih evasāmbikaitām vā rpo 'nvabhyavacarati tasmāc tarath bhūymham hanti tavaivainam saha niravadayate /

mother as well™, but in these passages Ambikā, unlike Durgā and other Śākta deities78 of the Purānas, Tantras, etc., has been allowed a share of the sacrificial offerings. She, therefore, does not seem to have been derived from a mother goddess of the non-Aryans. According to the Kāthakasamhitā, Maitrāyanī Samhitā and Taittirīya-brāhmana this Ambikā, sister of Rudra, was the autumn season (sarat) personified. The two Samhitas further tell us that as Rudra followed his sister Ambikā, who was identical with autumn (sarat), his work of killing reached its climax in this season. The Taittiriya-brāhmana, on the other hand, says that it was with his sister Ambika appearing as Sarat that Rudra carried out his work of killing. So, commenting respectively on Taittiriya-brāhmana I.6.10.4 and Vājasancyî Samhitā 3.57 Sāyaņa and Mahīdhara describe Ambikā as a cruel deity (himsikā, krūra-devatā) like Rudra and say that Ambikā helped Rudra in his slaughter by appearing as Sarat and creating fever and other diseases. As a matter of fact,

Väjasaneyl Samhitä 3.57-same as Käthaka-samhitä IX. 7 quoted above.

See also Satapatha-brāhmaņa II. 6.2.9—eşa te rudra hhāgah saha svasrāmlukayā tam ju asva svāhetyambikā ha vai nāmāsya svasā tayāsyatsa saha bhā ah ;

Taittiriya-brāhmaņa I. 6.10.4—eşa te rudra bhāgalı saha svasrāmbikayetyāha / sarad vā asyāmbikā svasā / tayā vā eşa hinasti / yanı hinasti tayaivainam saha iamayati /

and 11. 0.2.13 sā rudrasya svasāmbikā nāma sā ha vai bhagasveste/

¹⁷ See Maitrāyani Samhitā I. 10.20 quoted in the immediately preceding footnote-¹⁹ The Hiranyaked-grhya-sūtra (H. 8.7) prescribes sacrificial offerings 'to god Bhava's wife' [Bhavani ?]—bhavaaya devasya patnyai. But this Grhya-sūtra comes from a comparatively late date.

[&]quot;Note the words 'sahāya-bhūtayā' and 'sādhana-bhūtayā' used by Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara respectively with regard to Ambikā in commenting on Taittirlya-brāhmana I, 6.10.4 and Vājasaneyl Samhitā 3.57. For extracts from the commentaries see the immediately following footnote.

⁵⁶ In commenting on Taittirlya-saquhitä I. 8.6.1 Săyana quotes Taittirlya-brāhmana
1. 6.10.4 and explains it as follows.

šarat-kālo hi pinasa-jvar-ādy-utpādanena himsakas tadvad īyam ambikā himsīkā / tatah iarad ity ucyate / eja rudras tayaiva sahāya-hhūtayā prāṇīnam himsati / atas tayā saha purodāša-bhāga-acvayā tustayā tayaiva sahaivainam rudram šamayati himsā-rahitam karoti //

Mahidhara explains Vājasaneyi Samhitā 3.57 thu:

ambikāyā rudra-bliaginītvaiņ irutyoktam / ambikā ha vai nāmāsya ivasā tavāsyama saha bhāga iti yo 'yam rudrākhyah krūro devas tasya virodhinam hantum iechā bhavan tadānayā bhaginya krūra-devatavā sādhana-bhūtayā tam hinasti / sā cāmbikā tarad-rūpam prāpya jvarādikam utpādya tam virodhinam hanti / rudrāmbikayor ugratvam anena havisā šāntam bhavati / tathā ca tittirib—eṣa te rudra bhāgah saha syassāmbikayetyāha tarad vā asyāmbikā sā bhiyā eṣā

the autumn season (sarat) has been looked upon from the early Vedic period as the most dangerous part of the year, so much so that a person who could pass this season safely was taken to be out of danger for the remaining part, that often the age of a person was expressed and the years counted in terms of the autumn seasons passed, and that this season was mentioned in blessing one with, or aspiring for, a long lifest. So, the identification of Ambika with Sarat can by no means be taken to indicate that she was originally a harvest deity and that her identification with Durga gave rise to the widespread custom of the latter's worship in autumn. On the other hand, it appears that the custom of worshipping Durgā mainly as a war-goddess in autumn owed its origin much more to her identification with the cruel and destructive deity Ambikā than to the suitability of this season for war expeditions, because it was quite natural for the warriors to believe that by propitiating Durga with worship and animal sacrifice they could escape death and also create havoc on

late phase in her character as a deity.

But very different is the case with Umā, who, for her peculiar name, her association with a mountain, and her mount (vāhana), a lion, seems to be originally the same as the Babylonian Ummu or Umma, the Arcadian Ummi, the Dravidian Umma, and the Scythian Ommo, which are all mother goddesses. This Umā is neither mentioned in any of the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas nor allowed any share of the sacrificial offerings. Even in the story of the destruc-

their enemies. The connection of Durgā with harvest, though coming from an early date, decidedly forms a comparatively

^{(? -}kā avasā tayā vā esa) hinasti yam hinasti tayaivainam saha šamayatīti (Taituriya-brāhmana I. 6.10.4).

¹¹ Soc, for instance, Rg-veda I. 72.3 (timo . . . iaradah), 89.9 (fatam inun iarado), II. 27.10 (iatam no rawa iarado), 111. 36.10 (aume iatam iarado jivase), etc.;

Atharva-veda I. 10,2 (iatam jivāti iaradah), 11, 13,3 (iatam ca jiva iaradah), 111, 11,4 (iatam jiva iaradah), etc.;

Vājasanoyī Samhitā 25.22 (=8g-veda I. 89.9), 35.15 (iatam jīvantu faradah), 36.24 (.... paiyema iaradah iatam jīvema iaradah iatam jīvema iaradah iatam, etc.); and so on.

See also Raghu-vaspla 10.1, Mālavikāgnimitra 1.15, etc.

¹³ The goddess appears as 'Ommo' in Huvişka's coin,

tion of Daksa's sacrifice, as given in Mahābhārata XII. 283-4, it is only Siva, and not his consort Paryati, who is promised a share in the sacrifice. The earliest works mentioning Uma are the Taittiriya-āraṇyaka and the Kena-upaniṣad. In the former work Umā as well as Ambikā is associated with Rudra, who is there called Ambikā-pati (Ambikā's husband) and Umā-pati (Umā's husband), 15 and in the latter she is called Haimavati³⁴ (daughter of, or belonging to, Himavat). The Taittirīya-āranyaka mentions Durgi (i.e. Durgā) also, but calls her 'kanya-kumāri' (virgin). So, according to the Taittirīyaāraņyaka Umā and Durgi (i.e. Durgā) were different. It is highly probable that originally this Durgi was, like Uma, a mountain goddess connected with the Himālaya. In the Mundakopanişad (I.2.4.) 'Kâli' and 'Karālī' are given as the names of two of the seven tongues of Agni. These references indicate that towards the end of the Vedic period, some female deities of non-Vedic origin began to be associated with the Vedic gods in various ways, and that Uma was the first non-Aryan deity to be regarded as the wife of a Vedic god, whose character had already been much modified by the assimilation of alien characteristics. But during this period the relation between Rudra and Uma was of a very ordinary nature, like that between a husband and his wife, and it was not characterised by the relation between Purusa and Prakrti of the Sāṃkhya system or Brahma and Māyā of the Vedanta.

Towards the end of the Vedic period the high spirit of domination by military power and of maintenance of racial and cultural distinction of the Vedic Aryans began to calm down to a very great extent, and there was a growing tendency towards cultural assimilation. Now, the work of assimilation was mainly taken up by the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic works, who believed deeply in

¹⁰ Tnitrirya-firanyaka X (Nürâvanopanyad), 1—kâtyâyanâya vidmahe kanya-kumāri dhīmahi / tanno durgib praeodayāt //

And X 18-pamo ambikil-patave umil-patave namo namah.

¹¹ Kepa-upanişad 3.12—a tasminn eväklise uriyam ajaganın hahn-sobhamanam umanı hannavarin tam hovaca //

the theory of rebirth, gave a very high place to the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems of philosophy, and explained the nature of the gods and goddesses and the universe through a fusion of the principles of these two systems. These authors had much broader views than the orthodox followers of the Vedic religion and, unlike the Vedic Aryans, tried to bring the antagonistic non-Aryans into the Aryan fold by making a wise compromise between the Vedic and non-Vedic ideas. But as no female deity could be given a pre-eminent position in the recognised pantheon without going against the Vedic tradition and the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, they connected some of their female deities with Siva and some with Visnu and explained the relation of these gods and goddesses with the principles of Sămkhya and Vedanta. We have already mentioned that in the Taittiriya-aranyaka Uma, an originally Himālayan deity, was connected in a very general way with Rudra. So, Umā was already recognised as a Hindu deity. This well-established position of Uma tempted the Saiva authors of later ages to regard her as the Prakrti and Māyā of Śiva and to look upon the other goddesses as the different forms of Umā. The Vaisnava authors, on the other hand, picked up Vindhyavāsinī, the most prominent among the female deities of the Vindhya, and connected her with Visnu by taking her to be an incarnation of Visnu's Yoga-nidrā (or Yoga-māyā). With this Yoga-nidrā the Vaispavas seem to have identified a deity of the Abhiras also. It is probable that like the people of Punic Africa, Egypt, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Greece of early times, the Abhīras also worshipped a maiden ('unwed') goddess with a young subordinate god. When the Abhiras came to India, this goddess was no longer 'made first the mother of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son', because such an idea was repulsive to the people of India, but the young subordinate god was identified with Visnu and the goddess with the maiden Vindhyavāsinī, who also was connected with Visnu as his Yoga-maya. So, through the story of Kṛṣṇa's birth, the votaries of Visnu managed to include both the

Ābhīras and the worshippers of Vindhyavāsinī into their fold85. In course of time, however, people conceived of a central Devi to represent Prakrti and Māyā of Sāṃkhya and Vedanta respectively and all the goddesses (including Uma, Vindhyavāsinī, etc.) to be her different forms assumed at different times. But being encouraged by their firm faith in the non-duality of God, as well as by their spirit of sectarian rivalry, the Saivas claimed that this central Devi was none but Umā and that Vindhyavāsinī, Kālī, Cāmuņḍā and other goddesses were Umā's incarnations. The Vaisnavas, on the other hand, said that it was Visnu's Yog-māyā who manifested herself as Umā, Satī, Kālī, etc. for the good of the world. These contending sectaries fabricated various kinds of stories often in conformity with philosophical principles to support and popularise their respective views. How conflicting these stories were, will be evident from the following Puranic accounts of Devi's original nature and her assumption of various forms under different circumstances.

In Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chaps. 81-93 it is said that Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā (also called Mahāmāyā) assumed a Tāmasa form at the time of rousing Viṣṇu from his sleep. She next manifested herself on the Himālaya* as a collection of energy issuing from the bodies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods and was called Ambikā, Caṇḍikā, Bhadrakālī and Durgā. She had a thousand hands and a lion as her mount (vāhana) and killed Mahiṣāsura. Next, being eulogised by the gods on the Himālaya for killing Śumbha and Niśumbha, Viṣṇu-māyā (called Śivā and Ambikā) came out as Kauṣikī from the body of Pārvatī when she was going to bathe in the Ganges. Pārvatī's complexion turned dark, and she became known as Kālikā and continued to live in the Himācala.

^{**} Cf. Bhag. 11. 4.18-

kirāta-hūņāndhra-pulinda-pukvasā ābhīra-suhmā yavanāh kisašādayah / ye'nye ca pāpā yad-upātrayāscayāh sudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ // ** Cf. Mārk. 82.28—

adadās /

himavān vāhanam nimbam ramāni vividhānī ca //

It is to be noted that among the mountains, only Himavat is mentioned as making presents to Devi.

Caṇḍikā (also called Ambikā and Durgā), in the extremely beautiful form of Kausiki, lived on the Himālaya and was asked by Sumbha to marry himself or his brother. As she refused to do so on the pretext of a pledge, war broke out between Candikā (i.e., Kausikī) and Sumbha and Nisumbha. After issuing from the forehead of Kauşikî (Ambikā), Kāli killed Canda and Munda (sent by Sumbha to capture her) and was known as Camunda. Sumbha next came to the battle-field, and Candika (i.e., Kauşiki) was helped by Kālī (Cāmuṇḍā), the lion, and the Śaktis of Brahmā and others (viz., Brahmāṇi, Māheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇavi, Vārāhi, Nārasiṃhi and Aindri). 'Then, being surrounded by these Deva-śaktis Iśāna said to Candikā, "Soon kill the Asuras for my pleasure." Then, from Devi's body came out the extremely fierce and dreadful Candikā-šakti, who was attended with the howlings of hundreds of jackals'. This Candikā-šakti sent Šiva to Šumbha and Nisumbha as a messenger and was known as Siva-dūtī. Now the war began with Kālī (i.e., Cāmuṇḍā), Śiva-dūtī, Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaisņavī, Vārāhī, Nārasimhī and Aindrī, who are called Mătṛṣṇṣ. Brahmāṇi and other Deva-śaktis fought with the demon Raktabija, but Candikā killed this demon with the help of Camunda who drank the demon's blood before its fall to the ground. Candikā next killed Nisumbha with the help of Kāli, Śiva-dūtī and Brahmāṇi and other Deva-śaktis. Being censured for her assistants Devi Candikā absorbed into herself all her vibhūtis (viz., Brahmāṇi and others), fought alone with Sumbha, and killed him. Being culogised by the gods for killing Sumbha and Nisumbha, Devī (who is described as 'paramā māyā') said that in the Vaivasvata Manyantara two other demons named Sumbha and Nisumbha would be born, and that they would be killed by Devî born of Yasodā in the house of Nanda-gopa and living on the Vindhya (vindhyācala-nivāsinī). She further assured the gods that in future she would assume the following incarnations. (a) She would eat up the Vaipracitta Danavas

⁴⁴ Märk, 88, 21-22.

[&]quot; Ihid., 08. 38-99 and 49,

in such a way that her teeth would become as red as pomegranate-flowers, and thus she would be known as Raktadantikā. (b) Being eulogised by sages during a drought lasting for a hundred years she would have an immaculate origin and be known as Satākṣī and Śākambharī, respectively for looking at the sages with a hundred eyes and for maintaining, until rainfall, the whole creation by means of vegetables originating from her own body. During that drought she would kill a powerful demon named Durgama and be known as 'Durgā-devî'. (c) She would again appear in a terrible form (bhima-rūpa) on the Himālaya, exterminate the Rāksasas, and be famous under the name of 'Bhîmā Devi'. (d) She would kill the demon Aruna by taking the form of a bhramara (bee) and be known as Bhramari.

According to Devi-p., chaps. 4-9 and 13-20, a demon named Dundubhi saw Umā occupying the left half of Śiva's body and got enamoured of her. Consequently, Siva reduced him to ashes by an angry glance. From these ashes rose another demon who also had a strong desire for Umā. So, Umā cursed this dreadful (ghora) demon to go down to the earth. Finding that Uma thus spared the life of this demon, Siva reproached her for her foolishness. Umā became angry with Siva and blessed the demon to have his residence in Kuśa-dvipa, become the lord of the three worlds and be invincible to the gods. Siva also got annoyed at Uma's conduct and cursed her saying, "You will go down to the world of mortals, and there this vile creature will want to become your husband." Umā also said that if this dark-complexioned demon would do so, she would kill him sportively by mounting a lion (pañcānana-vyayasthitā). Now, in course of time, Dundubhi was reborn as Ghora and began to trouble the three worlds. At the prayer of the gods tyrannised by Ghora, Umā (who is described as the Ādyā Šakti and the Yoga-māyā) came down to earth, sported in the Vindhyas as a virgin girl by mounting a lion constituted of all the gods and goddesses, and became known as Vindhyavāsini. Being informed by Nārada of this Vindhyavăsini, Ghora went to the Vindhyas to capture

her. With the help of the gods and Mātṛs come down to the Vindhyas as her attendants, Vindhyavāsinī gave a tough fight and at last killed Ghora who had assumed the form of a buffalo (mahiṣa) before death. Thus Vindhyavāsinī became known as the killer of Mahiṣa.

In the story given above, the virgin Vindhyavāsini, who is said to be none but Ādyā Śakti Yoga-nidrā incarnate, is identified with Umā come down to earth for killing Ghora. Thus, according to the Devi-p., Umā is originally the same as Yoga-nidrā, and it is Umā who is said to exist in different forms, viz., Durgā, Śākambharī, Vindhyavāsinī, Kauṣikī, Gāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍī, Pārvatī, Dākṣāyaṇī, Vaiṣṇavī Yoga-nidrā, Ambikā, etc.

According to Bhavisya-p. IV, chap. 138 (which deals with the Puranic methodso of the worship of Durga on the Mahāstamī and Mahānavamī Tithis of Āsvina), it is Bhavānī (wife of Siva) who is worshipped by gods, men, Gandharvas, Kimmaras, Rāksasas and others in different forms and under different names'.50 This Purāņa adds: "Bhavānī is worshipped by the gods in all her repeated incarnations. She always kills demons by incarnating herself on earth and protects all creation in heaven, earth, and the nether world. This great goddess (mahâdevi) was again born from the womb of Yasoda and killed the demon Kamsa by placing her foot on his head (?). From that time, people on earth have installed this 'giver-of-joy-to-Yasoda' on the Vindhya mountain and reintroduced her worship".44 Thus Bhavisya-p. IV (i.e. the Bhavisyottara), though taking Bhavānī to be the original Devi, clearly indicates that the deity, now worshipped on the Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis of Aśvina, is none but the virgin Vindhyavāsini, " who is said to have been born of Yasoda.

From what has been said above it is evident that serious ritualistic and doctrinal differences were sometimes found

^{**} Cf. Bhav. IV. 138,416-pūjā-mantrio pravakyvāmi purāņoktān aham tava.

³⁰ Ibid., IV. 138. 9-10—rūpa-bhedair nāma-bhedair bhavānī pūjyate šīvā.

¹⁴ Ibid., IV. 138, 22-25.

¹³ Ibid., IV. 138. 18, 24-25, 27 and 91.

among people of different climes and times, and it was often due to these differences that they felt it necessary to write new Puranic works. There were also other causes of such enterprise. With the spread of Śāktism Kāmarūpa attained importance as a seat of the Sakta cult and greatly influenced the religious life and practice of the people of Eastern India, so much so that works like the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgayata-p., Brhaddharma-p., etc. highly glorify Kālī (or Kālikā), the principal deity of Kāmarūpa." Besides this Kālī (or Kālikā), many other local deities, grew into prominence, and new Śākta goddesses were invented. In order to give these new goddesses a position in the Sakta pantheon, they had to be connected either with Umā or with Vindhyavāsinī (or Yogamāyā). Thus, in the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata-p., Brhaddharma-p., etc. Kālī (or Kālikā) has been taken to be the central goddess, of whom Durga, Ganga and others have been said to be the different forms; and in Devi-bhagavata IX. 1.136-7 the village goddesses have been regarded as parts of Devi (Mula-prakṛti). There were also changes in the conception of these deities. But no less important for the compilation of new Puranic works was the call for social discipline (as understood by the followers of the Vedas) which was brought about by unfavourable circumstances not rarely due to political reasons. A good example in this direction will be found in the early history of Kamarupa, where, as the Mahābhārata and the Purāņas (including the present Kālikā), the Harsa-carita of Banabhatta, and the inscriptions of Bhāskara-varman and others inform us, the dynasty of Naraka

^{**} Mahāhhāg, 77. 3a (kāmākhyā kātikā devi syayam ādyā sanātanī), 4a (.... kālī kāmākhyā-rūpiņī), 5-6 (dhyāyatāṃ parameiānīm kāmākhyāṇ kālikāṃ parām / rakta-vastra-paridhānāṃ ghora-netra-trayojjvalām // caturbhujāṃ bhīma-daṃṣtrāṃ yugānta-jalada-dyutim / maṇi-siṃhāsane nyastāṃ siṃha-pretāmhuja-uhitām //), and so ou.

¹⁴ Devi-bhāgavata IX. 1.136-7—

hahvalı satyah kalâs caiva prakțier eva bhărate / yă yāi ca grăma-devyah syus tâh sarvâh prakțieh kalâh //

Ibid., IX. 1.158-

pūjitā grāma-devyai ca grāme ca nagare mune.

These lines are the same as Brahma-vaivarta-p. II. 1.458 (v. 1. 'aami' for 'satyah', and 'tāh sarvāi ca' for 'syus tāh sarvāh') and 157.

was ruling from very early times. Though mostly following Śaivism^{as} (which in its Kāpālika form must have been the religious faith of the soil), so the rulers of this dynasty encouraged varņāšrama-dharma with much enthusiasm. The Kālikā-p. (chap. 39) tells us that after Naraka had defeated and killed Ghāṭaka¹⁰⁷, king of the Kirātas, and driven out his faithful followers from Kāmarūpa, Veda-knowing Brahmins as well as sages and other members of the four castes were settled there and the country was made fit for Vedic study, rites and donations. Even Naraka himself has been said to have been born in Janaka's sacrificial ground in Mithila. Although there is much scope for doubt about the amount of truth contained in this story, it can hardly be denied that migration of Maithilas into Kāmarūpa, presumably for political and economic reasons, began quite early and there was a very close relation between Mithilä and Kämarūpa even before the time of composition of the present Kālikā-p. From the testimony of the Padma-p. (Systi-khanda), the Kālika-p., and the Dharma-p.98 it appears that the Maithila Brahmins were generally full of respect for the Vedas, faithfully followed the varnāśrama-dharma, and tried to maintain Smarta discipline in society. But with the passing of the political power to the 'Mleccha' (or Mech) dynasty set up by

²⁶ The early epigraphic records of Kāmarūpa show that all the kings from Bhāskara-varman (if not from his coriiest predicessure) down to Harsapāla (father of Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty) were devoters of Siva. Even Dharmapāla, whose Puspabhadra Copper-plate Inscription (riva 1100 A.D.) testifies to his Vainoava faith, was a Saiva in the earlier part of his life.

¹⁰ The Kälikä-p, amply tentifier to the prevalence of Käpälika Saivinnin Kämarüpa even before Naraka's arrival there. It also records a story in which Naraka is mentioned as lying, immediately after his birth, outside the sacrificial ground of Janaka with a human skull under his head.

¹⁷ In the Variga, ed. (38, 99, 101) of the K\u00e4lik\u00e4-p, the name of this king has been given as 'Ghataka'.

This Upapurana, though being an independent work and still occurring independently in Mrs. has been included in the printed editions of the Padma-p., Spri-khanda (of which it forms chaps. 44-82 in the Poons edition, chaps. 47-82 in the Calcutta edition, and chaps. 49-86 in the Bombay edition). We shall see afterwards that it was written in Kämarüpa between 1250 and 1325 A.D.

It is remarkable that not a single of the Bengal Mis of the Spatishhanda includes the Dhorma-p., and of the Devanagari Mis, so far known, it is only one which excludes it. For this Devanagel Mis see Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, VI, p. 1214, No. 3380 (Ms No. 245).

Sālastambha from about 655 A.D., Kāpālika Śaivism, which, in all ages, has been indifferent to the Vedic way of life, attained great popularity, Mleccha tendencies were encouraged, and the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa experienced a great social and economic set-back on account of their Vedic inclination. The Kālikā-p, contains frequent references to the bad effects of the spread of Saivism, especially in its Kāpālika form, and the Dharma-p, gives a dismal picture of the Hindu society, greatly consequent upon the rule of the Mleccha dynasty, in which neglect of the Vedas, Purāņas, etc. and wilful breach of caste rules in every sphere of life were the orders of the day, people lost all sense of morality and earned their livelihood by learning the Mleccha-dialect (called Paiśācikî Bhāsā) and serving the beef-eating and immoral Mlecchas, and Brahmins, having social relation with Căndālas and even marrying their girls, were seldom required to practise any severe penance or subjected to social stigma. In some verses of the Padma-p. (Srsti-khanda), which must have been added by the affected Maithilas, the local Brahmins of Kāmarūpa have been mentioned under the distinctive name of 'Parvativa's and said to have universally followed a peculiar custom in which a piece of bone from the forchead of a deceased person (asthi lalatajam) was finely powdered, mixed up in a (silver) cup with Madhuparka and milk and curd, and offered to a Brahmin couple, who drank the mixture up before accepting the bed of the deceased person.100 As this custom of bone-eating on particular

The name 'Părvatiya' for the people of Kâmarûpa is a very old one, being used on several occasions in the Mahābhārara. (See, for instance, Drona-parvan 19.11 and 20).

This manne (Pārvatīya) may be a Sanskrit equivalent for an Austric formation like 'Pagar-jub (jo)-tic' (meaning a region of extensive high hills), which seems to be the lasts of the name 'Prāg-jyotiya'. See B. K. Kakati, The Mother Goddess of Kāmarūpa, p. 6, and B. K. Barus, A Gultural History of Assam, Vol. I, p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ See l'adma-p., Seşti-khanda, 10, 13b-18a (which include the line 'eşa eva vidhir deştab pārvatīyair dvijottamaiḥ'). The Venkat, and Vanga, chitious read 'rajatasya' (for 'arghyurp dattvh'), and 'läläţikarp' (for 'laläţajam').

All these verses have been quoted by Animuddha-bhatta, Hemādri and Pitāmbura Siddhānta-vāgiša in their Hāmlatā (p. 199), Caturvarga-cintāmaņi (Ht. i. pp. 1613 and 1014), and Preta-kaumudl (pp. 138-9) respectively, and the first takes the 'Pārvatiya' to be 'the inhabitants of Kāmarūpa, etc.'—pārvatiyānām kūmarūpādivāsinām. (It may

occasions is of non-Aryan origin, being found among the hilltribes of Assam, the Buddhist monks of Tibet, and the local Hindus of Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts of East Bengal and Assam,101 the Pärvatīya Brahmins were considered censurable, so much so that in a verse of the Padma-p., Srsti-khanda, they have been declared unfit for invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony.182 Yet they enjoyed much greater state support; and in the Padma-p., we hear of the clamour, made undoubtedly by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, about the enviable prosperity enjoyed by the Mlecchas and the Parvatīyas. This clamour appears in the form of Savitri's curse to Laksmi, the goddess of fortune, in the following verses:

"naikatra vāso laksmyās tu bhavisyati kadācana/ kṣudrā sā cala-cittā vā mūrkheṣu ca vasiṣyati/ mleccheșu părvatiyeșu kutsite kutsite tathā/ műrkhesu cávaliptesu abhisapte durátmani/ evamvidhe nare tubhyam vasatih śāpa-kāritā//"1110 "Never shall Laksmi's residence be at one place; mean and

be that by the word 'kāmarūpādivāsinām' Animiddha-bhatta meant 'the original inhabitants of Kāmarūpa', who were distinct from the Maithlia Brahmins).

According to Phämbara Siddhânta-väglia, the piece of bone was powdered together with a diamond, and the custom was followed only by the Parvatlyas (....lalitasambaodby-authi grhitvā hīraka-sahitam cdenayitvā rajata-pātre nidhāya bhojayed ityarthab/ pārvatīyānām evāyatņ iayyā-dāna-vidhib.].

The above werses do not occur in the Bengal Ma of the Spai-khanda.

on the occasion of Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru's visit to the eastern frontier of India to March-April, 1953, the chieftain of Tsawiaw, leader of a head-hunting tribe, and his lieutenants touched a tiger-touth and chewed a hit of their ancestor's bone in an oath never to wage war again.

Among the Tibetan Buddhists there is a custom that after the death of Dalai Lama his bones are powdered and eaten up by the monks, who believe that by doing so they make the Lama live among them even after his death,

In Mymeraingh and the neighbouring districts the custom of offering powdered bone of a deceased person to Brahmins still prevails, and such Brahmins are called 'Had-gill' (bone-cating) Beatmins.

161 Padma-p., Smit-khanda 27.67-

ye cânye părvatiyăi ca frăddhe nărhanii kecana.

For this verse see Vanga, and Venkat, eds. 32,66-v. I. 'ketanam' (for 'kecana') in both.

This verse occurs in the Bengal Mu of the Spati-khanda.

¹⁰⁸ Padma-p., Spyli-khapda 17, 176-178a (= Veňkat.ed, 17, 176-178a = Varga.ed, 17. 169-171a. V.I. in both these editions-"ca" for "va", "kutsite kutsite" for "kutsite kutrite", and "syat te" for "tubbyasp"). 3

fickle-minded, shall she live in fools as well as in the Mlecchas and the Pārvatīyas, and the vile and the despised. In block-heads and the proud, in the cursed and the wicked—in a person of this type [shall be] your residence caused by [my] curse."

Side by side with popular Saivism, which was being guided by the Tantras, 104 including those of the Vāmācāras, from a fairly early period, there grew up into prominence the Tantric worship of a mother goddess, variously named as Kāmākhyā, Kāmāksī, Kālī and Kālikā, who was conceived of as the wife and Sakti of Siva. Being connected with popular Saivism for a long time and practised often in the Vāmācāra-mārga, this Tantric Śāktism attained great popularity in Kāmarūpa and became an additional, but no lėss potent, factor for social indiscipline and moral degradation of the people. We shall see hereinafter that Kālikā-p. 84. 1-28a narrate a story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasistha's curse to Ugratārā, Siva's Ganas and Siva himself for turning him out of that place and that Kālikā-p. 84.28b-86.39 give the description of a devastating flood which was caused by Brahma's waterbodied son (Lauhitya) procreated on Santanu's wife Amoghā and brought down by Jamadagnya and which flowed into the southern sea after obscuring all the sacred pools and holy places in Kamarupa. Although the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. describing the said flood must be taken as spurious for reasons to be stated later in their proper place, there is little scope for doubt that the rule of the Mleccha dynasty for more than three hundred years, the ruin brought by the devastating flood of the Lauhitya on the followers of the varņāśrama-dharma who lived mostly in the lower plains, and the spread of Tantricism among the Saivas as well as the Sāktas, seriously affected the social, religious and moral

and In the Gauhati Copper-plate Inscription of Indrapala-varma-deva (circa 1038 A.D.) 'Tantra' has been mentioned among the subjects studied by him.

The study of 'Tantra' by Indrapāla-varma-deva himself shows have popular it was in those days, and its recognition by the king testifies to an earlier beginning of its study in Kāmarūpa.

life of the people of Kāmarūpa. Consequently, the present Kālikā-p. was composed, most probably by the Maithila Brahmins of Kāmarūpa, to popularise the Brāhmaṇical ideas of life and society by re-vitalising the dying Vaiṣṇava faith by associating it with Śāktism. Thus, in the present Kālikā-p. goddess Kālī or Kālikā has been described as Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā or Māyā, Viṣṇu has been presented as superior to Śiva, and people have been advised to be Vaiṣṇavas before they set themselves to Devī-worship.

We shall now examine the individual Upapuraņas.

1. The Devi-Purana.

This work, 105 which is one of the most important of the

The only printed edition of this work is that published in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation by the Vangaväsi Press, Calcutta.

Though, as we shall see presently, the Devi-p. is a work of great importance from different points of view, it has not yet been edited critically, nor is there a single edition printed in Devanaguri characters. In fact, we know of no edition of this work other than that published by the Vangavani Press, Calcutta. This want has forced us to use this edition in spite of its manifold defects.

Mas of the Devi-p, are not very numerous. Eggeling, in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 (No. 3362), describes a Ms (No. 380) of this Upapurāna 'apparendy consisting of some 7000-8000 flokus' and written in Bengali script by three different hands in 1804 A.D. Its contents are practically the same as those of our printed edition, and it ends thus:

carificărali subhāhārali carva-sarīga-vivarjitali /
vācapun satam aniham vā pratyaham prāpnuyāc chivam / /
etas cābhanāman pādam šatain tribhīr narottamath /
saliatrair dvādašair vatsa kathuam sarva-siddhidam / /
ity ādye devy-avatāre irī-devipurāne 'bipadam-pādah samāptali / /

(The second verse 'etac cabbyudayam padam etc.' does not occur in the printed edition. The final colopbon also is different there).

In his Bikaner Cat., p. 199 (No. 433) R. L. Mitra describes a paper Ms of the Devi-p. which is written in Nagara and has the same contents as those of the India Office Ms (No. 380) described by Eggeling. Like the latter, this Ms also ends with the verses 'naddedrah subhahārah' and 'etac cābhyudayam pādam' (of which the former reads 'pratyakamp' for 'pratyaham' is the second balf') but its final colophon ruos as follows: ādye devyawatāre devipurānam samāptam iti.

In the Calcuma Sanskrit College Library there are three complete paper Mss (Nos. 176, 308 and 341) of the Devi-p., of which the first (No. 176), written in Bengali script, contains 138 chapters and ends thus:

audācārsh inbhācāral; sarva-sanga-vivarjimb / vācayan putāṇam etam iņ sarva-kāmam avāponyāt // ity īdye devy-avatāre devipurāṇam samāptam //

The second Ms (No. 308) is written in Nagara characters and has been described by Hrisbikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui in their Cal. Sant. Colf. Cat., IV, pp. 187-8. Śākta Upapurāņas, deals, in 128 chapters, mainly with the exploits and worship of Devi (the great goddess) who incarnated herself on the Vindhyas as a maiden mounted on a lion and became known as Vindhyavāsinī. In this Purāņa Devi is not only called 'yoga-nidra' and the primordial and pre-eminent Energy (adya para śakti-7.20) and at the same time said to be the same as Uma, the wife and Sakti (Energy) of Siva, but is also identified with the Saktis of other gods as well as with the Matrs and other female deities such as Dākṣāyaṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍī etc. who are called Devī's different forms. It gives us important information about the different incarnations of Devi and her original nature and relationship with Siva and other gods; about Yoga and the method of its practice; about Śākta iconography and the Śākta vows and worships; about Saivism (as related to Sāktism), Vaisņavism, Brahmāism and Gāṇapatyaism; about warfare as well as the construction of towns and forts and the means of their protection; about the different Vedic schools as well as the Upavedas, Angas, Upangas etc.; about the science of medicine; about manuscripts-the method of copying, the script and materials to be used for the purpose, the characteristics of the scribes, and the method of making gifts of these; about holy places (in connection with which many

It is fresh and undated and contains the text of the Devi-p. in 138 chapters. It ends with the same two verses and final colophon as those of the Biksner Ma mentioned above.

The third Ms (No. 341) is written in Bengall script and was topied on the eleventh lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the Śaka year 1743. Its final verse and colophon are the same as those of Ms No. 176 mentioned above.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, Vol. VI, pp. 180-5 (No. 2118) R. L. Mitra describes an old, undated, complete paper Ms written in Bengali characters and containing 128 chapters and 7371 slokas. The analysis of its contents as well as the final verse, as given by Mitra, shows that it is generally the same as our Devi-p., chaps. 1-127.

Vet another Ms of the Devi-p. is described by Harapeasad Shastri in his ASB Cat., V. pp. 769-770, No. 4107 (Ms No. 4566D). It is fresh, undated and incomplete and is written in Bengali script. Its final colophon, as given by Shastri, shows that it is the same

as our Devi-p., chaps. 1-127.

For other Mss of the Devi-p, see Benares Sans. Collège Cat., p. 337 (in which there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Devanăgari) and p. 336 (mentioning a complete Ms written in Devanăgari and dated '1609'); Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vangiya Săhitya Parişat Cat., p. 71 (where there is mention of an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Saka 1726); and Cat. of Sans. Mss in Private Libraries in the North-west Provinces, Part I, Benares 1874, No. 452.

countries and towns of historical interest have been named); about different kinds of gifts; about customs and usages; and so on,

The Devi-p. begins abruptly with an opening verse without any mention of the person to whom this verse is attributed. This unknown reporter further informs us that some sages request Vasistha to speak on various topics, viz., the killing of the past, present and future demons by Devi, Indra's recovery of the kingdom of heaven from the demons, the hoisting of Indra's banner, the sixty incarnations of Devi, and so on. Consequently, Vasistha promises to narrate to them, in four sections (pāda) according as Devi was incarnated in the different Yugas, all the Purāṇa-topics which, he says, were related

- (1) by Šiva to Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others,
- (2) by Brahmā to Mātariśvan, and
- (3) by Manu, Atri and Bhṛgu (who received these probably from Mātariśvan) to Vasiṣṭha and others (including Agastya?). He adds that it is Agastya's speeches on all these topics which would be widely circulated on earth through kings.¹⁰⁹

Vasistha further gives the titles and contents of the four sections (pādas) thus:

- (1) The first Pāda, which is called Trailokya-vijaya or simply Vijaya, deals with the origin of Devi at the beginning of creation.¹¹⁰
- (2) The second Pāda, which is termed Trailokyābhyudaya, deals with the following topics: the story of Śakra

namaskriya šivām devim sarva-bhāgavatām iubhām /

purāņam samptravakīyāmi yathoktam brahmanā purā / / Devi-p. 1. 1.

¹⁰⁰ All these topics have been treated of in the present Devi-p, ¹⁰⁰ Cf. catuspäda-vibhügena yathäyuga-kramägatä /

doví sarva-nakitáváptim penyacehati penpůjitů // Devi-p. 1.30.

¹⁸ Devi-p. 1, 29-32, Also Devi-p. 126.1.

^{13a} Cf. utpatti-kirtanam apach prathamam samudährtam / vijaye deva-påde tu ramâm paripterhatâm / / Devi-p. 1.36.

The first time may be interpreted in the following ways: (1) 'the origin (of Devi) before creation has been described', and (2) 'the first origin of creation has been described'.

It is to be noted that in Devt-p. 127.24f, the first origin of Devt before, or rather at the beginning of, creation has been described.

(i.e. Indra); the killing of Dundubhi; Ghora's rise, his receipt of a boon from Viṣṇu, his overlordship through the practice of a spell, his son's entrance into heaven, Ghora's overcoming Māyā, and his deception by Bṛhaspati; Devi's descent on the Vindhyas; Nārada's muttering of the great Padamālā-vidyā with a view to deluding Ghora who was to take the form of the demon Mahiṣa; the killing of Māyā, Khaṭva (a demon) and others by the gods after worshipping Rudra and the numerous forms of Devi.

- (3) The third Pâda is called Sumbha-Nisumbhamathana.
- (4) The fourth Pada, which is not clearly designated (but which seems to be called 'Devāsura-yuddha'), deals with the following topics: Andhaka's fight; war between the gods and demons: Andhaka's attainment of the status of Bhrugi by eulogising Hara; war between Tāraka and Kārttikeva; story of the birth of Kārttikeya—loss of Kāma's body, Viṣṇu's worship of Śiva for the good of Indra, and Kārttikeva's birth and command over the army of gods; origin of Umā-Kālī and her attainment of Siva as husband; Himālaya's giving his daughter in marriage; origin of Bālakhilyas and other sages who acted as Hotrs; story of gods and sages mounted on the chariot of the Sun; various states to be attained through results of actions; origin of Mahāśvetā who was engaged to protect the Sun; story of Jambha and others as well as of the gods who were transformed into planets; performance of sacrifice to the planets by Brahmā; and residence of the Matrs in different regions for the good of children

Next, after mentioning the results, rules and fit places of study of the Purăṇa, Vasiṣṭha reports the interlocution between king Nṛpavāhana and his preceptor Citrāngada without giving the least introduction about these two interlocutors. From this interlocution we understand that Nṛpavāhana¹¹¹ asked his preceptor Citrāngada to declare

111 Devi-p. 1, 35-52.

¹¹⁸ The substitution of the name 'Nrpavahana' by 'Vidyeivara', 'Vidyapa' and

to him the different Vidyās on khadga, mālā, anjana, gutikā etc. which the latter had received from Indra. Consequently, Citrăngada referred Nepavāhana to Agastya, who then narrated the Vidyās as revealed to Indra by Brahmā who had received these from Siva through Visnu.

Thus the topics of this Purana have been introduced in

chap, 1.

The contents of the remaining chapters are as follows:113 Chap. 2.—After practising the kāmikā vidyā king Nrpavāhana entered the hermitage of Agastya (which is described in twelve verses and in which there were sages 'engaged in the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda, Umā and Durgā') and asked him about the Vidyā which can make one immensely powerful and even give him final release. Consequently, after mentioning that this Vidya was handed down to Indra by Brahma who had received it from Visnu, who, in his turn, had received it from Siva, Agastya said that once, being eulogised by Indra for the sake of this Vidyā, Brahmā advised him to worship Adyā Śakti and narrated to him the story of the demon Ghora in the following way.

Ghora received from Vișnu a boon that none but Šivā Devi would be able to defeat him. He returned to his capital Candrasobhāpura in Kuśa-dvīpa, managed the state affairs according to the principles of the science of politics, and conquered the different quarters with the help of his son

Vajradanda.

Chap. 3.—Description of Ghora's conquest of the whole earth (with the seven dvipas and oceans); Kāla and Vajradanda's invasion of Pātāla and Rasātala and conquest of the Nāgas, Rākṣasas etc. living there; their return to the earth and approach to Sukra who was living at Udumbarapura in Madhyadeśa, where the powerful 'Bhārgava' (Śukrācārya) resides permanently.

Chap. 4.—Though discouraged by Sukra, Vajra and

^{&#}x27;Vidyādhara' (in Devî-p. 80.1, 92. 14, and 102.2 respectively) tends to show that Nepavahane was a king of the Vidyadharas.

¹¹³ As not even a single edition of the Devi-p, has yet been printed in Devanagari characters, we have felt is necessary to give a somewhat detailed summary of its contents.

Kāla attacked heaven; Indra sought the protection of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu narrated to Indra the story of the demon Dundubhi who, for his lust for Śiva's wife Umā, was burnt to ashes by Śiva and from whose ashes was born the demon Ghora who was to reign supreme in Kuśa-dvipa and was to be killed by Devi mounted on a lion when this Ghora would try to have her as his wife. Consequently, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati pointed out the futility of war with this demon.

Chap. 5.—Bṛhaspati, who was conversant with the political theories (nayāḥ) promulgated (gītāḥ) by Śaṃbhu, Uśanas, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, u sent Nārada to Vajradaṇḍa and Kāla with the message that the gods recognised their supremacy and allowed them to enjoy heaven until Devi (Vindhyācala-nivāsini) and Śiva came down to earth and killed them. Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati then went to Brahmā.

Chap. 6.—Brahmā saluted Viṣṇu with the mention of the names of his ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, the redrobed Buddha, and the naked Kalkin)¹¹⁵ and solicited his help. He also reminded him how in times of yore Cāmuṇdā, being sent by Śiva, saved Viṣṇu from the rage of Kālāgnirudra and his son Hālāhala, how Viṣṇu knew this Cāmuṇḍā to be the powerful Śakti able to create, protect and destroy the universe, and how, being eulogised by himself and Viṣṇu, Cāmuṇḍā promised to help them whenever necessary.

Chap. 7.—So, Brahmā advised Viṣṇu to approach Śiva. Viṣṇ, with Brahmā, went to Śiva and eulogised him for the destruction of Ghora and Vajradaṇḍa. Śiva, the left side of whose body was found occupied by his Śakti, consoled Viṣṇu by saying that Parā Śakti would incarnate herself on the Vindhyas with a lion as her vāhana, and have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as her servants, the four Vedas as her doorkeepers (pratihāryaḥ), and many unmarried female deities (who have been described in verses 23ff.) as her attendants,

¹¹¹ The text of verse 2 runs as follows: ismbhu-gitā navā yasya ausarāji ca tathā nijāb / madīyā brahma-gitāi ca vetti yah sa vacaspatih / /

^{***} Kalkin is described as 'aivärüdha', 'kali-dharma-pravartaka', 'figambara-dhara', 'bidra-dharma-pravartaka', and 'melecha-varga-kuloccheda', —Devi-p. 6, 6-7.

that her vāhana would be composed of all the gods and goddesses and the worlds and stars etc., and that she would be furnished with a rakṣā-mantra¹¹⁰ of Śiva as uttered by Viṣṇu. Siva then sent Devi with the aforesaid vāhana and attendants to the Vindhya mountain.

Chap. 8.—In the meantime Vajradanda wanted to occupy heaven. So. Nārada was sent to Kuśadvipa for turning Ghora and his wife and subjects from the path of dharma. Nārada succeeded in his mission by attracting him to sensual pleasures, 117 and informed him of the young girl (Devi) residing in the Vindhyas.

Chap. 9.—Ghora forsook the path of dharma and turned a debauch. His wife Candramati¹¹⁸ gave him good counsels by referring to the policies of statecraft and to the dangers from poison-girls (viṣa-kanyā), naked Jain monks (nagna), washerwomen (rajakī), fisherwomen (Kaivartī) and others, and narrated the story of Sumedhasa (of Krauñca-dvipa) who outraged the modesty of the daughter of a sage of Puṣkara-dvipa and went to hell. Fearing that these counsels might bring Ghora to his senses, Nārada muttered the delusive Padamālā-vidyā¹¹⁹ which Nandikeśvara had received from Siva and which could accomplish 108 acts or even many more, if practised with the Vīra-vrata.

In this connexion it is said that with a view to acquiring the Padamālā-vidyā Bhārgava entered Siva's body, came out unsuccessful through his generative organ, and was consequently known as Sukra; and the method of muttering the words of the Padamālā-vidyā and the results of performing homa with human flesh (mahāmāṃsa) have been described.

(Digression in chaps. 10-12).

¹¹⁸ In the Roksa-mantra Siva is called 'manyahava-vasa-meda-pistasadi-rata' and is asked to remove all impediments created by moure and senter.

¹¹⁷ Närada referred to the 'vöjikatana-yogas' as instructed by Nandikeivara, and to Vinnu-tativa, Kāma-tatīva and Šiva-tatīva as proclaimed by the sage Kapila to Nandit. He also praised the enjoyment of a young girl of sixteen years of age.

¹⁰⁸ Also named as Candravasi and Candrabuddhi in Devi-p. 2.51 and 9.9 respectively.

This Padamāla-vidyā, which is undustatelly Tantrie, has Camunda as its presidting deity and is called 'Atharva-pada-dipant'. It is said to have been collected from 'crures of works' and then described in the Müla-untra.

Chap. 10.—Nārada is said to have received the Padamālā-vidyā from Sanatkumāra (son of Brahmā), who had received it from Nandikeśvara. From this Sanatkumāra Nārada received instructions on (Saiva) yoga, with which the Vidyā was to be accompanied for the sake of favourable results. (Here Śaiva yoga¹⁵⁰ is elaborately described).

Chap. 11.—Brahmā's receipt of the Aparājitā-vidyā and the Padamālā-vidyā from Šiva. Introduction of the Padamālā-vidyā on earth by Dvaipāyana who inherited it from Šiva successively through Brahmā, Angiras, Brhaspati, Sūrya, Yama, previous Indra, Vasistha, Sārasvata, Tridhāman, Trivṛṣa, Bharadvāja, Antarīkṣa, Bahvṛca, Aruna, Balaja, Krtanjaya and others (including Saktri, Parasara and Jātūkarņa). Praise of the Aparājitā-vidyā by narrating the story of the demon Hutagni who, after receiving a boon from Brahmā, took his residence in Śāka-dvipa, conquered heaven with the help of his son Canda, but was defeated by Visnu, who killed Canda by virtue of a banner of victory which Brahma had received for Visnu from Siva with the help of the Aparājitā-vidyā and which was resorted to by Durgā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, Yama, Indra, Agni and other gods as well as by the nine planets. Visnu's giving of this powerful banner to the previous Indra, after the latter had been defeated by a demon named Subala in the Bhautya Manvantara. Praise of the hoisting of this banner by kings.

Chap. 12.—Method of preparing Indra's banner (Indradvaja) and of hoisting it in Bhādra or Āśvina during the Śatakratu-mahotsaya (i.e. Indra-dhvaja-mahotsaya):—

the main topics of these sections are the following:— description of the nature of Siva after the concepts of Purusa and Prakrit of the Sămkhya system; rules to be observed during the practice of Saiva 1993; method of its practice, including the names of āsanas (such as Padmaka, Svastika, Schalika, Jalika, Pithārdha, Candradanda and Sarvatobhadra—10. v. 4); realisation of Sabda-brahma and Para-brahma by forsaking the objects of enjoyment; method and results of meditation on amidra; 1993-dhāra-darlana; 1913-1914; dhāranā; etc. (Devl-p. 10.i.16 says that a Yogin desiring success is not to devote himself too much to the acquirement of knowledge—atiprasango jūānesu na kāryab sidthim icchatā; Devl-p. 10.vi.8 characterises Sahda-brahma thus: 'antah-darlra-prabhavana udāma-preritam ca ym / vāg-uccāryam imtra-vṛti iabda-brahma tad ucyate //'; and in Devl-p. 10.x.1 'dhāraṇā' has been defined as follows: manaso hṛthy avastbānād dhāraṇety abhidhīyate).

Selection of trees (viz., dhava, arjuna, priyangu, udumbara, asvakarno, candana, amra, sala or saka) for the preparation of the pole of the banner; lengths of the main pole and of those representing the daughters of Indra; rites to be performed before cutting down the selected tree; auspicious and inauspicious dreams; method of cutting down the tree; the king's good or evil as indicated by the direction in which the tree falls down; preparation of the pole out of the tree; the bringing of the pole to the place of worship in a procession attended with songs of public women and beat of drums; the covering of the pole with pieces of cloth of different hues and furnishing it with a flag; crection of the pole by means of machines, with the citation of mantras of Visnu, Siva and Indra; worship of the banner. Performance of this ceremony of flag-hoisting by kings and their subjects in towns, cities and khetas.

Chap. 13.—Nārada deluded Ghora and his ministers and others by muttering the Padamālā-vidyā, so much so that Ghora's queen became devoted to the Digambaras and gave herself up to the performance of Vratas and all other religious duties of the Pāṣaṇḍas. With the intention of enjoying mountain girls Ghora started with his army in an auspicious moment and experienced various kinds of bad omens including the sight of a red-robed person. At Nārada's advice Ghora went to the Vindhya mountain which was watered by the Narmadā and inhabited by learned sages as well as by various Mleccha tribes such as Varvaras, Pulindas, Šavaras, Taṅkas and Kapālins¹³¹ who were descended from the son (Niṣāda) of Veṇa¹²², and who lived on roots and fruits, put on barks, and decorated their dark bodies with guñjā fruits, garlands, feathers of parrots, and leaves worn

¹⁵¹ Devi-p. 13. 51b-52a-

renu-(vena-?)sambhava-santāna-sambhūtā varvarāvarāh //
pulindāh isvarātańkā-kapāli-mleccha-jātayah //

From the reference to the Kapalina in this verse it seems that the Kapalikas were originally a wild tribe (like the head-hunters of Assam?).

¹²² In Devi-p. 13.51b-52a the wild tribes are called 'renu-cambhava-santāna-sambhūtāḥ'. But the reading 'renu-'must be a mistake for 'vena-'. We know from the Viyou (L. 13) and other Purāṇas that Niṣāda, who was the predecessor of the Niṣādas, Savaras etc. living in the Vindhyau, was born of Vena's thigh.

round their waists. In this mountain Ghora saw Devi in the form of a girl and was bent on having her. He sent Durmukha, but the latter was killed by Vijayā. Ghora saw various kinds of bad dreams towards the close of the night.

Chap. 14.—Description of the fight of the demons with Devi's attendants Jaya, Vijaya, Ajita and Aparajita; and Jayā's killing of the demons Kāla, Bhairava and others.

Chap. 15.—Indra's eulogy of Jaya for killing Kala and other demons. Jaya's fight with and killing of the demons

Vajradanda and Yamantaka.

Chap. 16.—Susena praised Ghora as a paramount and unrivalled ruler, and consequently Ghora prepared for war against Devi. In the meantime Narada enlogised Devi who, though originating from Rudra, creates and protects Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and who is known under different names, viz., Durgā, Śākambharī, Gaurī, Vindhyavāsinī, Kātyāyani, Kauśikī, Kaiṭabheśvarī, Mahādevī, Mahābhāgā, Mahāśvetā, Aparņā, Kapālā, Ekapāṭalā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Laksmi, Sarvatobhadrā, Yoganidrā, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Bhadrakālî, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍi, Caṇḍinī, Pārvatī, Dākṣāyaṇi, Nārāyaṇi, Revatī, Simhavāhini, Vedamātā, Sarasvatī, Bhogavatī, Satī, Satyavatī, Bhimā, Dhūmrā, Ambikā etc. Devi was pleased to manifest herself by mounting a lion, carrying carman, sword, bow, nārāca, śūla, khaṭvāṅga, tusk, lute, bell etc. in her hands, and wearing a leopardskin, and promised to kill Ghora.

Chap. 17.—Finding that Ghora oppressed all the gods and was about to kill even the female deities, Siva eulogised Devi with the Mahadandaka hymn, in which he called her 'Šiva-vaktrodbhavā', 'pramatha-lakṣa-vṛtā', 'hema-varṇā', 'śmaśāna-priyā', 'kumāri', 'Sāṃkhya-yogodbhavā', Vetāli, Kapālinī, Bhadrakāli, Mahākālī, Kālī, 'mahārukṣa-ghaṇṭāravodgiti-karnotsavā' etc. [In this hymn Devi is identified with Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Māhendrī, Māheśvarī, Vaisņavī, Vārāhi, Sarasvatī, Arundhatī, Jāhnavī and other female deities and is said to dwell in Hemakūța, Mahendra, Himādri, Vindhya, Sahya and Śrigiri mountains as well as on

mountain-tops and in caves.]

Chap. 18.—As a result of this eulogy, Devi waged war against the demons, and Jayā killed Susena.

Chap. 19.—Destruction of demons by Jaya, Ajita and

Aparājitā.

Chap. 20.—Fate and perseverance as moulding the destiny of men. Ghora's assumption of the form of a buffalo (mahişa) and fight with Devi. Devi's killing of Ghora as well as of those demons who grew out of his body.

Chap. 21.—After the fall of Mahisa (i.e. Ghora) the gods worshipped Devi with the offer of buffaloes and he-goats. Praise of the worship of Devi (Mahisasura-mardini) with the offer, at midnight, of these animals on the Suklassami and Sukla-navami Tithis of Asvina. (These Tithis are

called Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī respectively).

Chap. 22.—Description of the method of Devi-worship as performed annually in a golden, silvern, earthen or wooden image or in a sword or trident by the members of the four castes as well as by women. This method consists of various operations, of which the following are noteworthy, viz., beginning of Devi-worship on Āśvina-śukla-pratipad; performance of homa and Śiva-worship, and feeding of virgin girls daily; construction of nine houses or of at least one house for Devi-worship, fasting, and animal sacrifice on the Aṣṭami Tithi; severing of the figure of an enemy prepared with powdered rice, ¹²⁸ and performance of Devi's carfestival (ratha-yātrā) on the Mahānavamī Tithi.

Chap. 23.—Results of worshipping Devi for nine days from Āśvina-śukla-pratipad to Navami, and of having on the banner the figure of Devi mounted on a lion, a monkey, a bull, a swan, a peacock, Garuda, a buffalo, an elephant, a lotus, or a dead body.

Chap. 24.—Determination of different kinds of samkrānti (viz., mandā, mandākini etc.) and of their parts in which religious rites can be performed. Good effects of these

¹²³ Devi-p. 22.16-

hhadgena ghātayīnvā tu pistajam /
khadgena ghātayīnvā tu dadyāt skanda-višākhayoh //
The printed ed. of the Devi-p. wrongly reads 'šakram' for 'šatrum' in the first line.

samkrāntis to the members of the four castes and to thieves, vintners, Cāṇḍālas, Pukkaŝas, Piŝācas, actors, dancers and others.

Chap. 25.—Benefits of vasu-dhārā-dāna¹⁸⁴ to Devī in

fire daily, fortnightly, monthly or at longer intervals.

Chap. 26.—Method of vasu-dhārā-dāna:—Preparation of the sacrificial pit (kuṇḍa) with its girdle (mekhalā); construction of the necessary implements such as a pot (made of gold, silver or brass) for containing ghee, a ladle with a hole, and so on; performance of homa meant for the nine planets, the ten Lokapālas, and the Māṭṛs with the citation of the mula-mantra, hṛḍaya-mantra, astra-mantra etc. or according to the direction of the Atharva-veda; citation of a hymn of praise to Agni; feeding of Brahmins, actors, dancers, harlots, virgin girls, widows, poor men and others.

Chap. 27.—The sacrificer's good or evil as known from the colour, sound, smell or general appearance of the fire in which homa is performed. Results of the use of different objects for the performance of homa. The sacrificer's abstinence from speaking with Pāṣaṇḍas, deformed persons, and others. The different occasions (viz., Āśvina-mahā-ṣṭamī, Āśvina-mahānavamī, Kārttikī pūrṇimā, Skandaṣaṣthī, Śakra-dhvajotsava, Puṣya-snāna etc.) on which the

vasu-dhārā should be given.

Chap. 28.—Devi-worship in temples, pasture-lands, mountains etc.; feeding of virgin girls; offer of gold, clothes etc. to those Brahmins who are devotees of Devi; and reading of works on Devi-māhātmya.—All these are to be performed in Devi-vratas, Vasu-dhārā-dāna, Dhvajocchrāya etc.

Chap. 29.—Origin of the visible world as well as of gods, Vidyās, mantras, Tantras, mudrās etc. from Devī who is the

Parā Sakti.

Chap. 30.—Results of worshipping the images of Devi

^{185 &#}x27;Vasu' means 'ghee'. The word 'vasu-dhārā' is explained in Devi-p. 27.21 as follows:---

vasu dravyam ghrtam ājyam amrīam haviḥ kāmikam / tanya dhārā sadā deyā vasor dhārā hi sā matā / /

made of different materials, viz., stone, sapphire, gold, silver,

copper, earth, crystal, pearls etc.

Chap. 31.—Method of performing Devi's Ratha-yātrā (car-festival), in which Devi is to be worshipped with the mention of her different names (viz., Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Vindhyavāsinī etc.) and women are to utter auspicious words and scatter flowers, durea, akṣata etc. while following the procession. General amnesty to be observed on the occasion of Devi's Ratha-yātrā.

Chap. 32-Results of the worship, on different occasions and in different places (such as river-banks, forts, burning grounds etc.), of Devi, who is said to be always present in the Ganges, the Narmadā, the Vindhya mountain, Ujjayinī, Arvuda, Himālaya, Nisadha and Drona. Directions for the construction of images of Devi having ten, two or twentyeight hands and seated on a lion. (In these images Devi should be exhibited as surrounding, with a snake, the body of the demon issuing out of the buffalo beheaded by herself). Consecration of these images by those (Brahmins) who are versed in Devi-sastras and have knowledge of the Matrmandala (the group of Mātṛs) and of works on bhūta-tantra, graha, vyāla, and gāruḍa-vidyā. Chap. 33.—Šukra's culogy of Šiva on the Kailāsa

mountain by mentioning the manifold benefits of Sivaworship as well as of acquiring knowledge of Siva and becoming a wandering mendicant according to the rules of the Saivas. Siva's description of the method of performing the Devî-vrata (also called Durgă-vrata) on the Śuklâstami Tithis of different months beginning with Śrāvaṇa. (In this Vrata, which is said to have been described in the Tantra, Devi is to be bathed and worshipped with the mention of her different names, viz., Kātyāyanī, Umā, Nārāyanī, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Carcikā, Mahisaghnī etc., various articles are to be offered and incense of different kinds including Turuska-dhūpa is to be burnt, Brahmins and virgin girls are to be fed, and the worshipper is to avoid all contact with Pasandas),

[In verse 4 there is mention of a 'stotra' recited by a

Gana named Puspadanta, and verses 15 and 19 describe

females wearing 'cināṃśuka'.]

Chapter. 34.—Results of decorating and cleansing the house in which Devi is worshipped and of honouring those persons who are versed in Devi-sastra. Story of a fisherman (Kaivarta) who attained the results of dhvaja-dana by suspending his fishing net from a tree before entering a Devi-temple on the Vindhya mountain.

Chap. 35.—Method of preparing flags and furnishing Devi-temples with these. (During dhvaja-dāna Devi is to be worshipped, and Brahmins and virgin girls are to be fed).

Chap. 36.—A Devi-stotra uttered by Siva at the request of Sukra. (In this stotra Devi is called 'nāda-bindu-svarū-

piņī', 'śiva-śakti-para-svarūpiņi', etc.).

Chap. 37.—The reasons for Devi's different names, viz., Gauri, Nārāyaņi, Durgā, Kātyāyani, Raudri, Vindhyavāsini, Jayanti, Ajitā, Vijayā, Aparājitā, Mahiṣaghni, Kāli, Kapāli, Kapālini, Cāmuṇḍā, Nandā, Kauśiki, Kaiṭabheśvari, Mahāśvetā, Mahābhāgā, Bhavāni, Jyeṣṭhā, Brahmacāriṇi, Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, Pāṭalā, Tārā, Vāmā, Citi, Revati, Ekānaṃsā, Lakṣmi, Kāṇḍavāriṇi, Māyā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Rajani, Hiṃsā, Balā, Śaṅkuveṇi, and many others.

Though one, Devi appears as many through guna.

Chap. 38.—Enumeration of Devi's different forms which are worshipped in different places.—Devi is worshipped as Mangalā in the tract of land lying between the Vindhya and the Malaya mountain, as Jayanti on the sea-coast between the Vindhyas and Kurukşetra, as Nandā between Kurukşetra and the Himalayas, as Kālikā, Tārā and Umā in the mountains, as Bhairavi in Kişkindhyā etc., as Rudrāņi in Kušasthali, as Bhadrakālī in Jalandhara, as Mahālakṣmi in the Kola mountain, as Kāla-rātri in the Sahya mountain, as Ambā in Gandhamādana, as Ujjanī in Ujjayanī, and as Bhadrakālikā in Vaideha.

¹²¹ This 'Ujjayani' (also called 'Ujjayini') is the same as the ancient city, popularly known as 'Ujāni', which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Mangalkot (Samkrit 'Mangalakot(haka') and Arāl situated on the bank of the river Ajaya in Kotwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal. It has been mentioned, sometimes

Chap. 39.—Names of holy places in which Devi was worshipped in her different forms by different gods, sages and kings (including Jāmadagnya, Bhauma's son, Vibhīsana and Rājasena) viz., Puṣkara, Himālaya, Naimiṣa, Malayaparvata, Kişkindhyā-parvata, Kāśikāśrama, Veda-parvata, Kāmākhyā-girī-kandara127, Sarasvatī-taṭa, Pūrva-sindhu, Lańkā, Kailāsa, Kaņvāśrama, Dharmāraņya, Mahākāla, Koţitīrtha, Bhadravaṭa, Kāverī-saṅgama, Gokarṇa, Daṇdaka, Gandaki-sangama, Mahāśona, Mahodaya, Mundipitha, Malaya-parvata, Śāka-dvipa, Kuśa-dvipa, Krauńcadvipa etc. Praise of the power of mantras by narrating the story of the demon Bala, who, being deluded by Visnu by means of the Mohinī Vidyā received from Siva, offered his body for the fulfilment of the sacrifice of gods. Story of the death of the demons Subala (son of Bala), Dundubhi and others at the hand of the Paramā Šakti (also called Mahāvidyā) who took the form of an extremely old and emaciated woman named Ksemankari and was accompanied by the eight Vidyās (aṣṭa-vidyā-samanvitā). It is said that these Vidyās, divided hundredfold, are worshipped in different forms by kings and women according to the 'Dakşinācāra marga' and by Pulindas, Savaras and others according to the 'Vāmācāra mārga', and that they are specially popular among harlots, cowherdesses, Tudus, Hūnas and Khasas and in Himavat-pitha (Tibet ?), Jālandhara, Vidišā, Mahodaya, Varendra, Rādhā, Kośala, Bhottadeśa, Kāmākhyā, Kiskindhyā, Malaya, Kolu, Kāñcī, Hastināpura and

under its popular name 'Ujāni', in the works of Bengal as one of the mahāpiţhas created by the fall of the different parts of Sati's body severed by Vinna, and Devi is said to reside: here under the name of 'Ujant' or 'Ujant'.

For mention of this sacred city ser Brhaddharma-p. I. 14, 14, in which Devi rays:

[&]quot;ujjayinyām tathā puryām pātham mangalakusthakam / šubhā marigala-caņdy-ākhyā yatrābam vara-dāyinī /]**

See also Trikandaiera, Tantra-cüdamani, Pitha-nirnaya (alias Mahāpitha-nirnaya), Siva-carita, Bhārata-candra's Annasia-mangala (Pitha-mālā, verse 22), and so on.

For an excellent account of the Sakta Pithas (including the said 'Ujjayani' or 'Ujáni' of Bengal) see JASB, XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108.

ısı çiz., Nandā, Sivā, Amhā. Kāmākhyā, Māheivari, Kotimundā, Mahārājā, Khandamunda, Aghorā, Kālikā, Vijayā, Candā, Dhutimā (?), etc.

¹¹⁷ yajed bhaumātmajo devīm kāmākliye giri-kandare.—Vene tib.

Ujjayini,128 Offer of fish, meat and wine in the worship of Ksemankari is prescribed with the mention of Damani, Padamālā, Šrīghosa-vajrasāsanā and Pratyangirā-devi, and the priest, who is not to be a naisthika brahmacārin, is required to worship the goddess after the kula-mārga. The giving of one's own self, wife and the entire property to the consecrator of Devi's image. Praise of the Vidyas, which are said to be sixty-four in number.

Chaps. 40-41.—Story of Mahādharmāsura's war with the gods, and his death at the hand of Devi invoked by

Brahmā.

Chap. 42.—Gods' culogy of Devi by mentioning the names of places where she always remains in different forms, viz., Jalandhara Pîtha, Malaya, Sahya, Vindhya, Himālaya, Citragopa, Nārakāla (v. 1. 'navekāle' for 'nārakāle'), Nīcākṣaparvata (Nicākhya-parvata?), Lankā, Udra-deśa, Strirājya, Kāśikāvana, Kāmarūpa, Kāñcī, Campā, Vaidiśa, Varendra, Uddiyāna, Manākṣa, Kuśasthala, Cola, Siṃhala, Venudanda, Kānyakubja, Nava-durgā-sthala,129 etc. At Vaidiša Devī remains in the middle, seated on a 'simhāsana', and is widely known as 'ūrdhvajayāvahā mahākāli'. At Jambūkanātha she is famous as Bhadrakālī.

Chap. 43.—Praise of the Puspākhya-vidyā, with the narration of the story of Amayasura who was attracted by the physical beauty of Sumati, beloved of Gajānana, and whom Gajānana killed with the help of his friend Parašurāma. (In this chapter there are names of more than forty-three kinds of vyūhas, 130 into which Gajānana arranged Paraśurāma's army).

Chap. 44.—Gajānana went to his own residence in the Mālavya mountain, and Paraśurāma established Kālikā

¹² Devi-p. 39, 141-145.

in The text rends:

[&]quot;simhale venudande ca känyakubje"(ha vaidiše / nava-durgā-nhale krivā trimuņdā tatra kirtitā / [" (Devi-p. 42.10).

According to Devi-p. 44, 4-5, the nine Durgas were established at Mahodaya-130 Of these, seven (named as Kaksa, Paksa, Urasya, Danda, Abhoga, Mandana and Samghāta) are 'prākṛta', and the rest (viz., Pradadha, Dṛḍha, Kośadya, etc.) are not so (prākṛtai rahitān).—See verses 22-34.

at Ayodhyā. Results of the worship of the nine Durgās (nava-durgā) at Mahodaya and of the other forms (viz., Kāmikā, Ambikā, Tārā, Vindhyāṭavī, etc.) of Devī situated at different places (viz., Malaya-parvata, Mandākṣa-parvata, Candra-parvata, Kiṣkindhyā-parvata, etc.).

Chap. 45.—Selection of proper day and time for the performance of sacrifices to the planets and the deities such as Skanda, Bhānu, Viṣṇu, Umā, Viṇāyaka and others.

Results of such sacrifices.

Chap. 46.—Origin of the universe and gods from Devi. Names of the eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, eight Vasus, two Aśvins, ten Viśvedevas, fourteen Manus, fourteen Indras, seven Maruts, three Agnis, five kinds of years, sixty kinds of sanwalsaras, and so on.

Determination of the nature of influence of planets on different parts of India according to kürma-vibhāga. (In connexion with kürma-vibhāga the names of Tīrabhukti, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Vardhamāna, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla etc. have been mentioned, and Narmadā has been called the centre of the earth—mahi-madhyam).

Chap. 47.—Division of time into 'truți', 'dina', etc. Names of planets, and their classification into 'maṇḍalagraha' (viz., Sūrya and Candra), 'chāyā-graha' (viz., Rāhu) and 'tārā-graha'. The parentage, relative position, and dimensions of Planets and Stars. Names of the seven regions (loka) and their presiding deities. Position of these regions.

Chap. 48.—Determination of the two kinds of pürnimä (viz., rākā and anumati) and two kinds of amāvāṣṛā (viz., sinīvālī and kuhū). Description of the condition of the moon, whose fifteen kalās are eaten up by gods, Pitṛs and others during the Amāvāṣṣā.

Chap. 49.—Solar and lunar eclipses, which are caused by Rāhu in the forms of shadows of the moon and the earth respectively.

Chap. 50.—Classification of the sixty forms of Devi into three groups: (1) twenty sâttvika forms constituting the first grade, viz. Mangalā, Vijayā, Bhadrā, Šivā, Šānti, Dhṛti, Kṣamā, Rddhi, Vṛddhi, Unnati, Siddhi, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Śrī,

Umā, Dīpti, Kānti, Yaśā, Lakṣmî and Īśvarī; (2) twenty rājasa forms constituting the second grade, viz., Brāhmi, Jayāvatī, Šakti, Ajitā, Aparājitā, Jayanti, Mānasī, Māyā, Dīti, Švetā, Vimohinī, Šaraņyā, Kauśikī, Gaurī, Vimalā, Rati, Lālasā, Arundhatī, Kriyā and Durgā; (3) twenty tāmasa forms of the third grade, viz., Kālī, Raudri, Kapālī, Ghaṇṭākarṇā, Mayūrīkā, Bahurūpā, Surūpā, Trinetrā, Ripuhā, Ambikā, Māheśvarī, Kumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Sura-pūjitā, Vaivasvatī, Ghorā, Karālī, Vikaṭā, Aditi and Carcikā.

Description and measurements of the images of Mahādevī to be worshipped in common houses or in palaces. Benefits of constructing images with gold, silver or copper. Directions regarding the construction of temples for Deviworship; decoration of these temples with paintings, flags etc. Method of consecration and worship of the images of Devi.

Description of the images of each of the above-mentioned sixty forms of Devi, with the mention of the particular

years in which these forms are to be worshipped.

Description of the images of Gaņeśa, Mātṛs, eight Vidyās, six Seasons, eleven Rudras, Mahālakṣmī, Kuṣmāṇḍā (seated on a human corpse), and Varvarā. Worship, in images or maṇḍalas, of the Sun in different forms under different rāśis; materials with which these images are to be made. Signs to represent the deities. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and Hari in maṇḍalas¹². Ringing of bells during worship. Method of performance of homa and Devī-worship.

Chap. 51.—A man, who is versed in Devi-śāstras and has knowledge of the Mātṛ-maṇḍala but is not a naiṣṭhika brahmacārin, is eligible for performing Devi-worship, no matter whether he is a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra. A Devi-worshipper is to worship Śiva (according to Śiva-siddhāntas), Sūrya (according to the 'Māṭharokta

on Of these forms, Durgå is to be seated on an intoxicated quarter-elephant, and Vimalå, Bahurûpå and Carcikå on human corpses, and Kumārī, Karāli and Vikajā are said to be fond of honey, wine and meat.

¹¹⁸ Devi-p. 50. iv. 55ff.

vidhi'), Brahmā (according to the Vedic method) and Visnu. Necessity of utensils in worship, and the results of making these utensils with different materials (such as gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, stone, wood etc.) under different conditions.

Chaps. 52-54.—Methods of performing graha-yaga and Mātṛkā-pūjā in maṇḍalas in the different months of the vear,

Chap. 55.—Enumeration of the different kinds of divya, āntarīkṣa and bhauma Utpātas (or Adbhutas), and the means (viz., Mātṛkā-pūjā, graha-pūjā, Sūrya-pūjā, lakṣa-homa, koți-homa, dăna, Brāhmaṇādi-bhojana, etc.) of preventing their bad effects.

Chap. 56.—Detailed description of the method of performing homa.

Chap. 57.—Description of a form of Devi which, when worshipped according to the prescribed rules along with Mātṛs, Kārttika, Gaņeśa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva, Lokapālas and others, gives immediate results. Identification of Devi with Siva.

Chap. 58.—Story of king Bhagya who worshipped Hari in a mandala on the Bhagya-dvādašī Tithi and also Hari-Hara and Uma-Maheśvara in images, and thus attained great fortune in the Surottama-kalpa.

Chap. 59.-Method and result of worshipping Devi

in the different months of the year.

(In this chapter, mention is made of the worship of Brahmā, Agni, Umā, Gaņeśa, Nāga, Skanda, Sūrya, Mātṛs, Yama, Siva, Vișnu, Kāma, Rudra, Indra and others in Śrāvaṇa, of Devi-worship and Devi-ratha-yātrā in Āśvinaśuklastami, of 'dipa-dana' and 'gajasvadi-nīrājana' in Kārttika-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī and Amāvāsyā, of worship of Candikā in Phālguna, and so on).

Chap. 60.—Method and results of performing visotsarga and 'go-vivaha'res along with Devi-worship. Results of

in this festival, which is to be performed in Magha or Phalguna, four, two or one heller is to be duty married to a built of the 'nilavera' type.

repairing old temples, and of worshipping Umā-Śamkara,

Hari-Hara, Ardha-nārīśvara, and the Trimūrti.

Chap. 61.—Proper Tithis for, and results of, the worship of Brahmā, Umā, Šiva, Agni, Devī-and-Šamkara (who are to be placed in a swing), Gaņeśa, Nāgas, Skanda, Bhāskara, Mātṛs, Devi Mahiṣamardini, Dharmarāja, Vṛṣa, Viṣṇu, Kāmadeva-and-Rati, Śiva, and Indra-and-Śaci.

Chap. 62.-Results of worshipping Siva with different

kinds of flowers in different months of the year.

Chap. 63.-Names of sixty-eight holy places in which Siva remains present under sixty-eight names. (Among the names of places there is mention of Puskara, Ujjayini, Gokarņa, Rudra-mahālaya, Devadāruvana, Turaņda, Sukalānta, Ekāmra, Dīpta-cakreśvara, Kāśmīra, Nepāla, Gangāsāgara, etc.).

Chap. 64.—Description of Goratna-vrata, in which a cow and a bull are to be decorated and given to a devotee

of Šíva after worshipping Šíva and Umā.

Chap. 65.-Method of worshipping Siva-and-Umā on the Suklatrtīyā Tithi after painting their figures with 'gorocana', saffron etc. on two pieces of cloth. Devi-worship in Pradipta-navami-vrata and Guggulā-vrata. Method of performing Puşya-snăna (which is meant for kings): selection of proper place (viz., Himālaya, Sahya-parvata, Vindhyācala, sea-coast where ships can remain safely, and so on); description of dreams which indicate good or evil104; drawing of mandalas with padmas in them in the prescribed manner; placing of deities in these mandalas; worship of these deities; use of wine and meat in the worship of Piśācas, demons and Rāksasas.

Chap. 66.—Description of Puşya-snāna-vidhi continued: account of the origin of pitchers during the churning of the ocean; names of the nine pitchers in which the water for the king's bath is to be kept and which are said to contain the

A 'nila-vrsa' has been defined as follows: lohito yas tu vargena (anikha-varna-mukho vrsah / längüla-iirasai caiva sa vai nila-vṛṣah unṛṭah / / Deci-p. 60. 7b-da.

¹³⁴ A Nirgrantha, seen in a dream, indicases evil. - Devi-p. 65,52,

seven oceans, seven continents, all the planets and stars, all the Kula-parvatas, all the holy rivers (such as the Ganga, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Subhagā etc.), and all the holy places (including Eka-haṃsa, Puṇḍarīka, Gangāsāgara etc.); names of the presiding deities of these pitchers; placing of these pitchers in different directions.

Chap. 67.—Description of Puşya-snāna-vidhi continued: placing of auspicious articles in the pitchers; decoration of a throne and a number of beds (the latter being meant for the royal visitors); bathing of the king by Brahmins; worship of different deities including the Mātṛs; donations to Brahmins and others; amnesty to prisoners.

Chap, 68.—Special baths at particular places for the accomplishment of particular objects (such as removal of barrenness of women). Places favourable for the success of mantras. Proper places for drawing mandalas.

Chap. 69.—Description of Vināyaka-yāga (worship of Vināyaka) to be performed by kings for averting the effects of bad dreams. (In this Gaṇa-yāga, Sūrya and Ambikā also are to be worshipped).

Chap. 70.—Description of the rakṣā-mantra called Vināyaka-kavaca, and the result of wearing it after writing it in a maṇḍala on a gold or silver plate, or on a piece of cloth, or on a 'bhūrja-patra'.

Chap. 71.—Power of rakṣā headed by the bijas of particular gods and written on planks of banian trees or on copper-plates or worshipped with flowers of particular colours. (The final verse of this chapter mentions Madhusūdana with four Vyūhas—catur-vyūha-samāyuktaḥ... madhusūdanaḥ).

Chap. 72.—Construction of forts (durga): first construction of a fort by Viśvakarman at the instance of Brahmā; selection of a suitable site for the construction of a fort; mutual relation between the different units of measurement of distance, viz., trasareņu, likṣā, rājasarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, yava, anguli, prādeśa, tāla, gokarṇa, vitasti, aratni, hasta, kiṣku, dhānus, daṇḍa, nālikā, yuga, krośa, gavyūti and yajana; protection of forts by means of ramparts, trenches, shrubs etc.; different kinds of forts, viz., pārvata (or giri-durga), audaka (or jala-durga), dhânvana (or maru-durga) and vanaja (or vana-durga); further classification of each of these four kinds of forts into two, viz., (1) guhā-durga and prāntara-durga, (2) nadi-durga (also called antardvipa-durga) and sthaladurga, (3) nirudaka-durga and irina-durga, and (4) khanjanadurga and stamba-gahana-durga; comparative importance of these forts to kings; arrangements for the maintenance of these forts; furnishing the forts with sufficient food, arms and ammunitions, machines etc.; arrangements for the protection of forts; restrictions on the admittance of persons into the forts; maintenance of physicians, carpenters, astrologers, viṣa-vaidyas, bhūta-vaidyas, gārudikas and others146 in the forts; directions regarding the construction of gates (gopura), at the sides of which there should be images of Devi Mahisamardinī, Gaņeśa, Kuvera or Brahmā and which must be named after the different names of Devi.

Construction of cities (pura): shapes of the cities (which should be square, circular, triangular, or oblong); different names of cities according to the difference in their dimensions, viz., Aindra, Vaiṣṇava, Śāṃkara, Brāhma and Sārvabhaumika; position of the residence of the king and the houses of the members of the four castes in the city; residences of people of lower castes to be located outside the city for preventing intermixture of castes; characteristics of different kinds of nagaras (viz., Sarvatobhadra, Rucaka, Svastika, Chinnakarṇa, Vināsa, Duḥsthita, Kṛśa and Durbala). Measurement and position of kheṭa and grāma. Names and measurements of different kinds of roads, viz., sīmāmārga, rāja-patha, śākhā-rathyā uparathyā, alpa-rathyā and jaṅghā-patha.

Chap. 73.—Directions for the construction of adhodurga and krtrima-durga which constitute the vijayākhya pura. Location of residences of different classes of people in these types of forts. Persons (viz., Śūdras, actors, sons of prostitutes, and others) who are not to be entrusted with the charge

us viņa bhūtopahārāmi ca gārudikā dikāņu tathā.—Devi-p. 72.110.

of forts. Determination of auspicious time for the construction of these. Worship of Siva, Durgă, Mātṛs, planets, Vināyaka, and others on this occasion.

Chap. 74.—Names of rivers, 126 places and forests which are deemed as highly sacred during eclipses and on other occasions.

Chap. 75.—Names of holy places, mountains and rivers where the performance of dhārā-homa becomes beneficial.

Chap. 76.—Names of some holy places. Praise of Kapota-tirtha, and the benefits of bathing Śiva-lingas, Devi, Mātṛs, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa and others with the water of the pool (kuṇḍa) at Kapota-tīrtha. Story of a pigeon (kapota) which was reborn as sage Śuka as a result of its death in this pool.

Chap. 77.—Praise of the Kapota-kuṇḍa; and the results of worshipping Siva and Devi at Kapota-tirtha with the use of Tantric mantras and the performance of sixteen kinds of mudrās, viz., yoni-mudrā, linga-mudrā, vyāpinī mudrā, chatra-mudrā, etc.

Chap. 78.—Praise of observance of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-vrata in the different months of the year and of observing Nakta-vrata and worshipping Siva under different names on this occasion.

(In this chapter, as also in a few others, there is mention of gomedha and purusamedha sacrifices).

Chap. 79.—Results of the worship of Devi's twelve forms (viz., Gauri, Kāli, Umā, Bhadrā, Durgā, Kānti, Sarasvati, Maṅgalā, Vaiṣṇavi, Lakṣmī, Śivā and Nārāyaṇi), Ardhanārīśvara, Umā-Śaṃkara, Hari-Hara, and Nārāyaṇa. Method and results of performing Umā-Maheśvara-vrata, Viṣṇu-Śaṃkara-vrata, Lakṣmī-Parṇā-vrata, Brahma-Sāvitrī-vrata, and Candra-Rohiṇi-vrata. (In all these Vratas the mediums of worship are the images or altars). Praise of sweeping temples of Devi by narrating the story of Kuṅkumā, chief queen of Candramindra, who was a kite in her previous birth but got rid of her kitehood by

¹⁰⁴ Gāngā, Narmadā, Yamunā, Vetravati, Kamiki, Vindhyā, Sarasvati, Candrubhāgā, Tāpi, Devikā, Bhāvikā, Sindhu etc.

removing the dusts from a Devi-temple in her attempt to take the food offered to Devi.

Chap. 80.—Devi's presence in all things. Renunciation not compulsory for Devi-worship. Powers

Mahāmāyā.

Chap. 81.—Description of Kālāgnirudra (who is not different from Kālikā) as well as of his residence (called Kālāgnirudrapura) which is surrounded by flames. Names of the Rudras who surround Kalagnirudra and bring about the destruction of the world.

Chap. 82.—Names of some of the numerous hells which are situated above the flames surrounding Kālapura. Nature of sins which cause one to visit these hells. Names and description of the seven Pătālas; the residents of these Pātālas. Description of the eighth Pātāla which is not found mentioned in any Agama or any other work and in which there is Ardhan-ārīśvara. Story of the rebirths of Taskara-vallabha, son of a Brahmin named Kuladeva of Mahārāṣṭra who, in his attempt to commit theft in a Devitemple, kept a lamp burning there for some time.

Chaps. 83-87.—Story of the origin of the demon Ruru from the mouth of Kārttikeya's peacock and his war with the gods and death at the hands of the Saktis (also called Mātṛs) issuing from Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya,

Yama, Indra and Agni.

[In these chapters, there are culogies of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva-and-Devi, and the Matrs, Siva has been praised, the connexion between Siva and Devî has been set forth, the forms of the different Matrs have been described, and the names of different weapons used in war have been given. Chap. 86 ends with a song (in four verses) sung by Visnu, which seems to be a prototype of those in Jayadeva's Gitagovinda. This song runs as follows:

vikašita-karnikāra-kamalotpala-laulajam mukuta-nighrstängam śaśi-pannaga-vicitra-tanum / tridaśa-vilāsini-vadana-pankaja-gīta-ravam dhruvam iha tanu namāmi candeša-šivam šīrasā

dhruvakam / /

pranata-jana-hitam asura-bala-haram tridaśādhipate caņdeśvara namo 'stu sadā/ giri-duhitr-pate vara-vṛṣa-gate namadhvaṭn paśupate/ and so on (the fourth verse ending with the words

'jaya jaya devam canda-śivam')].

Chap. 88.-Praise of the worship of Matrs even by Antyajas, Pāṣaṇḍas, Bauddhas and Gāruḍavādins according to the Sivagamas, Garuda-tantra, Bhūta-tantra or Kalatantra. Sakti as the source of the universe.

Chap. 89.-Method of worshipping Sarva-mangalā in a mandala from Kṛṣṇāṣṭami to Śukla-navamī in the month of Asvina with the mention of her different names (viz., Mangalā, Bhairavī, Durgā, Kanyā, Kapālī, Kaiţabheśvari, Kāli, Carcă etc.), sacrifice of animals, performance of Ratha-yatra, and feeding of virgin girls.

(This worship is open to the members of all the four

castes as well as to women and children).

Chap. 90.—The different places (viz., pura, grāma, nagara, khetaka, hatta, Gangā-tīra, Vindhya-parvata, Vedaparvata, Śriśaila, Kiskindhyā-parvata etc.) where the Mātṛs should be worshipped. Directions for the construction of their images and temples. Furnishing these temples with wells, tanks, gardens, harlots (veśyā), bells, mirrors, ghațikăyantra (for measurement of time), etc. Method of consecration of images (with the citation of Vedic verses and songs of females) and their worship (which is to be followed by honour shown to females, virgin girls and Brahmins).

Chap. 91.-Devi to be worshipped even by Sudras and women. Results of Devi-worship in an earthen image and of giving Vidyā (i.e. books), umbrellas etc. to Devī. Praise of

Vidvā.

Method of Vidyā-dāna [which consists of the following operations: books, viz., Siddhānta-śāstra, Moksa-śāstra, Veda, Vedānga, Itihāsa, Gāruḍa-tantra, Bāla-tantra, Bhūtatantra, Bhairava-tantra, Jyotih-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Kalāśāstra, Kāvya, Āgama etc., that should be given to Devi; preparation of palm-leaves, placing them in a leathern jacket (? carmaṇāṃ saṃkuṭīkṛte-verse 57), and furnishing

them with two painted pieces of planks to serve as covers as well as with a piece of black or red thread having a coloured end for tying the leaves and the planks with; drawing of a mandala with a yantra in it; placing of the palm-leaves as well as of a picture of the presiding deity in the yantra; worship of these with flowers and other things; honour to be shown to the scribe, who is to be 'śāstra-pāraga', 'chando-lakṣaṇa-tattvajña', 'sat-kavi' and 'madhura-svara'; method of copying books with the use of Nandi-nāgara script in the case of sacred books; worship of the copy thus made, after placing it on a specially made stool furnished with bells, mirrors, painted pieces of cloth, and so on; worship of Mātṛs and other gods and goddesses on this occasion; taking of the manuscript in a car to a temple of Śiva or Mātṛs, and giving it to a learned teacher; merrymakings on this occasion].

Praise of giving clothes, umbrellas, oil, lamps, food, pens, ink, ink-pots, sharp knives, covers of books, stools for

books, etc. to students and scholars.

Chap. 92.—Devi's constant presence in the Vindhyas (where she manifested herself for killing the demon Ghora) and as Nandā in the Himalayas. Praise of worshipping Devi

with mantra, dravya, kriyā and dhyāna in these places.

Chap. 93.—Siva's praise of the Nandā-tīrtha (in the Himālaya) as the best of all holy places, the other three sacred places on the Himālaya being Bhairava, Kedāra and Rudra-mahālaya. Glorification of Nandā who remains always present at Nandā-tīrtha with virgin girls. (Āsādha, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra) best suited for pilgrimage to Nandā-tīrtha. Description of Nandā-purī (residence or temple of Nanda) and its environments. Mediums of worship of Nandā, viz., Šiva-linga, sthandila, pustaka, pādukā, pratimā, citra, trišikha, khadga, jala, agni, and hṛdaya. Characteristics of 'anivartitādhikāra' and 'savikāra' Lingas. Praise of Lingas established by Sukra and others, and denouncement of those established by Kaca and others with Vedic Mantras. Characteristics of the other mediums of worship (viz., pratimā, pādukā, citra etc.). Method of worshipping Nanda in these mediums. Rules to be observed

by the worshippers with respect to women. Names of places most suited for the worship of Nandā (viz., Mandāra, Trikūta, Vindhya-parvata, Šamkareśvara, Rāmeśvara, Amareśvara-tirtha, Hariścandra-tirtha, banks of the Ganga, Yamuna, Revati, Vetravati and Sarasvati, and so on). Method of mantroddhāra. Performance of mudrās.

(In this chapter, there is mention of wall-painting and

of education, pastimes, decoration and sports of girls).

Chap. 94.—Description of pilgrimage to the residence (i.e. temple) of Sunanda, with the mention of the rivers, holy places, and images of deities lying on the way, viz., Ganga with Marukeśvara Śiva on her bank, the river Śiloccayā on the left of Urdhvayāna, Kālakūṭa (tīrtha) with its 'great temple' of Kalahamseśvara Śiva and the river Kauśikā (flowing by it), Śūlabheda (tīrtha), Vasanta-vana, Kārttikapura, Vaiśravaņa-pura, and the river Vaitaraņi.

Chap. 95.—Description and praise of Kanyakāpura (residence of Kanyakā). Identification of Nandā with Šiva.

Chap. 96.—Hereditary study137 of the Vedas—one of the principal duties of the twice-born people (dvija). Contact with, and food offered by, Sudras-to be avoided by them. Fit places of Vedic study (viz., temples of Vișnu and Sūrya, bank of a river, and so on). Method of reading the Vedas. Persons who are not entitled to read the Vedas. Days on which Vedic study should be postponed.

Chap. 97.—Killing of animals in sacrifices—not a crime. Directions and prohibitions to be observed by the people.100

Chap. 98.—Unity of Devî, who is known under different names (viz., Nārāyaṇī, Tārā, Śvetā, Mahāśvetā etc.). Method of pavitrāropaņa after worshipping Devî (in any of her forms, viz., Carcikā, Cāmuņḍā, Nandā etc.) on a sword, dagger, foot-wear, picture, book, flag, bow, image or altar. Music, dancing etc. to be performed by bands of actors,

¹⁸⁷ According to vene 4, those twice-born people who have Vedic Sunskåra from sheir fifth ancestors on their mothers' sides and from the seventh on their fathers', become pure (fuddha) and fit for Vedic study.

rea People are advised to read medical treatises daily and to avoid quarrel with physiciam and attrologers. - Devi-p. 97,17-19.

dancers and prostitutes. General holy day to be observed

by all for ten, five, three or one day on this occasion.

Chaps. 99-101.-Methods and results of observing the Nandā-vrata (in which Nandā is to be worshipped in the twelve months from Śrāvaņa with the mention of her twelve names, viz., Nandā, Sunandā, Kanakā, Umā, Durgā, Kşamāvatī, Gaurī, Yogesvarī, Švetā, Nārāyaṇi, Sutārakā and Ambikā), Vijayā-vrata (on the vijayā pūrņimā in the month of Srāvaņa), and Nakṣatra-vrata (in which the different limbs of Devi are to be worshipped under different nakṣatras). Feeding of Brahmins, women and virgin girls in all these Vratas.

Chap. 102.—Results of giving land, gold, cows, paddy etc. to Brahmins, women, virgin girls, and devotees of Devi at Nandā-tīrtha, Gayā, Puṣkara, Kāśī, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Jambukeśvara, Kedāra, Daņḍakāraṇya, Someśvara, Amarakantaka, Vindhyācala, banks of the Gangā and the Narmadā, and so on. Method of performing the Pada-vrata (in which Devi is to be worshipped on an altar, an image, or Devi's foot-wears).

Chap. 103.-Method of giving cows (go-dāna) and golden cows (hema-go-dāna) to the devotees of Śiva, after

worshipping Devi in these cows.

Chap. 104.-Donation of different articles in the different months of the year. Method of giving a cow to a qualified Brahmin in the month of Śrāvaṇa, after worshipping Devi, Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. Method of tiladhenu-dana (on the occasion of which Devi is to be worshipped).

Chaps. 105-106.—Methods of ghrta-dhenu-dana and toya-

dhenu-dana (with the worship of Devi on these occasions).

Chap. 107.—Devi as the mother of the Vedas. Division of the original single Veda into four, viz., Rk, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva. Names of the ten different texts (bheda) of the Rgveda, viz., Aśleṣā, Saṃkhyā, Carcā, Yāvakā, Carcakā, Śrāvaniyā, Kramā, Puṭakramā, Vaṭakramā, and Daṇḍa; names of its three schools (śākhā), viz., Śākala, Brahma and Māṇḍūka; and the numbers of its Maṇḍalas, Vargas, Rks

and Pādas.130 Names of the schools of the Yajurveda, and the number of its verses. 140 Names of the Angas, Upāngas and Parisistas.141 Names of the schools and divisions of the Šukla-yajurveda, Sāma-veda and Atharva-veda, and the numbers of their verses.111 The Upavedas, viz., Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharva-śāstra and Arthaśāstra, which are attached to the four Vedas Rk, Yajus, Sama and Atharva respectively. Names of gotras (Ātreya, Kāšyapa, Bhāradvāja and Vaitāla) and adhidevatās (Soma, Rudra, Indra and Brahmā) of the four Vedas. Description of the forms of the

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atra bhedås tu rgyedā daša caiva prakircitāh //
           aslepāh ramkhyās carcās ca yāvakās carcakās tathā /
           śrównojyń ca kramb ca pujakrama-vajakramab //
           dandaš ceti samāsena punar eksiva pāragā /
           šākhāi ca trividhā bhūyah šākalā brahma-māṇḍūkāh //
           teşām adhyayanam proktum mandalīti camh-sastikāh (v.l. cătuh-saptatih) /
           vargāņām parisamkhyātam caturviņisa-iatām ca //
           rcam dasa-salmurāņi rcam panca-satāni ca/
           māṇam ašīti-pādai ca tatra pāraṇam ucyate //
                                                           Devi-p. 107, 13h-17,
    180 The text of the verses containing these names is full of mistakes. It runs
as follows:-
           . . , samkhyā yajurvedasya śrūyatām /
           pajlaitii-vibbedena mayā bhinnasa sivājānyā //
           daiadhā carakā tatra kārakā vidradhijayā (v.l. karakāhāritradhīyayā) /
           kathāh prācya-kathās caiva kapisthala-kathās tathā //
          căraniyāh ivetāi ca iveta-tārā maitrāyaniti/
          punah saptatir bhedena maitráyanyāh prakirtitāh //
          mānava-duņdubba-vārāhāi chāgeyā hāridravlyā /
          samāyā māyanīyāi ca teşām athyayanam ucyate //
          asjādaia-saharāņi pathan iškhāvido bhavet /
          dvigunam padapātlit yas triguņam krama-pāragab //
                                                             Devi-p. 107, 18-23,
   141
          iiksā kaipo vyākaraņam niruktam chando jyotisam //
          sadangāni bliavanty ete tāny upangāni ārņu kathyatām /
          pratipadam anupaciam chando bhāṣā mimāṇṇā ca //
          nyāya-tarka-saraāynktā upāngāh parikirtitāh /
          parisistās ca samkhyātā astādaša ippuņva tat //
          yūpa-lakṣaṇa-pratiṣṭhā tu vākyaṃ saṃkhyāl caraṇa-vyūhab /
          śraddhakalpai ca śuklani pariadam rg-yujui ca //
          aştakāpūraņam caiva pravarādhyāyo'nga-iāstram /
         kratu-samkhyā nigamā yajdapārivāntahautrikam //
         vratani ca paiavo homam kūrina-laksaņa-samyutāb /
         kathitah paritintas in unavimia mahamune !!
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Devi-p. 107, 246-29,

It is clear that the text of these verses is highly defective. 100 For the names of the different schools of these Vedas see Devi-p. 107, 30-44.

four Vedas personified. The different objects in which these

Vedas are to be worshipped.

Chap. 108.—Praise of Ayurveda. Debate among the sages about the cause of disease in human body, and their conclusion that bad diet is its root cause.

Chap. 109.—Classification of food with regard to the source of its origin, its effect on human body, the modes of

taking it, its taste, and so on.

Chap. 110.—Names of different kinds of food, 143 as well as of roots, fruits, herbs etc. which are most beneficial or harmful to the human body. Praise of Durgā-worship and of study of Tantras. Praise of Ayurveda-śāstra, which is said to have been disclosed by Śiva in order to kill Khatvāsura.

[Chaps, 108-110 are the reproduction of Caraka-Samhitā I (Sūtrasthāna), 25 with minor additions and alterations.]

Chap. 111.—Story of the origin of Khatvāsura from the rage of Viṣṇu and Śiva; his successful war with the gods;

and his penance.

Chap. 112.—Viṣṇu's rubbing (cf. saṃmathayitvā) of his palms under the influence of rājasa-bhāva, and the consequent appearance of Gajānana. Gods' occupation of the different parts of Gajānana's body.

Chap. 113.—Viṣṇu's culogy of Gajānana by describing his characteristics. Gajānana's statement that he has been sent there by Mahādeva, and his consent to remove the

impediments of gods.

Chap. 114.—Worship of Gajānana by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva and other gods. Offer of different articles (viz., crescent moon, white girdle, coral, conch-shell, bow, mace, goad etc.) by different gods, and Siva's appointment of Gajānana as the leader of gods under the name of Vināyaka.

in In this chapter beef is denounced as the worst kind of ment; ment of cocks in praised as the most strengthening; right of Nagnas and Kāṣāyins is said to do the greatest harm to life; the Sun (Āditya) is called the best healer of leprosy; and so as.

In this culogy Gajānana is said to have serpents as his head-ornament, carry danda, ankusa, paraiu, mekhalā and sūtra in his hands, hold a 'laḍḍuka' in one of his hands and sandal etc. in another, and have his neck adorned by a necklace and his cheeks drenched by ichor.

Chap. 115.-Vināyaka's arrival at Udayācala and killing of Vighnäsura.

Chap. 116.—Story of the origin of Vighnasura from the fire issuing from Brahmā's mouth when the latter, being engaged in penance, thought himself to be the only god. Visnu's eulogy of Siva and Devi for killing Vighnāsura, and Šiva's boon to Visnu that Vighnāsura, Jambhāsura and Sulomāsura would be killed by Vināyaka surrounded by the Mātrs.

Story of Khaivāsura's penance for Devi's favour.

Māṇḍavya's saving of Hariścandra's life and kingdom by worshipping the Matrs at Vindhyacala according to the advice of the five Mātṛs (viz., Ambikā, Rudrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Brāhmī and Vaisnavī) whom Māṇḍavya first worshipped at Someśa on the bank of the Sarasvatī.

Chap. 117.-Praise of the worship of Mātṛs, especially at a time when the sun remains at the Kanyā rāśi (kanyāsanisthe divakare).

Chap. 118.—Results of constructing new temples and of removing the images of Durgā and the Mātṛs to these temples from the old ones. Suitable time (viz., dakṣiṇāyana) for removing the images of Brahmā, Indra, Šiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Mātṛs and Bhairava. The different mantras to be used in removing the images of Matrs. Offer of wine, meat etc. to these female deities. Results of repairing old temples and of replacing old images with new ones.

Chap. 119.—After killing Khatväsura Siva assumed a dreadful form (of Bhairava ?), held a 'khaṭvāṅga' in his left hand and a 'kapāla' in his right, and wore a garland of

skulls on his head.

Going to speak on the origin of the 'kapāla' and 'khaṭvānga', Siva describes himself as the Eternal Being and Devi as the Mula-prakṛti, and narrates how he created water and thence the universe with the gods, men and others. He also says that the skulls and limbs worn by him are respectively those of the innumerable Brahmas and Visnus whom he created in the past. Regarding the origin of the 'khatvanga' Siva says that the impediment to his yogapractice, being hurled up by him in rage, assumed the form of the demon Khatva and was destined to be killed by

Vighneśa (i.e. Vināyaka).

Chap. 120.—Purification of the body by muttering the Padamālā-mantra or the Gāyatrī, and by practising 'yama' (consisting of brahmacarya, dayā, kṣānti, dhyāna, salya, ahiṃsā, asteya, mādhurya and dama), 'niyama' (consisting of snāna, svādhyāya, upastha-nigraha, guru-sevā, śauca, akrodha and apramāda), and various kinds of penance (viz., sāntapana-vrata, mahasāntapana-vrata, parṇakṛcchra-vrata, taptakṛcchra-vrata, pādakṛcchra-vrata, prājāpatya-vrata, atikṛcchra-vrata, kṛcchrātikṛcchra-vrata, parāka-vrata, saumya-kṛcchra-vrata, tulāpuruṣa-vrata, cāndrāyaṇa-vrata, and kṛcchra-cāndrāyaṇa-vrata), which have been described.

Chap. 121,—Maintenance of the sacred fire—a duty of those who are versed in the literatures of the Vāmas and the

Daksiņas as well as in Vedānta, Grhya etc.

Method of performance of homa by the members of the higher three castes as well as by Sūdras, women and children. Names (Agni, Hutāšana and Anala) of the three kinds of fire and of the gods who reside in it.

Chap. 122.—Origin of Āhavanīya Agni from Gārhapatya Agni, and of the latter from Dakṣiṇāgni. Names of the fifty-one descendants of Āhavanīya Agni, and the

occasions for their use.

Chap. 123.—Different kinds of flowers, incense, scents

etc. to be used in Devi-worship.

Chap. 124.—Methods of worshipping Devî and the spiritual preceptor (guru).—Proper place for worship; decoration of the place; performance of ṣaḍaṅga-nyāsa; bathing of Devī and the spiritual preceptor; offer of different articles including meat; performance of homa; and so on.

Chap. 125.—Praise of the worship of the spiritual

preceptor who is identified with Siva.

Chap. 126.—Method of Agni-saṃskāra and the performance of homa for removing the impediments to 'japa' and 'adhyayana'.

(In this chapter there is mention of different kinds of

mudrās and mantras such as kavaca-mantra, astra-mantra, etc.).

Chap. 127.—Necessity of the performance of Deviworship by kings, who are to keep their subjects in the path of virtue. Influence of the conduct of kings on their subjects; hence the necessity of imparting good education to a king even with the help of medicine, mantras etc. Necessity of śraddhā on the part of a learner.

Story of the revelation of Devi's Stava-rāja. (In this Stava-rāja there is mention of the different names)¹⁰ and exploits of Devi as well as of the names of the different places¹⁴⁰ of Devi-worship; Devi is said to be worshipped as Vindhyavāsini by Šavaras, Varvaras and Pulindas¹¹⁷ and to move about in the sky in a form having eighteen hands; and the relation between Siva and Devi has been explained with various examples).

Chap. 128.—Method of worshipping the Devi-p. and of reading it before a gathering. Honour to be shown to the reader. Fit places (viz., one's own house, Kāṣī, Kāma-pura etc.) for the study of the Devi-p. Results of such reading.

The above analysis of contents of the present Devi-p. will show how important this work is from various points of view, especially for the history of Śāktism. But, unfortunately, it does not contain the whole of the original Devi-p., which must have been a much bigger work. We have already mentioned that in chap. I of the present Devi-p. Vasistha speaks of four Pādas of the Devi-p. and gives the contents of all these Pādas. This statement of Vasistha is corroborated by Bhagīratha who, in his commentary on Kumāra-saṃbhava I. I, says that Kālidāsa wrote his Kumāra-saṃbhava on the basis of the story of the birth of

¹⁰⁶ Kanyādevi, Šākambharī, Mahūšvetā, Subhadrā, Dhūmeā, Bhōtamārā, Mātangī, Candikā, Chantāravā, Virdtrākai, Šālankāvani etc.

¹³¹ Himālaya, Kailāsa, Meru, Mandara, Vindhya, Malaya, Gandhamādaca, Naimisa, Kuruicetra, and the tract of land lying between the Gangā and the Yamunā.
101 The text of Devi-p. 127. 110h is at follows:—

iaravaravarati căpi pulindaii căpi pujyase.

The reading 'iaravarpavarail căpi' must be a mistake for 'iavarair varvaraii câpi'.

Cf. Hariwapia II. S. 7a.—

śavarair varvarzii caiva puliminii ca supūjūtā.

Kārttikeya as given in the 'Devi-purāṇa', and thus proves that the 'Devi-purāṇa', with the contents of at least its fourth Pāda, was known to him. But in the present text of the Devi-p. we find only those topics which have been mentioned (in chap. 1) as the subject-matters of the first two Pādas or rather the second one; and at least three of the complete Mss of the Devi-p. end with the verse 'etac cābhyudayam pādam satais tribhir narottamaih etc.' Hence it is evident that the present Devi-p. does not represent the bigger and entire work that was known under the same title in earlier days but contains only a portion ending with the Trailokyābhyudaya Pāda and dealing with the first incarnation of Devi. 161

This fragmentary condition of our present Devi-p. is

Dacta Univ. Mx No. 108H (Bhagiratha'a com. on Kālidāsa's Kumāru-saṃbhava), fol. 2n—'kaviḥ kālidāsaḥ devl-purāṇḥyāṃ kārtikeya-janma-kathām āśritya kumāra-saṃbhavaṃ uāma mahākāvyam idaṃ niravatma (? niravartayat)'. This statement, however, is not correct.

Bhagiratha calls himself 'pitamuodi-ku.a-thūsana' and was a rahmin.

It is to be noted that according to the present Devt-p. (1, 45-46) the story of Kärsti-keya's birth and exploits was dealt with in the fourth Pāda.

The facts that the contents of the second Pada begin practically from chap. 2 of the present Devi-p, and that in chap. 1 the Puraga is found to begin abruptly and the interfocution between Nrpavahana and Citrangada is not preceded by any introduction of the interfocutors, tend to show that even the Trailokya-vijaya Pada has santained serious lost. Whatever the meaning of the line 'utpatti-kirtananı apich prathamanı sanudalırtam' (given in footnote 110 above) may be, it must be admitted that the Trailokya-vijaya Pada is almost totally lost. It is only Devi-p., chap. 1 which seems to have belonged to the Trailokya-vijaya Pāda. Cf. Devi-p. 1.28—

ādyādhyāyena samkşepāt purānam samudābītam / pāde trailokya-vijaye sarva-kāma-prasādbauam //

With the present state of our knowledge we cannot say definitely whether Devi-p. 127, 24ff., which deal with the first origin of Devi at the beginning of creation, originally belonged to the first Pada, or whether these vertes were added only to deal very briefly with an important topic which was going to be omitted with the omission of practically the entire Trailokya-vijaya Pada.

381 See footnote 105 above. The Ms of the Devi-p, described by Eggeling in

his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1205-7 has the final colopbon-

'ny adye devyavatáre iri-devipuráne 'bhyudaya-pádah samāptah'.

by the reaching 'ity adye devyavanare etc.' occurring in the final colophon as well as in some of the chapter-colophons of the Ms of the Devi-p, described by Eggeling (see Ind. Off. Cat., V1, p. 1207) and in the final colophons of the two Mm described in Mitra's Bikaner Cat. and Shestri and Gui's Calcutta Sans. College Cat. (see footnote 76). Cf. also Devi-p. 128.4 wherein the 'âdya devyavatāra' has been mentioned indirectly, in connection with 'phala-iruti', as the subject-matter of the present Devi-p.

due most probably to the repeated revisions and abridgments to which this Purāṇa, like many other works of its class, was subjected from early days. The Devi-p. itself records a tradition that this 'Sastra' was revealed by Siva to Brahmā in ten lacs (of ślokas?) and by Brahmā to Indra in one lac (of śkokas ?). It then reached Agastya (most probably in a more abridged form), and Agastya narrated it to king Nṛpavāhana (perhaps far more concisely).182 That, in spite of all its exaggerations, this tradition is not totally false but is based on some amount of truth, is shown by (i) the absence of the third and fourth Padas and most probably of the major portion of the first also is from the present Devi-p., (ii) the abrupt beginning of the Purana, the sudden mention of Nrpavāhana and Citrāngada in Devi-p. I. 63-66 without any previous introduction, and the abruptness of some of the interlocutions, 144 (iii) a comparison of some of the extracts quoted in the Nibandhas from the 'Devi-purăna' with their parallels in the present Devi,186

¹⁰⁰ Devi-p. 128, 1-2,

sa See footnote 149 above.

In his Kṛṭya-ratalkara, pp. 357-B Caṇḍcivara quotes twenty-nine metrical lines, ascribing them to the 'Devi-purina' at the outset and adding at the end; "bhōgavata-purine devy-avatāre navami-iriyā-sūcanam asta-catvārinsio 'dhyāyaḥ." But, curiously enough, these twenty-nine lines constitute chap. 21 (and not chap. 48, as said in the Kṛṭya-ratalkara) of the present Devi-p. Moreover, some of the long extracts and many of the verses quoted by Caṇḍcivara from the 'Devi-p.' are not found in our printed text. So, the text of the Devi-p. used by Caṇḍcivara was sunch more extensive than that of the printed work.

the For instance, the interlocution between Saunaka and Manu begins from chap. 39, although no mention of the former has been made anywhere in the preceding chapters and nothing is said as to how these two interlocutors came to meet each other.

ines has been quoted from the 'Devi-p.' in Hemada's Caturvarga-cintimani, II. i. pp. 823-6. A comparison between this curact and chap. 78 of the extant Devi-p. shows that though the present Devi-p. has retained many of the lines of the quoted extract, it has summarized many of the remaining ones by retaining the language of the original as far as possible, that the Devi-p. (chap. 78) condenses the whole topic in 28 lines, whereas the quoted extract has 71 lines, and that in the Devi-p. Manu is the speaker, whereas in the quoted passage the interjocutors are Devi and Itsara.

A comparison between a long extract (on Durga-varta) quoted in Catarvargacintărmați, II. I, pp. 856-862 and Devi-p. 33. 50-109 shows that in the quoted passage Brahmā speaks to Sukra, whereas in the Devi-p. it is Livara (i.e. Siva) who speaks to Sukra, and it is due to this change in the speaker that instead of the line 'erad vratavaram fukra maya rudrena vingună' ('this best of yows was practised by myself, Rudra and

and (iv) the loss of some of the chapters from the extant work 166

The above tradition as well as the probable loss sustained by our extant Devi-p., shows that the changes made in the present Devi-p, are far more of the character of condensation than of expansion by additions.167 So, in spite of these repeated changes the major portion of the present contents of this Purana can generally lay claim to an early date, if not to that of its first composition. The close interrelation among the chapters also points to the general integrity of the Purana.

Visnu') occurring towards the end of the quoted extract, the Devi-p, has 'ctad vrara-

varam šukra mayā brahmanā visnunā'.

Again, a summary of contents of a few lines of the Devi-p., together with the line 'irnu iakra pravaky@mi' and the verse 'subbasa vapy aiubham kimeit' which precede and follow this summary respectively, has been given in Narasimha Vājapepin's Nityacăra-pradipa, pp. 540-1. A comparison between this summary and Devi-p. 123. 14ff. shows how the Devi-p, has been reshaped. In the quoted portion Sakra is addressed by somebody, whereas in the extant Devi-p, it is king Nrpaváhana who is instructed by Agastya on the method of Devi-worship. Though the three quoted lines are not found in Devi-p., chap. 123, and the summary of other lines agrees with the contents of Devi-p. 123, 118, only imperfectly, it is Devi-p., chap. 123 which must have been the new form of that chapter from which the above-mentioned lines and summary were derived, because, in the expression 'mukulādi-nigellinh pūrvavat/puspābhāve patrāni etc.' (Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 541) there is unmistakable reference to Devi-p. 123, 13-20,

Compare also the verses 'vāma-dakļina-vettā yo mātţ-vedārtha-pāragab' etc. quoted in Apararka's com, on the Väjnavalkya-smiti (p. 16) with Devi-p. 32, 42-43 or 51. 4-6; a long extract of 130 lines quoted in Raghunandana's Durga-puja-tativa pp. 25-29 may be compared with Devi-p. 50. 88ff.; the verse 'pañcarūtrārtha-kuialo' quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 21 may be compared with Devi-p. 32, 42-43 or 51, 4-6; the description of Mangala, Rddhi, Rati, Kanti, Yafa, Sakri, Jayavati, Ajita, Manasi, Sveta and several other goddesses, as given in Vidyāpati's Durgā-blakti-tarangini, pp. 77ff., may be compared with that contained in Devi-p. 50.i. 30, 113-4, 45-7, 125-6, and ii.

11-12, 9-10, 16, 24-25a, 31, etc; and so on-

Such comparison will show definitely that the present Devi-p, is the result of a

recast to which the earlier Devi-p, was subjected.

The mention of 'Yudhisthira' and 'Kuru-sardida' as interlocutors in two extracts quoted from the 'Devi-p.' in Kālasāra, p. 103 and Varşa-kaumudi, pp. 30-31 respectively but not found in the persent Devi-p., and the occurrence of the word 'partha' in the Vocative Case in Devi-p. 27. 6 show that our Devi-p, once contained chapters in which Yudhighira was one of the interlocutors. But in the present Devi-p, there is no such chapter.

The Mss of the Devi-p, say that this Purana, ending with the Trailokyabhyudaya Pâria, consisted of 12300 slokas, whereas these Mss as well as the printed edition actually

contain 7000-8000 ilokas. (See footnote illi above).

187 That the present Devi-p, is not totally free from comparatively late additions,

we shall ace later on.

For instance, Devi-p. 21, 14 refers to Devi-p. 2, 33-35; 36.1 refers to 33.2; 44.4 refers to 42.10(?); 46.9 refers to chaps, 476L; 57.3 refers to chap, 50; 65.90 refers So, at least the great majority of the chapters must be taken as contemporaneous,

The Devi-p. calls itself a 'Purāṇa' or a 'Šāstra' and never an 'Upapurāṇa'; but it has not been included in any of the comparatively early lists of eighteen Purāṇas or Upapurāṇas contained in the different Purāṇic and non-Purāṇic works, in most probably because of its abounding in Tantric elements. Yet it is certainly not a very late work. It has been profusely drawn upon by a large number of Niban-

to chaps. 50-54; 74.2 refers to chaps. 24ff.; 92.1-4 refer to chaps. 80-81; 99.22-23 refer to chap. 63; 93.59 refers to 93.26ff.; 121.4-5 refer to chap. 26(?); and so on.

18 See Devi-p. 1, 1; 1,78; 1,57; 128,49; also the colophous of chapters.

The reading 'ityādye mahāputāņe' after DevI-p. 7.90 must be a wrong one for 'ityādye devipurāne' which is found in many of the chapter-colophons. It is noteworthy that in the chapter-colophons the Purāna calls itself 'ādya'.

In spite of its claim to the status of a 'Poraga' it contains very little of the five topics characteristic of a 'Puraga', 'caquia', 'manyantara' and 'vaquiamearita' being safely omitted.

140 See Devi-p. 128, verses 1, 13, 15, 25, 34 and to on.

in It is only in the Ekämra-p. (a work of Orisa) that the 'Devi' has been included in the first of eighteen Upapurānas (see Vol. I, p. 13). In his Smṛti-tattva Raghunandana also includes the 'Daiva' in the list of eighteen Upapurānas contained in the verses quoted by him from a 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.). Raghunandana explains 'Daiva' as 'Devi-p.' (daivam devipurāṇam).—Smṛti-tattva, 1, pp. 792-3.

The text of the verses of the Kürma-p., as given by Raghunandara, is found to agree neither with that of the extant Kürma nor with those of the verses on the list of Upapurānas quoted from the 'Kürma-p.' in the different Smrti Nibandhaa. (For the texts of these verses of the 'Kürma-p.' see Vol. 1. Chap. 1. footnotes 6-9).

By his reference to the list of eighteen Upapuranas as occurring in the 'Kürma-p.' and by his express mention that the Devi-p, was not included in any of the lists of eighteen Puranas and Upapuranas, Vallalasena also disapproves definitely the text of the above-mentioned verses as given by Raghunandana. See Danasagara, p. 3 (verse 12b-13a)—

uktāny upapurāņāni vyakta-dāna-vidhini ca [[

and p. 7 (verse 67)-

tat-tat-purāgopapurāņa-samhhyā-hahiskrtam kaimala-karma-yogāt / pāṣaṇḍa-sāstrānumatam nirūpya devipurāṇam na nibaddham atra //

Hence the age and authenticity of Raghmandana's text are extremely doubtful. The Devi-p, is also included in the list of Upapuranas given in the Sabda-kalpadruma, but this list has been derived most probably from Raghmandana's Smrti-taxva.

168 Vallalasena ascribes the exclusion of the Devi-p, from the lists of Puranas and

Upapurănas to its Tantric character. See Dănasăgara, p. 7 (seme 67)-

tat-tat-purāņopapurāņa-saņkhyā-bahiskjuam kaimula-karmu-yogāt / pāṣanda-ijatrāmumatam nirūpya devipurāņam na nibaddham atra //.

It is to be noted that at the time the present Devi-p, was first composed, the Purapas imbited very little Tantric influence and looked down upon the Tautrus as 'Parapda-Gatras'. So, it is natural that the Devi-p, with its preminent Tantric elements, should be kept outside the group of the 18 Upapuranas. See Hazra, Purapic Records, pp. 260ff.

dhakāras, both early and late. For example, Gopālabhatta quotes numerous verses from Devi-p., chaps. 51, 61 and 118 in his Hari-bhakti-vilāsa; Gadādhara from chaps. 21, 22, 24, 59, 61 and 96 in his Kālasāra; Anantabhatta from chap. 54 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta; Narasimha Vājapeyin from chaps. 32 (cf.), 34, 50, 51 and 123 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa; Raghunandana from chaps, 21-24, 50, 51, 54, 59, 61 and 78 in his Smrti-tattva and from chaps, 21-23, 50, 54, 59 and 123 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 21 (cf.), 24, 59, 61 and 78 in his Varsa-kaumudī, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chap. 60 in his Dānakaumudī; Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaņi from chaps. 22, 24, 59 and 61 in his Krtva-tattvārņava; Vācaspatimiśra from chap. 54 in his Tirtha-cintāmani, from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, and from chaps. 48 and 59 in his Krtya-cintāmaņi; Rudradhara from chap. 24 in his Varşakṛtya and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Śūlapāṇi from chaps. 21-23 and 61 in his Durgotsava-viveka, from chap. 97 in his Prāyaścitta-viveka, and from chap. 59 in his Śrāddha-viveka; Candeśvara from chaps. 12, 21, 22, 24, 33, 50, 59, 61, 62, 74, 79, 89, 91, 99, 102, 104, 117, 123 and 127 in his Krtya-ratnākara, from chap. 97 in his Grhastharatnākara, and from chaps. 59, 103, 105 and 106 in his Dānavākyāvalī; Madanapāla from chaps. 51, 59 and 97 in his Madana-pārijāta; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 24, 74 and 104 (cf.) in his Kāla-nirnava; Vidyāpati from chaps. 21-23, 50, 51, 53, 59, 89, 91, 117, 123 and 124 in his Durgā-bhaktitarańgiņī and from chap. 50 in his Gańgā-vākyāvalī; Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 50 and 51 in his Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra) and from chaps. 24, 45, 59, 61 and 79 in his Samaya-pradipa; Hemādri from chaps. 11, 12, 21-24, 27, 31, 32, 45, 50, 56, 58-62, 64-67, 74, 78, 79, 89, 91, 98, 99-107 and 121 in his Caturvarga-cintāmani; Vallālasena from chap. 100 in his Adbhuta-sägara; 100 Aparārka from chaps. 32 (cf.),

¹⁶⁰ The authenticity of the quotation made from the Devi-p, in the Adhhuta-sagara is more or less debatable. Towards the beginning of his Adhhuta-sagara the author gives a list of authorities utilised by him in his work. But an actual examination of the Adhhuta-sagara shows that this work contains verses from such Puranas and

51 (cf.), 59, 74, 97, 102 and 104 in his commentary on the Yājāavalkya-smrti; Laksmidhara from chaps. 12, 23-27, 33, 58-59, 64, 74, 79, 89, 91, 96-99, 101-106 and 127 in his Krtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-VI, VIII and XI; and Jimūtavāhana from chaps. 22, 48, 61, 74 and 93 in his Kālaviveka. Of the 21 metrical lines ascribed to the 'Devi-p.' in the Samvatsara-pradipa, six are found in chaps. 48, 59 and 61 of the present Devi-p.184 Some of the verses of the Devi-p., which were derived by Raghunandana from Vacaspatimiśra', 'Krtya-mahārṇava' (of Vācaspati-miśra), 'Krtyacintāmaņi', 'Navya-vardhamāna', 'Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņi' (of Vidyāpati), 'Naiyata-kālika-kalpataru' and 'Kāmadhenu' (1000-1100 A.D.), are found in Devi-p., chaps. 21, 24 and 59.145 Hence the date of the present Devi-p., which was known far and wide in the eleventh century, can never be placed later than 850 A.D.

Though the authenticity of the quotation made in the Adbhuta-sāgara from Devi-p., chap. 100 is more or less debatable, Vallālasena's knowledge of the present Devi-p. can by no means be questioned. By his remark that the Devi-p., which was exluded from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of 'sinful acts', was rejected by him because of its Tantric character, vallālasena undoubtedly means the present Devi-p. which had Tantric elements even before the time of Aparārka. Now,

Upaparanas (viz., Devi-p., Vigus-p., Nandi-p., Vâya-p., Aditya-p., Linga-p. and Brahmanda-p.) as have not been mentioned in the list. The exclusion of the nature of these works from the list may be due either to the inadvertance of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Vallidasena's critical outlook as well as of the fact that Lakymanasens completed this work left unfinished by its author, tempts us to suppose that most probabily it was Lakymanasens who revised and improved the Adbhuta-akgara with further addition of materials.

the end of the final Volume of the present work.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verse 67)—

^{&#}x27;tat-tat-purkijopapurkija-samklijā-balijķirtani etc.'

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Aparârka's com. (on the Yāj.), p. 16yad api devi-purâne-

viena-daksipa-vettä yo mäty-vedärtha-päragab /

ua bhavet sthāpakah treatho devinām mātarā(-tṛkā su ca //

by way of explaining why he rejected some of the Puranas and Upapurānas, partly or wholly, in his Dānasāgara, Vallalasena makes valuable remarks on their contents and authenticity as a result of a highly critical study of the entire Purănic literature and names a set of Purănas which he regarded as spurious, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Agneya, Vaisnava consisting of 23000 slokas, and Lainga of 6000 ślokas.166 But he expresses no such opinion about the Devi-p. On the other hand, he says that the lists of Puranas and Upapurānas excluded it because of its Tantric character, thus implying that the Devi-p. is as old as any of the Puranas and Upapuranas mentioned in the lists. All this shows that in Vallalasena's days the reputation of the Devi-p. as a genuine Purănic work was firmly established and no question was raised against its authenticity and early origin. So, the Devi-p, must be much older than the extant Garuda and Agni which are identical with the spurious Tarksya and Agneya mentioned by Vallalasena. 100 The extant Garuda and Agui being works most probably of the tenth and ninth centuries respectively,170 the Devi-p. must be placed earlier still. Hence the Devi-p, cannot possibly be later than 700 A.D.311

> pāňcarāmārtha-kuialo mātṛ-tantra-viiāradaḥ / śiva-śāsana-venā yo graba-mātṛ-gaṇārthavit /

Though it is not yet possible to identify definitely the spurious Brāhma, Vaisnava and Lainga mentioned by Vallālasena, the contents of the spurious Purānas, as given by Vallālasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7 (venes 63-66), show definitely that the spurious Tārkṣya and Āgneya of Vallālasena are the same as the present Garada and Agni-p. respectively. For more detailed information on this point see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 137-8 and 143.

¹⁵⁹ See the immediately preceding footnote.
150 Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 144 and 138.

In his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 18 Sülapüni sayı that the line 'aştamyün ball-dünena putra-näšo bhaved dhruvam' of a 'Devl-p,' was explained by Srikara as prohibitive of rapathi-pājā and bull-döne during the Aştami Tithi (yat tu 'aştamyün ball-dänena' iti devipurāniyam tad aştaml-kşame samdhipūjā-balidāna-nijedhakam iti śrīdatta-śrikara-miśrāh). So,it is sure that a 'Devl-p,' was known to Śrikara, who flourished between 600 and 1050 A.D. and probably in the trinth century. But as the above-mentioned line is not found in the present Devl-p, we are not sure whether the present Devl-p, is the same as that known to Śrikara. The want of any tradition or evidence as to the existence of a second Devl-p, and the fact that the present Devl-p.

This lower limit of the date of the Devi-p. seems to be pushed further up by a good number of references, contained in it,¹⁷⁶ to the independent worship of Brahmā. The opinion of scholars that the sect of Brahmā became prominent during the period ranging from 200 to 600 A.D. and that the five gods of the Smārtas threw Brahmā into the background towards the beginning of the seventh century,¹⁷³ tends to show that at the time the present Devi-p. was first composed, the worship of Brahmā was more or less popular. Hence the Devi-p. is to be placed not later than about 600 A.D.

Again, Devi-p., chap. 69 (except verses 1 and 22b), which is the same as Yājñavalkya-smṛti I. 271-289a and 290-293, must have been taken from the latter work; Devi-p., chaps. 108-110 are mainly the reproduction of Caraka-saṃhitā I (Sūtra-sthāna), chap. 25; and there are references to the decadent state of Jainism and Buddhism in several places of this work. Moreover, there is mention of horā and drekkāṇa, irs of the names of the zodiacal signs (rāśi) and week-days, ir of the Śaivas and Pāśupatas as two distinct Śivaite sects, of the Vāmas and Dakṣiṇas as two divisions of the Tantriks, of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, ir of the Tantrik Baud-

contains the majority of the verses averibed to the 'Devi-p.' in Süiapāni's Durgotsavaviveka, however, tend to show that the two Devi-purānas, mentioned above, are identical, and that the text of the Devi-p., med by Srikara and Sülapāni, had a few more verses (on Devi-worship) which do not occur in the present text of this Purāna.

³⁷⁸ See Devi-p. 2, 13; 35, 18-19; 50, iv. 57; 51, 1; 82, 15; 104.9; 118, 2; and so on, 128 Farquiar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 148 and 179-180.
Cf. also Brhat-samhită, chapa. 58 and 60, wherein there are rules for the construction and erection of the image of Brahmä, thus proving the wide spread of the worship of the god in Varahamibira's time.

¹⁹ See Devi-p. 9.32; 13.24; 27.18; 33.61; 65.52; 69.3; 88.2; 110. 3; and so on. These verses show that the Jaim and Buddhists were regarded as wholly untrustworthy, and their night was deemed inampicious, unholy and most detrimental to longevity. Their sight even in dreams was comidered as foreboding evil.

opening to prove that it was used by them earlier than the earl of the first century A.D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the earlier century A.D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

¹⁷⁸ Devi-p. 22.7; 32.8-10; 39.167; 43.64; 44.8; 46.81-82; 47.2; 50. iv. HL

¹¹¹ Devi-p. 43,64; 45,3ff.; 76,41.

¹⁷³ The Buckha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Vianu most probably from about 550 A.D. See Hazra, Puragic Records, pp. 41-42.

dhas,178 and of the Hūṇas as practising the different mystic Vidyās.180 So, the Devi-p. cannot be dated earlier than 500 A.D.

This upper limit of the date of the Devi-p. seems to be supported by its silence about the Devi-māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍaya-p. as well as by the distribution of the different limbs of the kūrma (kūrmāṅga-saṃsthāna), as described in Devi-p., chap. 46 (verses 63 ff.), which prominently betrays the influence of Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 14 (nakṣatra-kūrmādhyāyaḥ) not only by one of its opening verses these there are a few more verses in which the influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā may reasonably be suspected. In the description of Ghora's nature and administration, as given in Devi-p. 16. 3-11, there are some statements which have striking similarity with those made by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his Kādambarī in course of describing the condition of king Sūdraka's subjects, and from these it is very natural

pārandibhir bhavisyais tu bauddha-gāruda-vādibhih / ayadharma-niratair yatta ayena nyāyena pūjitāh //

This were refers to the Päsanda (i.e. Tantrik) Bauddhas who worshipped the divine Mothers in their own way.

See also Devi-p. 13, 10-12, which, by their mention that Silamati, wife of the demon Ghora, became devoted to the Digambara sect and observed your but did not worship the Mātta, seem to betray their knowledge of the Tantrik Bauddhas.

100 Devi-p. 39.143,

101 Cf. Devi-p. 46.64 with Brhat-mmhita 14.1.

metre at that of Brhat-sambită, chap. 14. See also DevI-p. 12. 34-38, 44 and 54-57.

146 For instance, Devi-p., chap. 12, which deals with the hoisting of Indra's banner (indra-dhvajocchrhya), has verses (viz., 22, 24 and 28-29) which may be compared with Brhat-samhita, chap. 43, verses 21, 22s and 39-40; Devi-p., chap. 47, dealing with the movements of the planets (graha-gati), opens with six lines written in the same metre as that of Brhat-samhitā, chap. 14; and so on.

184 For these see verses 8-11-

yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāṣṭenjāḥ / yasya bāṭaka-daṇdāni chatreju na jane kvacit // yasya ghātā aiyoṣṭresu na pure na ca ghoṭake / yasya dūtāḥ priyā-kope kārmukānāṃ na vigrahe // yasya cādhvara-yajūeṣu hy airu-pāto na sokajaḥ / yasya iaśi-kṛpāṇeṣu kalaṅbo na ca hhi-kṛtaḥ // yasya svapna-prabhā mithyā na ca vaktavya-yojane / yasya bāle mukhābhaṅgo na ca krodha-bḥayāt kvacit //

384 See Kādambari, pp. 10-11—yasmiņi ca rājani jita-jagati paripālayati maldiņ

¹⁷¹ Devi-p. 88.2-3-

for one to take the Devi-p. as the borrower. But the grammatical and other errors occurring in some of these verses go definitely against their spurious character. So, these verses cannot be utilised to bring down the date of the Devi-p.

Thus, it is highly probable that the Devi-p., as we have it now, comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half.

The mention of the earlier arrangement of the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇi in Devi-p. 46.33 and 127.87-92 should not be taken to go against the above general date of the Devi-p. in its present form; because in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā itself there is mention of the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇi (see Bṛhat-saṃhitā, chap. 15).

A large number of verses is found common to Devi-p., chaps. 46-49 and Sāmba-p., chaps. 18 and 22-23. Although we have seen in course of our analysis of the Sāmba-p. in Vol. I (p. 66) that chaps. 22-23 of this work must have been added later, we cannot say definitely whether the Sāmba-p. borrowed the common verses from the Devi-p., or both these Purāṇas utilised a common source. The grammatical correctness of the great majority of the verses of the said four chapters of the Devi-p., especially the last three (viz., chaps. 47-49), as contrasted very remarkably with that of the verses preceding and following them, shows that most of them were derived from a different source. But we are in complete darkness about the period of their inclusion in the Devi-p.

The above general date, to which we have assigned the

citra-tarması varga-samkarāh svapnegu vipralombhāt chatregu kanakadandāh . . . karisu mada-vikārāh . . . ctc.

les See, for instance, Devi-p. 15, 3 ('-madouekāt' for '-madotsekena'), 5 ('hādhaṇti' for 'hādhaṇte', '-krodhādir na gaṇo viiate tanum' for '-krodhādinām na gaṇo viiati tanum'), 7 ('-maṇdala-ṇ-tattva-veditā' for '-maṇdala-tattva-veditā', and 'karastham api dhātrijam' for 'karastham iva dhātrijam'), 8 ('kari-mahāgandhāḥ' for 'mahāgandha kariṇāḥ'), and so on.

Devi-p. Simha-p. 46.2-37 = 18, 16-38, 47.6b-36 = 12, 39-68,

^{46.1-22 = 22.3-24}a. 49.2-30 = 23.90-39.

present Devi-p., should not be taken to be the date of composition of all the chapters without exception. It has already been said that this work, as we have it at present, is the result of repeated revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected with the progress of time; and we shall see presently that its peculiar language points to its earlier beginning. So, it is very likely that in the present text of the Devi-p, there are chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D.

Being a great authority on Sakti-worship and consequently a work of extensive use, the Devi-p. could not escape interpolations. In connection with vidyā-dāna mention has been made, in Devi-p. chap. 91, of the Nandi-nagara script, which, as Bühler says, originated from the Southern Nagari of the 8th-11th centuries A.D. 188 Hence chap. 91 (or rather verses 12-82, which deal with vidyā-dāna) must have been interpolated later. The comparatively late date of this chapter is also shown by its mention of yantra (diagram) as a medium of worship. It is to be noted that in the whole of the present Devi-p. there is no second instance in which the yantra has been prescribed to be used as a medium of worship. Chap. 91 is, however, not to be dated later than 1050 A.D., because Hemādri and Laksmīdhara quote almost the entire chapter in their Caturvarga-cintāmaņi and Kṛtya-kalpataru respectively.100 Besides these, there may be other interpolations, but it is very difficult to find them out.

Though the Devi-p. calls itself a 'Purāṇa' or a 'Śāstra' but never an 'Upapurāṇa' and is a fairly early work, it has been included among the Upapurāņas by Raghunandana110, Narasimha Väjapeyin189, Mitra-miśra192, and Saiva Nila-

¹⁸⁸ Bübler, Indian Palacography, p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ A complete list of the traced verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of the present work.

ive See footnote 161 above-

in Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 18-19astādašahhyas tu prthak purānam yat tu drīyate /

vijānidhvam muni-iresthās tad etchhyo viningatam // vinirgatam samudbhūtam / yathā kālikāpurāņādiniti laksmidharah / yac ca väyupurāņa-devipurāņādi tad apy eteşv antargatam/

¹⁰⁰ Viramitrodaya, Paribhāsā-prakāia, p. 15-

kanthain. But there was a section of people including Candesvara who claimed that this Devi-p. was the real Bhāgavatain. This opinion, being wholly unjustified failed to find any wide acceptance among the people and was consequently discarded.

As regards the provenance of the Devi-p., there is little scope for doubt that it was written in Bengal. Besides the mention of the names of countries, rivers, holy places etc., mostly belonging to Northern India and showing the relation of this Purāṇa with that part of the country, there are other evidences which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows:

(1) As we shall see presently, the Devi-p., unlike all other works of the Purāṇic literature, is written in highly incorrect Sanskrit which compares very favourably with Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit found in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara and other works of East Indian origin. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that the Devi-p. also had its origin in Eastern India.

(2) Of the numerous lists of Upapurāņas contained in different works it is only those given in the Ekāmra-p. (a work of Orissa) and Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva which include the name of the Devî-p.¹⁰²

(3) Although the Devi-p. mentions 'Kāmarūpa' and

assadaiahhyas tu pethak puranam yat tu deiyate / vijankilwam dvija-fresika tad etebbyo vinimatam //

.. vinirgatanı samudbhütam / yathā mahājana-parigrhita-nandikcivara-purān-idipurāna-devipurānādhu aamksepab /

devipurăna-kătikăpurănayor upapurănatvasya niicitatvât . . . /

'bhagavatyāi ca durgāyāi caritum yatra vartate / tar tu bhāgavatam proktam na tu devipurāņakam //

occurring in chap, 23 of the Uttara-khanda of the Bongal Siva-p. (for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off, Cat., VI, No. 3665, p. 1357).

This verse is the same as verse 129 of chap. 44 of the Uma-sambita of the Siva-p. (Verikat. ed., which reads 'vidyate' for 'vartate').

In his Kṛṭya-ratnākara (p. 358) Caṇḍeivara once names the Devi-p. both as 'Devipurāṇa' and 'Bhāgavata-purāṇa'.—See footnote 153 above.

144 See Flazca, Purănic Records, pp. 52ff.

116 See Devi-p., chaps. 38, 39, 42, 46 (verses 63ff.), 63, 74-76, and so on.

for these two lists see Vol. 1, pp. 4-5 and 13.

'Kāmākhyā' as places of Devi-worship, it does not add any importance to these, nor does it betray any influence of the method of Devi-worship followed in these places. On the other hand, it concerns itself with the praise and worship of Vindhyavāsinī (of whom, as the Daśa-kumāra-carita tells us, there was a famous temple at 'Dāmalipta' or Tamluk)¹⁰⁰, and the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Šakti-worship and its influence on Bengal become more and more prominent in the later Purāṇic works such as the Kālikā-p., Mahābhāgavata and Brhaddharma-p.

(4) Most of the extant Mss of the Devi-p. are found in Bengal and are written in Bengali script, and those which are now available at or near about Benares, might have been copied from their originals taken there from Bengal. In other parts of India, Mss of this Purāna are very rare.

(5) As we have already seen, the Devi-p. mentions satru-bali in Durgă-pūjā in the following verse (22.16):

tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatrum kṛtvā tu piṣṭajam / khadgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-viśākhayoḥ // Curiously enough, this custom survives in Bengal even to the

present day.

Satru-bali as a malevolent rite is very ancient. In early days it was performed after a pacificatory rite (sānti) by a king's priest with the use of abhicāra-mantras for the good of his royal patron. Varāhamihira mentions it in the following

verse of his Brhat-samhită (44, 21):

"śāntim rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai kṛtvā bhūyo, 'bhicārakair mantraiḥ/
mṛnmayam arim vibhindyāc chūlen-oraḥsthale vipraḥ //'
"After performing the propitiatory rite for the growth [and
prosperity] of the kingdom the [learned] Brahmin [priest]
should, by citing Abhicāra-mantras again, thoroughly pierce
with a lance at its chest [the effigy of] an enemy made of
clay."

But the association of 'satru-bali' with Durga-pūjā is of

¹⁸⁸ See Duśa-kumára-carita, Ucchväsa VI, p. 149-... nuhmeşu dămaliptāhvayasya nagurasya bāhyodyāne ... āyatane vismṛta-vindhya-rāga-visam vasantyā vindhyavāsinyāh/ ¹⁸⁸ See above p. 45, with footnote 123.

comparatively late date. So far as we have been able to find, it is our Devi-p, which is the earliest extant work to mention this rite in connection with Durgā-pūjā. The other comparatively early Purāṇic works to prescribe it are the present Agnisso and Garuḍa-p., the Mahābhāgavata and the Kālikā-p. Of these, the first, viz., Agni-p., says in connection with the worship of sixteen- or eighteen-handed Durgā annually on the Mahānavami Tithi:

"tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatrum piṣṭamayam haret / dadyāt skanda-viśākhābhyām //"

(185.13-14).

"In her (i.e. Devi's) presence the king should take his bath, destroy [the figure of] an enemy made of powdered rice, and give [it] to Skanda and Viśākha....". In much the same words (especially as those of Devi-p. 22. 16) the Garuda-p. also says in the same connection:

"tasyāgrato nṛpaḥ snāyāc chatrum kṛtvā ca paiṣṭajam / khadgena ghātayitvā tu dadyāt skanda-višākhayoḥ //"

(I. 135.3=Jiv.'s ed.I.134.2).***

It is to be noted that these two verses of the Agni and the Garuda-p. (and more particularly that of the latter) agree very much with Devi-p. 22. 16 quoted above, and have even the incorrect Samdhi in 'tasyāgrataḥ' (for 'tasyāḥ agrataḥ') like the Devi**. Moreover, chap. 134 of Garuda-p. I, which also deals with Durgā-pūjā on the Mahānavamī Tithi, has one line (6b) tallying completely with Devi-p. 22. 10a and two more (6a and 7a) agreeing remarkably with Devi-p. 22. 9a and 10b respectively. So, there is little doubt about the fact that both the Agni and the Garuda-p. had their

This is a spurious work available in more printed editions than one and quite different from the genuine Agneya-p. will surviving in Macunder the title 'Vahni-p.' For information about this genuine Agneya-p. (alias Vahni-p.) see Harra in Our Heritage, I, 1953, pp. 209-245 and II, 1954, pp. 77-410, and Journal of the Oriental Institute, Harnda, V, 1955-56, pp. 411-416.

⁶⁰⁰ Jiv.'s ed. wrongly reads 'lakram kriva on paintakam' for the second half of the first line.

We shall see hereinafter that the language of the Devi-p., unlike that of the other works of in class, is characterised by grammatical incorrectness at every step very much like that of the Mahāvastu, Lulitavistara, and several other Sanskrit works of the Buddhist literature.

verses on satru-bali composed on the basis of that of the

Devi-p.

Now, the Agni-p. was compiled either in the eastern part of Orissa or in the western part of West Bengal (and most probably in the latter)²⁰³, and the Garuda-p. originated

Vallalasena, a ruler of Bengal, who, by way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents of some Puranas, or particular parts thereof, in his great digest on gifts, says about four spurious Puranas including the present Agni and Garuda:

tärkyyan puränam aparam brähmam ägneyam eva ca / trayovimiati-sähaaram puränam upi vaimavam // sat-sahara-mitam laingam puränam aparam tathä / tiksä-pratisthä-päsandayukti-ratna-pariksanaih // mrsä-vankämucarimih kosa-vyäkaranädibhuh / usangata-kuthäbandha-paraspara-virodinatah // tan minaketanädinäm bhanda-päsanda-linginäm / loka-vañcanam älokya sarvam evävadhiritam //

(Dānasāgara, p. 7, verses 63-66].

From the contents of these works (viz., initiation, consecration of images etc., Tantric practices, testing of germ, false genealogies and accounts of kings and sages, lexicography, grammar, etc.) as mentioned in the above verses and from the fact that these works were utilised by Minaketanas and other Tantriks for deceiving people, it is sure that the Agni and the Garuda-p., rejected by Vallälasona, are the same as our present Agni and Garuda-p. published so often as genuine Purapas from different parts of India.

Being compiled some time during the ninth century A.D. this Agni-p. began is fight against the genuine Agneya-p. for occupying the latter's position and was soon able to attain much popularity especially among those who had been influenced by Tantricium. But the apathy, or rather hatred, which the comparatively early Smetiwriters bore towards the Tangras, prevented this Purinta from attaining a position of general acceptance as the genuine Mahāpurāņa spoken out by the Fire-god. Thus, in the twelfth century, as Vallalasena's evidence shows, this Purana was trying in Bengal to hold the ground against the genuine Agueya-p, and took a few centuries more to attain a position of authority among the Sturti-writers. In the meantime it was gaining ground in Orisis, where Višvanātha Kavirāja (1300-1384 A.D.), the first known scholar to recognise its authority, quoted from it two verses (viz., 337.3 and 338.7) in his Sabityadarpapa, Pariccheda I, p. 2. The next writer to utilise this spurious Agni-p. also hailed from Orissa. He was Narasimha Vājapeyin, a Smrti-writer who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A. D. Even in the first quarter of the sixteenth century this work was able to attain only partial recognition in Bengal, where Govindānanda Kavikatīkaņārārya (1520-1560 A.D.) was the first writer to look upon it as an authority and to utilise its contents profusely in his works. (For the above date of Govindānanda see Hazra in Journal of Oriental Research, Mastras, XVIII, pp. 97-100, and for the list of the verses quoted by him from the 'Agni-p.' or 'Agneya' and traced in the present Agni-p., see Hazra, Puranic Records, p. 318, and Our Heritage. 1, 1953, p. 244). It is interesting to note that outside Bengal and Orism this work attained recognition of scholars much later and took a few decades more to be looked upon as an authority in Western and Southern India, and in Mithila it was not even referred to by any writer down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., if not later. So, there is little scope for doubt that the spurious Agni-p, originated somewhere in Eastern Orissa or Western Bengal. The complete silence of Maithila writers about in Mithila, but most likely in that part of Bengal which was adiacent to Mithila 2014.

As to the Mahabhagavata and the Kalika-p., we shall see hereinafter that the former, which mentions the rite of satru-bali in the verse

"tatah satrum balim dadyāt kṛtvā pistamayam mama / navamyām pūjitāham tu balibhir vividhair api //"

(45.33).

was written in Bengal (and most probably in its eastern part) some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D., and the latter, which gives a description of the rite in chap. 71, verses 177ff., was compiled in the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D. either in Kamarupa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.

this Agui-p, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. (although some of them, such as Candeivara, Vidyapati and others, recognised the authority of Tantras much earlier) and the fact that in spite of the mention of Kamarupa as a sacred place on two occasions (in Agni-p. 143.7 and 144.19) the Brahmins of that place (and not those of Bengal or Orissa) have been included in Agni-p. 39, 6-7 among those who were considered unfit for consecrating the images of Visnu according to the Pancaratra method, tend to show that the Agni-p, was compiled neither in Mithila nor in Kamarupa. On the other hand, the facts that Purusottama (modern Puri in Orista), mentioned more than once in the Agni-p. (viz., in 117, 63, 174, 18, and 219, 68), has been located in 'Audra' (in Agni-p. 305, 13), that no Sugai-writer of Orisis makes any mention of datasbali in connection with Durga-pūjā, and that the name 'bhelathi' for a particular type of mystic Vidya (widely known in Bengal under the popular name 'bbelkt') occurs in Agni-p. 133, 40-41 and 143, 3, make it very likely that this Purana was compiled in the western part of West Bengal.

101 Like the spurious Agni-p., the present Garuda-p. also was mentioned, for the first time, by Vallalanena of Bengal but rejected by him as unautheritative for its spurious character and the Tantric elements in its contents. (For the relevant verses of Vullatasena's Danaxagara see the immediately preceding footnote). Its authority was recognised, first of all, by Viciyāpati (1395-1440 A.D.) and Vācaspati-miira (1425-1400 A.D.), both of whom balled from Mishill and drew upon it in their Gunga-vakyavall and Tircha-cinthmani respectively. In Bengal, it was Govindananda Kavikankeārya (1520-1560 A.D.) who was the first Smrti-writer to recognize its asubority and to draw upon it profusely in his Śraddha-kaumudi and Varsa-kaumudi and once in his Śuddhikaumuelt. Following him, Raghunandana, Gopālabhajta (author of the Hari-bhaktivillasa), and others also drew upon this work. In Orissa, it was not recognised till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., after which Gadādhara utilised it in his Kalasara. On the other hand, the Garuda-p. names, among the great hely places of India, not only Ekamra, Viraja and Sri-purusottama of Orisas but also Kokamukha, Kamarupa and Pundravardhana with the particular mention of the drities Kamakhya and Kärttikeys of the last two places respectively. (See Garuda-p. I. 81, 11-17). So, the Garuçia-p., undoubtedly a work of Eastern India, was compiled either in Mithita or in the western part of Bengal (and most probably in the latter).

Again, the earliest Smrti work to mention the said rite of 84 satru-bali in Durgā-pūjā is Laksmīdhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, but its only authority is the Devi-p., from which it quotes, in its Rāja-dharma-kāṇḍa, pp. 192-5, verses 3-24 of chap. 22 (including the verse on satru-bali). In his Durgotsavapaddhati Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaņa also quotes many verses from the Devi-p., and says (on fol. 15b):

"anantaram śatru-pratimām pistamayim krtvā khadgena tac-chiraś chedayitvā 'om skandāya namaḥ' iti skandāya širo dattvā 'om višākhāya namah' iti višākhāya

kabandham dadyāt".

Although Udayasimha Rūpanārāyaņa does not quote Devip. 22.16 (on satru-bali), his wordings show definitely that his authority for this rite was the Devi-p. In his Vidhanapārijāta (II, p. 651) Anantabhaṭṭa also quotes the said verse of the Devi-p. (and no other authority) in connection with śatru-bali in Durgā-pūjā. In Eastern India it is the Samvatsara-pradipa which is the earliest Smrti work to include this rite in the annual worship of Durgā. It was written in the twelfth century A.D. by Halayudha, a high state officer in charge of religious affairs under king Laksmanasena of Bengal; and its relevant lines (given without quoting any authority) are as follows:

"tataḥ śāli-piṣṭaka-śatru-pratikṛtim nirmāya maņdapa-dvāra-pāršve uttara-sirasam samsthāpya lohitapuspeņa sampūjya tīksņa-khadgam ādāya amukāmukam mārayamīti chittvā skanda-viśākhābhyām nama iti nive-

dayet." (See fol. 25b).

There is also another Smrti work of Bengal, viz., Durgā-pūjāpaddhati of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, in which there is mention of satru-bali (see Durgā-pūjā-paddhati, fols. 46b-47b). Of the Smrti-writers of Mithila it is Candesvara and Vidyāpati who mention satru-bali in their Kṛtya-ratnākara (pp. 353, 360) and Durgā-bhakti-taranginī (pp. 35, 197) respectively, the authority cited by them on this rite being the Devi-p. only. The influence of the Bengal Nibandhas on the section on Durgā-pūjā in Candeśvara's Kṛtya-ratnākara and Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņī is obvious. It is specially remarkable that in all cases the non-Bengal Nibandhas use the Devi-p, as their only authority on satrubali, that all the Purăṇas, except the Devi, which mention this rite, connecting it with Durgā-pūjā, belong either to Bengal or to places very near to it, and that this rite is found to be followed in some form or other in Bengal even at the present day. From all this it appears that both the rite of satru-bali in Durgā-pūjā and the Devi-p, recording it originated in Eastern India and very likely in Bengal.

(6) The Devi-p. names, in some cases more than once, Kāmarūpa,²⁰³ Kāmākhyā²⁰⁴, and the different parts of Bengal, viz., Vanga²⁰⁴, Rāḍhā²⁰⁸, Varendra²⁰⁹, Samataṭa²¹⁰ and Vardhamāna²¹¹, and thus shows its familiarity with and

partiality for this part of Eastern India.

(7) Among the few chief holy places sacred to Devi this Purāṇa recognises and names 'Ujjayani' (a Śākta holy place in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal) and its presiding deity Ujjani (popularly known as Ujāni)²¹², which, being of local importance, are found mentioned only in the works of Bengal³¹.

(8) As in Bengali versification, long vowels are often to be read as short for the sake of metre, and vice versa. See, for instance, Devî-p. 8.3 (bṛhaspatinā cākhyātam, in which the final 'ā' of 'bṛhaspatinā' is to be read as short), 14.25 (tathāpi kālo gadā tāṃ mumoca, in which the 'ā' of 'gadā' is to be read as short), 85.48b (kunta-karpūra-yaṣṭībhir bhuśuṇḍī-hala-mudgaraiḥ, in which the 'i' of '-yaṣṭi-' is to be read as long), and 85.49b (śalakaiḥ śilāmukhaiḥ śūlaiḥ paṭṭiśair mūṣalair halaiḥ). See also Devǐ-p. 2.10a, 3.24a, 3.25a, 4.1a, and so on.

Devi-p. 42. 8; 46. 71.

¹⁰¹d., 39, 6 and 144,

¹⁰ Ibid., 46, 69.

^{***} Rid., 39, 144

^{***} Bid., 39, 144; 42, 9,

ma Ibid., 46. 70. mi Ibid., 46. 70.

¹¹³ Ibid., 38.0-ujjayanyām to ujjanī jambu-mārge tathā sthitā.

¹¹³ For the exact location of this 'Ujjayani' and the names of the works mentioning it see footnote 125 above.

(9) In the Devi-p. there are many words and expressions which are clearly based on those in popular use in Bengal.

As instances, only a few are noted below:-

(i) The inflected form 'devyā' of 'devī' has been used in a large number of places as a basic word and declined like 'lata' and other feminine words ending in 'a'. [It should be mentioned here that in rural Bengal the word 'devyā' (for ('devi') is popularly used as a title of Brahmin widows even at the present day.]

Similarly, 'mātā', 'duhitā', 'trātā', 'dātā', etc. have been used on several occasions as basic words respectively for 'mātṛ', 'duhitṛ', 'trātṛ', 'dātṛ' etc.—See Devi-p. 6. ii. 44;

17.17; 43.18; 7.38; 31.36; and so on.

(ii) As in Bengali, the word 'sammata' has been used to mean 'the person who has agreed or given his consent' (and not 'the matter agreed upon or consented to') in Devi-p. 7. 96-evam tāḥ saṃmatīkṛtvā / niyuktāḥ śaṃbhunā // (Cf. Bengali—'sammata kariyā').

(iii) Like the word 'ki' (for 'kimva' meaning 'or') in Bengali, the Devi-p. uses 'kim' in 8. 12-... dvare ... / nāradas tisthate deva sthāpyatām kim pravešyatām //

Cf. Bengali—देव, ... द्वारे ... नारद मवस्थान करितेछेन, [नांहाके सेस्नानेड] रास्तिते हृइवे, कि, प्रवेश कराइते हृइवे? (Note the word

'sthāpyatām' for Bengali 'रामितं हइवं').

(iv) The verbal forms 'uttha' (for 'uttistha') in Devi-p. 8. 17 (uttha rājan mahābāho) and 'karanti' (for 'kurvanti') in Devī-p. 35. 27 (... bādhām karanti ca), are very similar to their Bengali equivalents '35' (rise) and 'करे' (present tense, third person, plural number of the Bengali root 'करा' for Sanskrit 'kr').

[See also the forms 'utthan' (for 'udatisthat') in Devi-p. 4.31, 'samutthanti' (for 'samuttisthanti') in 85. 33, 59, 'utthantam' (for 'uttisthantam') in 85. 43, and 'uttha' (for

'utthāya') in 85. 58.]

(v) As in Bengali, the Sanskrit root 'bhuj' (meaning 'to enjoy') has been used in the form 'bhuñj' in many places of the Devi-p. See, for instance, Devi-p. 2.42 (svarga-bhūsapta-pātālān bhuñja tvam ...), 2.49, 5.16 (bhuñja svargam).

4.10 (bhū-pātālāni bhuñjatha), 9.12 (bhuñjate pṛthvim), 9.36 (bālā bhuñjaniyā), 9.39 (bhuñjan pṛthvim), 9.45 (bhuñjayitvā), and so on.

(vi) On numerous occasions, nouns derived from verbal roots by means of Krt affixes denoting action have been allowed to govern objects having the second case-ending. For instances of such use we may refer to Devi-p. 1, 57 (śravaṇāt ... purāṇaṃ śiva-bhāṣitam, in which the word 'śravana' governs the Accusative Case in 'purāṇa'), 8.57 (kanyām udvahanopari - about marying the girl), 9. 42 (tâm udvāha-samutsukah - eager to marry her), 9. 50 (vidyā mohana-šīlā yā sa-surāsura-manavan), 11. 22 (divam utsahate jaye), 11. 57 (evam šakrasya brahmena kathitam kelumucchrayam?), 12. 19 (pańkam uddharanam kūpe), 13. 22 (asthini darśanam), 15.2 (-bhitan parirakṣaṇāya), and so on. Similar use of Krd-anta nouns denoting action is very common in Bengali and has its root in the Vedic literature, in which there are a few instances, viz., Rg-veda VIII, II. 7-agne tvām-kāmayā girā (which Sāyaṇa explains as 'tvām-kāmayā tvām abhilaşantyā girā stutyā'), Atharva-veda VI. 139. 2, 4-mām kāmena-by loving me (Whitney), Śatapatha-brāhmaņa H. 3. 1. 16-yady enam kṣīraṃ kevalaṃ pāne 'bhyābhavet-if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk (Eggeling), and so on. In the Rămāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata also there are several instances of this type (for which see Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 273).

(vii) The forms 'jvalanta' (for 'jvalat'), 'bhramanta' (for 'bhramat'), 'vahanta' (for 'vahat'), etc. have been used as basic words in Devi-p. 14. 27 (jvalanta-kopāḥ), 84. 14 (jvalantāgni-), 85.38 (bhramantāvṛtta-kuṭilam), 85.39 (vahantaiḥ), etc. (Cf. Bengali 'ज्वनन पान्न' —blazing fire, 'चनन गार्ड' —moving car, 'गुनन गिम्' —sleeping child, and so on).

The form 'tejin' (for 'tejasvin'—spirited) occurs in Devi-p. 53.1 (sraṣṭāraṃ tejinam). (Cf. colloquial Bengali 'तेनी चोक' —a spirited man).

(viii) As in Bengali, the word 'purve' (with the seventh

case-ending) has been used in Devi-p, 6, ii. 1 (mayâ pûrve ca tvam deva uktam āsīt . . .) in the sense of 'formerly', 'previously', and the word 'kapāla' appears in Devi-p. 33.31 in the sense of 'forehead'.

(ix) In several places of the Devi-p. the seventh caseending has been used in place of the fourth in the Dative case. See, for instance, Devi-p. 11. 7 (vasisthenāpi sā dattā ... sārasvate; bahvīcas tāruņe dadau, 'tāruņe' being used for 'tām+āruņe'; and so on), 106.5 (devyā bhakte pradātavyam).

Cf. Bengali 'ना मरे पाषाण बाप दिला हेन वरे' (Bhārata-candra's Annadā-mangala) -- gave [me] to such a bridegroom ...; 'सत्यात्रं दान करा उचित' -[one] should make

gifts to a worthy recipient; and so on.

On one occasion the seventh case-ending has been used in place of the third, viz., in 14.4-mahāmohe 'timohite (for '-mohenātimohite'). Cf. शोके कातर -afflicted with grief, चौबे देसा -seen with the eyes, हाते करा-handmade, कले तैरीmachine-made, and so on.

(x) As in Bengali, words have sometimes been used in different cases without any case-endings at all. See, for instance, Devi-p. 3.12, 21 (mahāsamgrāma cakrire), 14. 20 (vāmam bhuja pūrayitvā ... dhāvati kruddha kopāt), 14. 25 (tathāpi kālo gadā tām mumoca), 14. 27 (evam sa

kālo hala bhairavas ca . . .), and so on.

(xi) There are a number of cases in which adjectives, qualifying nouns in the feminine gender, have been used, as in Bengali, without any case-ending or change of gender required by the nouns they qualify. See, for instance, Devi-p. 2. 40-param astānga devasya bhaktim ..., 9. 29—evam tasya matir bhūta nārada-pathagā . . ., and so on.

(xii) The words 'aṣṭāśī' (for 'aṣṭāśīti') in Devi-p. 12.31 (astāsim tu ...) and 'panca-pancasa' (for 'pancapañcāśat') in Devi-p. 17. 8 have their parallels in colloquial

Bengali (viz. 'मण्टाकी' or 'माटाकी', and 'पीनपञ्चाका').

(xiii) As in Bengali, the a of a final or intermediate syllable of a word, though existing in writing, is on many occasions not taken into account in pronunciation. Sec, for instance, Devî-p. 13. 57—ingud-odumbaram kharjura-mātulungaih sadādimaih (in which the final a of 'kharjura' is not to be pronounced); similarly, 32.34—parasu-cakradharau cānyau damaru-darpaņa cāparau, 32.36— ... kurvantī kalakalāravaih, 39.159—šarabha-šankhau hatau dṛṣṭvā , and so on.

- (xiv) As in colloquial Bengali, the final Visarga of a word is sometimes not to be pronounced at all (for the sake of metre). See, for instance, Devi-p. 27.21... amrtam havih kāmikam (in which the Visarga of 'havih' is to be ignored in pronunciation), 31.39—sa sukham yaśah saubhāgyam...., 36.34—... pulahādibhih sattamaih, and so on.
- (xv) In a number of cases the a of a final or intermediate syllable of a word has been eliminated in writing, and for such elimination popular Bengali pronunciation must be held responsible. For instances see Devi-p. 39.15—parlu-rāmeņa (for 'parašurāmeņa') toṣitā, 43.8—tadā tvam parŝunā (for 'parašunā') hataḥ, 43.19—parŝuḥ (for 'parašuḥ') pibati śoṇitam, 98.27—bālagbhir (for 'bālakair') na ca ātmīyaṃ ..., and so on.
- (xvi) As in Bengali, the word 'vinā' has been allowed to enter into an Avyayībhāva compound with a substantive and the seventh case-ending has been added to the final member. See, for instance, Devi-p. 51.21—bali-homa-kriyādīni vinā-pātre na sidhyatî (vinā-pātre = vinā pātram). Cf. Bengali 'लंग्लिटर विना-रोपे शास्ति हइन'—the man was punished for no fault [of his]; 'से दिना-चरने नाए देश पुरिवाई'—he has travelled without expense throughout the whole country; and so on.
- (xvii) The irregular compounds 'npa-saha', 'rocanā-saha' etc. (in Devī-p. 12.56, 35.7, and so on), in which the indeclinable word 'saha' (meaning 'with' or 'together with') stands as the final member, have their parallels in Bengali.
- (xviii) In Devi-p. 86.30 (nrtyante paramo devo asmākam saha vāsava) the sixth case-ending has been used in connection with the word 'saha'. In Bengali also, the sixth case-ending is employed in connection with the words 'sange' and 'sathe',

which are the indeclinable synonyms of 'saha', e.g. रामेर सङ्गे (or, माने) न्नामार भगड़ा हहवाछिन'—I had a quarrel with Ram.

(xix) As in Bengali verse (especially of the early and the mediaeval period), the word 'darśana' has been used with swara-bhakti as 'daraśana' in Devi-p. 10.ix.11—daraśanam api punyam yoga-mārga-sthitānām.

It is needless to cite more instances.

From the evidences adduced above it is clear that the Devî-p. is an East Indian work written in Bengal. The use of the simile of ships (pota) in more places than one in this Purăṇa,³¹⁴ tends to show that it was written somewhere about Tamluk, where, as we have already seen from the Daśa-kumāra-carita, there was a famous temple of Devi Vindhyavāsini and whence ships were sent to distant countries outside India.

Although in the Devi-p., Devi appears mainly as a wargoddess115, the method of Devi-worship, as given in this Purāņa, is in many respects very different from that found at present in Bengal. The Devi-p. mentions satru-bali but is silent about the customs of nava-patrikā-pūjā (worship of the nine plants), Devi's bodhana and worship in a Bilva tree, and the Savarotsava. This disagreement between the method of Devi-worship given in the Devi-p, and that found in present-day Bengal, can be explained away by saying that the above-mentioned customs (except satru-bali), which are not found mentioned in any comparatively early work, can scarcely claim to have grown as early as the Devi-p. and that they were most probably due to the influence of Kamarupa. The direction for the worship of many gods and goddesses, especially of Brahma, Visnu, Siva, Surya and Ganesa during Devi-worship, shows that the attempt at creating a sense of

potasya vă yathă' used în connection with the maintenance of a fort by its owner); 72.73 ('poti potasya vă yathā' used în connection with the maintenance of a fort by its owner); 77.3 (... ... śiva-potasp tu tena păram hhavărpavāt); 77.15 (potasp nāvāplavasp khyātam); 83.36 (iqu-cakr-āxi-makare tvasp poto bhava acyuta); 83.112 (dnityaugha-majjamānānām potā hhava śūlinī).

are It is for this reason that the DevI-p. is said to have been introduced on earth by kings and that it deals, among other topics, with warfare and the construction of towns and forts and the method of protecting these.

brotherhood among the mutually conflicting sects among the Hindus began at an early date, and that such directions of the early Purāṇic works must have been incentives to the introduction of the 'pañcāyatana-pūjā' by the elimination of Brahmā, whose worship grew unpopular in later times.

The Devi-p. supplies us with important information regarding the different branches of Sanskrit literature known to it. Besides Itihāsa, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Ākhyāyikā, Jyotih-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra, Vīņā-śāstra (93.65), etc. it frequently mentions a Devi-sastra (literature on Devi)214 which grew up before the composition of this Purana; it refers to 'Puranas' dealing with Deviar, thus showing that Devi had become the subject-matter of Puranic works even before the present Devi-p. was composed; and it speaks of the four Vedas as well as the Upavedas, Angas etc., 316 of Usanas as an authority on warfare and construction of 'nadidurga' (river-fort)219, of Mathara as an authority on the method of Sun-worshipaso, of the 'Siva-siddhantas' on Yoga and worships, of the 'Sivagamas' as authorities on the method of worship of the divine Mothers 222, and of the political works spoken out by Sambhu, Usanas, Visnu and Brahmā225. It not only mentions 'Tantra' and 'Agama' very frequently but names a good number of Tantric works, viz., Kāla-tantra25, Gāruda-tantra25, Mātr-tantra257,

⁵³⁸ See Devi-p. 24.3 and 8; 89.14; 91.7 (devy-avatāra-fatrāni); 99.17 (nandā-fātra); 101.20; 105.9 (mangalā-fātra).

²¹⁷ Devi-p. 37,74; 39,22

¹¹¹ DevI-p., chap. 107.

nº Devi-p. 3.33; 72.55.

as—(1) name of Vyūsa, (2) a Brābmaṇa, (3) a distiller (saundika), and (4) one of the attendants on the Sun. It is most probably in the last sense that the word 'māṭhara' has been used in the Devi-p. This word seems to have nothing to do with the name of the author of the Māṭhara-vrīti on the Sāmkhya-kārikā.

en Devi-p. 10.4; 51.8.

^{***} Devi-p. 88.1.

ass Devi-p. 5.2.

⁴⁹⁴ Devi-p. 6.30; 10.4; 33.49; 39.24-25; 56.22; 83.1 and 17; 110.9.

¹⁴⁴ Devi-p. 6.31; 88.1.

²³⁴ Devi-p. 6.31; 32.49; 88.1; 91.14.

kar Devi-p. 39, 25,

Mūla-tantra²²⁸, Bhūta-tantra²³⁹, Bhairava-tantra²³⁰, Bāla-tantra²³¹ and Nitya-tantra²³¹. In Devi-p. 76.39 there is mention of a 'Mārkaṇḍeya-muniśreṣṭha-purāṇa' dealing with topics about the Narmadā and the Sarasvatī; but we have not been able to identify this work. It is also not known which Purāṇa is meant by Devi-p. 63.18 (aṣṭa-ṣaṣṭis tu nāmāni deva-devasya dhīmataḥ / purāṇe copagītāni brahmaṇā ca svayaṃbhuvā //). An extract, quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 668 from the 'Devi-p.' but not found in the present Devī, contains the name of a 'Brahma-purāṇa' in connexion with a mantra to be pronounced during the worship of Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

In this connexion we should like to say a few words on the Tantric elements in the Devi-p. The Vedic influence on this work is quite evident from the facts that the contents of the Devi-p. are said to be 'vedārtha-tattva-sahita', that the four Vedas are called Devi's door-keepers, that the muttering of the Gayatri is prescribed during Saiva-yoga, that the Vedas are called the highest authorities on dharma, that those who violate the rules of castes and orders of life are doomed to hell, that the worship often requires Vedic mantras, kunda, homa, etc., that the Brahmins are engaged as priests, and so on238. Yet this Purana is infused with Tantric influence from beginning to end. It not only recognises the Tantra as an authoritym but mentions 'Tantra' and 'Agama' on several occasions and names a good number of Tantric works. The study of a large number of Tantras is even called the best of all purifiers 233.

The form of worship, which is often mainly Tantric,

^{***} Devi-p. 9.65,

²⁵⁵ Devi-p. 32.43; 88.1; 91.14. The Bhūta-tantra has been mentioned by Varāha-mihira in his Brhat-samhitā 16.19.

Devi-p. 39.25; 91.14.

Devi-p. 39.146; 91.14.

mt Devi-p. 55.8.

⁸³ Sec Devi-p. 1.55; 7.22; 8.6; 10.v.9; 12.26; chaps. 25-26; 35.23; 72.26; 73.8; 82.11; 93.45; and so on.

¹⁹⁴ Devi-p. 55.8; 56.22.

¹⁴⁴ Devi-p. 110.3—bahu-tantrāvalokanaņi vimulikarāņāra......

requires the use of Tantric mantras and the performance of nyāsa, mudrā etc.236; the use of wine and meat is prescribed in some cases237; the feeding of virgin girls is regarded as a very important part of all worships and festivals connected with Devi; the image (pratimā), altar (sthaṇḍila), sword (khaḍga), trident (śūla), circle (maṇḍala, with the figure of a lotus - padma - in it), book (pustaka), phallus (linga), foot-wear (pādukā), cloth (paṭa), knife (churikā), arrow (bāṇa), water, fire, heart (hṛdaya), picture (citra), and bow (dhanus) are to be used as mediums of worship in different cases250; and so on.

The Devi-p. mentions many mystic lores (vidyā), viz., Kāmikā, Padamālā, Aparājitā, Mohini, Mṛṭyunjaya etc., which are intended not only for the attainment of magic powers such as ākarṣaṇa etc. but also for final emancipation (mukti)***. It elevates the position of the spiritual preceptors (guru) by prescribing their worship which is said to be as important as, or more important than, that of the gods, Fire and the Vidyās**.

As to the position to be allowed to women and Śūdras, the Devi-p. holds a liberal view. It allows them as well as the Pukvasas, Caṇḍālas and others to perform the vows and worships connected with Devi³¹³ and even prefers a qualified Śūdra to a worthless member of any of the higher castes⁵¹⁴. Women and Śūdras are directed to perform homa daily in a sanctuary (maṭha) or a kitchen (mahānasa) but never in a kuṇḍa⁵¹⁴. Virgin girls are to be worshipped and fed in all the worships and festivals connected with Devi, because Devi, being herself a maiden, resides in all virgin

²⁸⁸ Devi-p. 7.65-66; 7.88; 9.56; 9.68; 26.21-22; 29.14; 50.191; 50.iv.71; 52.8; 77.21-22; 91.406; 93.2676; and so on.

²³⁷ Devi-p. 39,173; 50,iii.18, 28 and 30; 118.6; and so on.

The Vira-venta requires the use of 'mahāmāṇsa' in huns.-Devi-p. 9. 68-69.

²⁸⁸ Devi-p. 22.10; 25.35; 31.18; 50.161; 50.iv.42f, and 100; 54.10; 57.13; 58.49; 65.56f; 91.40f; 93.102-106; 98.7-9; 98.18-19; 100.5; 102.21-12; and so on.

Devi-p. 1.63-64; 2.1; 9.49 and 52; 11.4; 76,31; and so on,

²⁴⁰ Devi-p. 39.27; 39.122-4.

¹¹¹ Devi-p. 67.5; 124.1; chap. 125. Also of 39.170; 128.24 and 26f.

²⁴⁹ Devi-p. 22.5-6; 22.23-24; 24.17; 88.4; 89.19; 91.1; and so on.

¹⁴⁹ Devi-p, 51,4-5.

PH Dovi-p. 121.5.

girls²⁴⁵. Other women also are held in high esteem⁵⁴⁰, so much so that their worship is prescribed on several occasions²⁴⁷.

As has already been said, the highly incorrect language of the Devi-p. shows characteristics which are unique in the Purāṇic literature but have very often their parallels in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara and other Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit²¹⁸. Although these linguistic peculiarities are too numerous to be noted here exhaustively, some striking cases are referred to below for giving a general idea of the highly varied nature of these, with the citation of a limited number of instances of each type taken mainly from the first few chapters of the Devi-p.

- I. Unlawful^{nes} changes made not infrequently in the stems;
 - (i) Substitution of the final i of 'sakhi' (friend) with aya, as in

sakhāya (for 'sakhi') in 39.146³³⁰— . . . graha-rājasya sakhāyatve vyavasthitāḥ, 95.46—susakhāyaiḥ sahaiva tu, 95.44—sakhāyānāṃ tu lakṣaṇam, and so on²⁵¹.

(ii) Substitution of the final r (of masculine words) with a, ara, āra or u, as in

bharta (for 'bhartṛ') in 9.10—bhartānupātakaḥ; hota (for 'hotṛ') in 11.33—yajña-hotāya namaḥ; karta (for 'kartṛ') in 26.34—bhūti-kartāya namaḥ;

kanyā devyā evayam proktā kanyā-rūpā tu tūlīnī / yāvad akṣata-yonih syāt tāvad devyā surārihā //

¹⁴⁰ Devi-p. 35,17-18-

²m Devi-p. 93.165f.

³¹⁷ Devi-p. 22,19; 90.21; 91.61.

to For information about Buddhist hybrid Samkrit and in literature see F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Samkrit Grammar and Dictionary (Vol. I-Grammar, and Vol. II-Dictionary).

Although the name 'hybrid Sanskrit', given by Edgerton to the mixed language (Prakrit-Sanskrit) of the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, etc., is not very satisfactory, we have used it here from various comiderations.

so So for as Sanskrit grammar is concerned.

²⁵⁰ It is needless to say that this and similar other references below are to the Devi-p.

For the use of 'takhāya' for 'takhi' in Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit see Edgerton, op. vit., I, p. 69 (10.8).

pitara (for 'pitr') in 50.i.72-pitara-mātaraḥ, 91.50-

mātarāh pitarās tathā;

hotāra (for 'hotr') in 121.27-avedakas tu hotāro naiva prīņāti vai surān; vettāra (for 'vettṛ') in 32.42tacchāstra-vettāraih (Instrumental, plural), 121.6 —mahāvidyārtha-vettāraih;

vidhātu (for 'vidhātṛ') in 7.9-jaya -bud-

dhindriya-vidhātave (Dative for Vocative);

and so on252.

(iii) Substitution of the final I (of masculine words) with & (the resultant form being used in the feminine gender), as in

dātā (for 'dātṛ') in 31.36 - sīvāyāḥ sīva-dātāyāḥ (for '... siva-dātryāh', the word 'dātā' having been used in the feminine gender, for 'datri', on account of its final 'a'); stotā (for 'stotr') in 6,ii.32-33- ... devi ... stotā tvam ca stutis tvam ca (for '... devi ... stotrī tvam'); trātā (for 'trātṛ') in 7. 38-trātās tāḥ sarva-devānām (for 'trātryas tāḥ .. .'); and so on.

It may be that of the words 'datr', 'stotr', 'tratr' etc. the final r was first replaced by a (as in 'hota', 'karta' etc. mentioned above) and then the feminine suffix a was added

for turning them into feminine bases.

So far as we have been able to find, the Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit do not contain a single instance of the above use of masculine words ending in 'r'.

(iv) Substitution of the final i of certain monosyllabic feminine words (such as 'dhi', 'śrī' and 'strī') with iya

or iyā, as in

dhiya (for 'dhî') in 93.111-martyair jada-dhiyair

śriyā (for 'śri') in 7.51-śriyā rūpe sthitā tasya, 50.i.10 - puştih śriyā umā, 50.i.84 - tesām āyuh śriyā, 50.i.115- ... śriyā kāryā padmāsana-vyavasthitā,

¹⁶² For similar use of 'napta' (for 'naptr'), 'mandhata' (for 'mandhatr'), 'yanta' (for 'yaytr'), 'karta' (for 'kartr'), 'bhrhtara' (for 'bhrhtr'), 'pitara' and 'pitu' (for 'pitr'), 'bhartu' (for 'bhartr'), 'ilistu' (for 'ilistr)', and so on in Mahlivastu, Lalitavistara, eac. sec Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 90 (13.3-5) and 91 (13.16-17, 21-28).

66.29-śriyā caiva tathomā ca;

striya and striyā (for 'strī') in 101.27—striyaiḥ kāryam, 9.68—striyākarşaṇam, 67.74—striyā vā lakṣaṇopetā, 91.75—striyā vānena vidhinā vidyā-dāna-phalaṃ labhet; and so on²⁶³.

(v) Substitution of the final γ (of feminine words) with \bar{a} , ara, or $ar\bar{a}$, as in

duhitā (for 'duhitṛ') in 43.18—agastya-duhitām devim;

mātā, mātara or mātarā (for 'mātṛ') in 6.ii.44—suhṛdbandhu-mātā-balābalā-vadham, 17.17, 106.6—vedamāte (Vocative), 119.24—vīra-māte (Vocative), 7.84—mātara-saṃnidhau, 59.11—ravi-mātara-rūpā ca, 86.20—mātarāḥ, 86.4, 6, 8, 10, 14— -mātaraiḥ, 88.11—devamātarotpattim, 26.13—mātarā bhujagāmbikā, 45.6—mātarāsu ca (also 7.96—nāyikā mātarārtihāḥ, 22.21, 65.90—mātarāṇām, 26.17—mātarā loka-pālānām, 53.9—mātarāṇām sadā-cakram, 65.81—mātarā graha-nāgāś ca, etc.); and so on²⁴.

(vi) Shortening of the final \bar{a} or \bar{i} of certain feminine

words (very often for the sake of metre), as in

dīrghika (for 'dīrghikā') in 82.64, 93.75—dīrghikaiḥ; jvotsna (for 'jyotsnā') in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena cakāsantī taḍid iva; mekhala (for 'mekhalā') in 26.3—mekhalais tribhiḥ, 50.ii.1— munja-mekhala-bhūṣitā; mudra (for 'mudrā') in 52.8—varadābhaya-mudrau tu ...; narmada (for 'narmadā') in 32.4—gangā-narmada-vindhyādri-; pāduka (for 'pādukā') in 93.105—pāduke pratimāsu ca, 98.7—-pāduke paṭe, 98.19—pāduke vātha khadge ca; putāka (for 'patākā') in 51.27—patākaiḥ; jobha (for 'śobhā') in 50.ii.44—śobha-kṛt;

devi (for 'devī') în 14.23—sa devi-ghāto hata-bhūniṣaṇṇaḥ, 14.28—te devi-bāṇāśani-bhinna-vakṣāḥ, 50.i.59 —bhūṣayed devi-vedikām, 50.i.61—daršayed devi-

254 For instances of similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 90 (13, 7-13) and 91 (16-16).

sst For the use of 'triya' and 'striya' (for 'sri' and 'stri' respectively) in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., 1, p. 69 (10.4-6).

mandale, 93.269- ... devi uddharet ...; pārvati (for 'pārvatī') in 43.37 - pārvati-nandanah; patni (for 'patnī') in 33.36 -pratyan-mukhāḥ patnişu;

and so oness.

(vii) Addition of a after the final i of certain feminine words (such as 'devi', 'koṭi', 'kumārī', 'vedi', etc.), as in

devyā (for 'devi') in 35.17-kanyā devyā svayam proktā, 15.17—devyā kopānala-sudīpitāh, 7.37—tā devyā rși-mānavāḥ, 9.71—devyāyai vinivedaya, 32.14—devyāyā bhakti-kāraņam, 37.100 - devyāyā eşa siddhāntah, 92.13 -devyāyām; kolyā (for 'koṭī') in 2.37-koṭyāyuta-gajānvitali; kumāryā (for 'kumāri') in 12.28-kumāryāh prathamāmsagāh (Nominative, plural); vedyā (for 'vedī') in 65.99—paścimāyām tu vedyāyām ...; and so on²⁶⁸.

(viii) Addition of a to the final consonants mostly of masculine words and rarely also of feminine and neuter ones, as in

bhişaja (for 'bhişaj') in 58.5—purodhā-bhişajānvitalı, 58.7-bhisajah . . . laghu-hasto jitendriyah; sraja (for 'sraj') in 50.ii.45-asoka-sraja-homena, 65.2, 99.26, 29srajaih, 99.34, 101.7-sahakāra-srajaih, 101.2-jātimayaih srajaih;

anicchata (for 'anicchat'-unwilling) in 9.36 -na hi anicchată257 bālā bhuñjanīyā ('anicchată' being the feminine form of 'anicchata' and qualifying 'bālâ'); bhavata (for 'bhavat') in 9.31-yathāpi bhavato nāsmān ... bhāṣate (bhavataḥ = bhavān); jānata (for 'jānat' -jñã + śatṛ) in 4.13-deśam caíva na jānatā (the visarga of 'jānatāḥ' being dropped);

sampada (for 'sampad') în 50.iv.6 -āyuh-sampada-

For instances of similar shortening of long vowels in Buildhist works see Edgerton, sp. siL, I, p. 69 (10.10).

¹⁶⁴ The occurrence of the inflected forms 'devyāb' and 'kotyāb' (Accusative plurafs of 'devi' and 'koti') in the Saddharma-pandarika and Lalitzvistara, and of 'hiranyavatyāyām' (Locative singular of 'hiranyavad') in Ārya-mačjusri-mūlakalpa (580.9). shows that the use of stems formed by adding 5 to feminine words ending in I was not unknown to the Buddhists, See Edgerson, ep. cit., 1, p. 79 (10.162, 164), and 11,

us Some Ma of the Devi-p, trad 'anicchats' for 'anicchats'.

dāyakam; sāstravida (for 'sāstravid') in 16.12 — ... te deva sāstravidasya ...; tadvida (for 'tadvid') in 27.17 —deyā ca tadvidaiḥ;

samidha (for 'samidh') in 50.i.63-samidhāni, 55.16-

-samidhāny etāni;

ātmāna (for 'ātman') in 8.19—ātmānam paramam devam toşanīyam sadā budhaih; brahmana (for 'brahman') in 31.39—ity evam brahmano 'bravît, 85.78—brahma-

nasya;

arthina (for 'arthin') in 32.11—sthāpayed devadevešam sarva-kāmārthino yadi; ašvina (for 'ašvin') in 17.28—sāšvinān, 26.29—vasu-ašvina-rūpāya; -dhāriņa (for '-dhārin') in 7.81—mahārudraḥ khaḍga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇaḥ; -hāriṇa (for '-hārin') in 4.56—... deva-deveša umā-dehārdha-hāriṇaḥ / āgataḥ..... //; kariṇa (for 'karin'—elephant) in 50.i.116—kariṇaiḥ kalasānvitaiḥ; śūlina (for 'śūlin') in 9.66—vaktum arhasi śūlina;

diva (neuter, for feminine 'div') in 4.6—divam duhkhena sādhyati, 4.10—na jetum sakyate kāla divam

dharmena raksitam;

diśa (for 'diś'—direction) in 50.i.52—pūrva-diśaiḥ; nabhaḥspṛśa (for 'nabhaḥspṛś') in 13.56—śāla-tālair nabhaḥspṛśaiḥ; viśa (for 'viś'—a Vaiśya) in 51.5—viśaḥ (singular), 22.5—viśaiḥ;

āyuşa (for 'āyus') in 27.25—āyuşa-kāmena; dhanuşa (for 'dhanus') in 50.i.42—dhanuşāṇāṇ, 53.2—dhanuşā-vadhi; vapusa (for 'vapus') in 43.50—divya-vapuşe

(Locative singular);

angirasa (for 'angiras') in 2.8—bhṛgy-angirasa-vāsiṣṭha-māṇḍavyāḥ; chandasa (for 'chandas') in 17.29—nāmabhiś chandasaiḥ . . . kirtitam . . .; divaukasa (for 'divaukas') in 33.17— . . . modanti divaukasā iva . . .; jātavedasa (for 'jātavedasa') in 54.17—kuṣmāṇḍi-jātavedasaiḥ; puṃsa (for 'puṃs') in 8.44—puṃsaḥ saubhāgyam āpnuyāt, 33.109— . . . labhate puṃsaḥ . . ., 44.18— bhavate dhanavān puṃsaḥ . . ., 108.32—tathā pradhāna-puṃsābhyām anyaḥ; sumedhasa (for 'sumedhasa') in 9.38—rājā nāmnā sumedhasaḥ, 9.47—sumedhasas tato yātaḥ; tejasa (for

'tejas') in 85.75—sva-tejasaiḥ; aāsasa (for 'vāsas') in 127.85— rudrāṇī kṛṣṇa-pingā ca nīla-kauṣeya-vāsasā; and so on ¹⁰⁸.

(ix) Addition of ā to the final consonants of certain feminine words (such as 'āpad', 'mṛd', 'sampad' and 'sruc'), as in

āpadā (for 'āpad') in 83.117—smaraņād eva stotrasya sraņsate mahad-āpadā; mṛdā (for 'mṛd') in 33.57—mṛdayā...aṅgam upalipya..., 33.89—mṛdāmbubhili; saṇpadā (for 'saṃpad') in 8.25—saṃpadā dharmabhogā hi ...; srucā (for 'sruc') in 50.iv.78, 80, 84; and so on²⁵⁹.

(x) Substitution of the final at (of words formed with the Taddhita suffixes 'matup' and 'vatup' and the Kṛt suffix 'śatṛ') with anta, as in

himavanta (for 'himavat') in 93.10 -himavante mahāgirau;

tāvanta (for 'tāvat') in 50.i.27-tāvanta-bhedena;

bhramanta (for 'bhramat') in 85.38—bhramant-āvṛtta-kuṭilam; jvalanta (for 'jvalat') in 14.27—jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14—jvalant-āgni-latākāra-; vahanta (for 'vahat') in 85.39—šilīmukhair vahantaiš ca . . .;

and so on280.

(xi) Substitution of the final an or at with āna, as in śvāna (for 'śvan') in 13.19 – śvāno vānti-mukho bhavet; yuvāna (for 'yuvan' or 'yuvat') in 12.22—yuvānair balasampannaih, 50.iii.48 — bālā yuvāna-madhyā ca, 91.64—yuvānair api tam neyam; and so on²41.

(xii) Substitution of the final as of some masculine words with \bar{a} , as in

purodhā (for 'purodhas') in 58.5 -purodhā-

166 For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cu., I, 24 (15.1) and 05 (15.0)

pp. 94 (15.1) and 95 (15.9).

²⁰⁰ For similar forms in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara etc. see Edgerton, ep. cit., I, pp. 95 (15, 7-8, 10-13) and 96-97 (16, 1ff.).

²⁸⁸ For instances of the use of similar stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, sp. 402, I, p. 102 (18.5ff.).

²⁰ For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerson, sp. cit., I, p. 100 (17.37-39, 44).

bhişajānvitaḥ, 58.10 — -purodhānumate sthitaḥ; and so on 262.

(xiii) Loss of the final single consonants (following a) of masculine and neuter words, as in

atharva (for 'atharvan') in 7.22—rg-yajuh-sāmātharvāṇām; bhasma (for 'bhasman') in 4.64—sitabhasmena, bhasmāt; brahma (for 'brahman') in 7.44—brahma (Vocative, singular), 11.57, 40.11, 83.46—brahmeṇa, 80.10—brahmāya, 6.ii.14, 12.59, 37.83, etc.—brahmasya; canna (for 'carman') in 14.20—carmeṇa; kanna (for 'karman') in 34.7—karmeṇa, 122.27—nāma-karmaiḥ, 9.64—siddhānta-veda-karmāṇām; nāma (for 'nāman') in 33.96—svasti-nāmena, 46.83—nāmena, 16.16—mantra-nāmaiḥ, 16.20—nāmaiḥ, 93.287, 289—sva-nāmaiḥ, 16.19—sarva-nāmebhyaḥ, 50.ii.11—nāme;

adha (for 'adhas') in 46.3-adhordhyam kāncanamayah, 70.7 — adha-pattagam, 84.10 bhūtādham (for 'bhūtādhaḥ'), 87.5 -adhordhva-; ambha (for 'ambhas') in 50.iv.94 - -kumbhāmbhaih; angira (for 'angiras') in 46.54 - angirādyā-; apsara (for 'apsaras') in 14.29—sahāpsarāh kimnara-cāranāś ca, 93.244 apsarāh, 12.40— -apsarādi, 17.20— -yaksāpsaraih, 93.217—apsaraih; āyu (for 'āyus') in 79.iii.7— -putrāyu-samyutah, 82.50 — -kalpāyu-jīvitah; jātaveda (for 'jātavedas') in 12,25-jātavedamayena; mana (for 'manas') in 37.51— -manādīnām, 39.69—manepsitaphala-pradam, 50.i.40 - dig-bhage mana-tustide, 116.iii.10 -mane kṛtvā; oja (for 'ojas') in 8.51-šukrauja-balam eva ca, 84.25-tarjayantî mahaujena; raja (for 'rajas') in 37.33-rajādi-trigunā matā, 65.59, 61-rajāh; rakṣa (for 'rakṣas') in 3.21-nāga-raksendradaiteyānām. 4.20-nirjitā asurā rakṣāḥ pātāla-talavāsinah, 15.6-jaleša-raksaih, 17.28-sarakṣān; sara (for 'saras') in 65,28 -sare, 82,68 -dīrghikā-sara-madhyagāh; śira (for 'śiras') in 20.30 -devyāh śire mudgara-pāśa-

²⁴³ For similar modification of stems in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., 1, p. 27 (16.29).

ghātān, 50.i.53—sarveṣāṃ śira-paṭṭasthaṃ ..., 50.ii.53—tac-chirottha-, 85.58— -kaṇṭha-śiroru-; sumana (for 'sumanas'—flower) in 31.25, 65.93—sumanaiḥ; tama (for 'tamas') in 32.22—tama-vaktreṇa; tapa (for 'tapas') in 2.37—vidyāvāṃs tapavāṃś caiva; teja (for 'tejas') in 2.59—satejāś ca sadā grahāḥ, 4.32—paśunā tu satejena, 7.22—mahātejāḥ (feminine, plural), 20.24—dīpta-tejāṃ tām, 39.102—tāṃ sutejām; uśana (for 'uśanas') in 5.2—nayāḥ ... auśanāḥ ..., 3.33—auśanoddiṣṭa-vidhinā, 67.70—uśanāc ca guruḥ prāptaḥ; vakṣa (for 'vakṣas') in 14.28—te devi-bāṇāśani-bhinna-vakṣā gatāsavaḥ, 32.26—pīnau vakṣau, 43.19— ... te vakṣe paršuḥ pibati śoṇitam;

sapta (for 'saptan') in 25.18—pañcātha saptā vā, 96.4—pañca saptas tathā dvijaḥ; aṣṭādaśa (for 'aṣṭā-

daśan') in 2.76-mukto hy astādaśair dosaih;

dvātrimsa (for 'dvātrimsat') in 17.8—lakṣā dvātrimsa; dvipañcāśa (for 'dvipañcāśat') in 17.31—dvipañcāśasamkhyān; pañcapañcāśa (for 'pañcapañcāśat') in 17.8—aśvānām pañcapañcāśa;

and so on.763

(xiv) Loss of the final consonant (following a vowel other than a), as in

nandi (for 'nandin') in 85.66—nandim caiva mahābalam; pathi (for 'pathin') in 95.9—tato gaccheta pathim; and so on.²⁶⁴

(xv) Loss of the final syllable (of certain words, mostly those denoting cardinal numbers), as in

aṣṭāśī (for 'aṣṭāśīti') in 12.31—aṣṭāśīṃ tu svayaṃ śakro nīla-varņāṃ pradāpayet; aṣṭāviṃśa (for 'aṣṭāviṃśati') in 54.16—aṣṭāviṃśāṣṭa-homaṃ tu . . . ; caturviṃśa (for 'caturviṃśati') in 107.16—vargāṇāṃ caturviṃśa-śatāni ca; unaviṃśa (for 'ūnaviṃśati') in 107.29—kathitāḥ pariśiṣṭās tu ūnaviṃśāḥ;

kaţa (for 'kaţaka') in 93.207—kundalaih kaţa-keyüraih;

For similar forms in the Mahävastu and other Buddhist works see Edgerson,
 op. cit., I, pp. 99-101 (17.1-64).
 For similar loss in Buddhist works see Edgerton, sp. cit., I, p. 77 (10. 42-43).

ulū (for 'ulūka') in 65.21— -gṛdhr-olū-kākāni, 65.52— -kāk-olū-varāh-āhi-:

and so on. This

(xvi) Loss of the initial vowels of api and atha, as in pi vā (for 'api vā') in 12.9—śaśi-śākamayam pi vā, 26.9—dvi-guṇaṃ tri-guṇaṃ pi vā, 35.6—... dhātujaṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 4—kanakaṃ pi vā, 50. iv. 78, 54.15, 65.61, etc.—pi vā; thavā (for 'athavā') in 50. iii. 40—varadaṃ daṇḍa-matsyaṃ vā vāmārdhe yuvatī thavā, and so on.

(xvii) Use of pantha (for 'pathin', or for 'panthan'?) in 19.8—yama-panthagāḥ, and pāṇin (for 'pāṇi' placed at the end of a Bahuvrihi compound) in 7.61—kṛpāṇa-vara-pāṇine, 14.12—kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī, 16.40—varad-odyata-pāṇinī.

And so on.

 Shortening of long vowels and lengthening of short ones (evidently for the sake of metre), as in

4.11—yuddham dhvānkṣ-olukam yathā (in which the 'ū' of 'ulūka' has been shortened for the sake of metre), 4.92—ākhu-kāk-olukam yathā, 15.9—yām sāmkhya-yogaih sa-patañjal-ākhyaih (in which the 'ā' of 'pātañ-jala' has been shortened), 32.4—gaṅgā-narmada-vindhyādri- (for '-narmadā-'), 65.95—sa-yajāopavitāni ca (for '-vītāni ca');

4.13—asmad-ripu-balā-śaktim (in which the final 'a' of '-bala-' has been lengthened), 7.82—vāsukī-kṛta-bhūṣaṇaḥ (for 'vāsuki-'), 25.19—pañca-saptā-navāsyaṃ vā (for '-sapta-'), 27.2—sita-gandhi ca pūjitaḥ (for '-sita-'), 32.37—siṃha-padmāsanā-saṃsthā (for '-āsana-saṃsthā'), 45.11—śānty-abhīṣcka-yāgeṣu (for '-abhiseka-');

and so on, sar

III. Samdhi (euphonic combination) often made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:

p. 32 (4.3 and 12).

res The Buddhist works contain forms like 'astāviņnia', 'caturviņnia' and 'ūna-viņnia' mentioned above, but none like 'astāšī', 'kaṭa' and 'ulū'.—See Edgerton, op. cit., 1, p. 107 [19, 30-31], but pp. 107 [19,35] and 31 (3,118).

pp. 23-26 (3.5-46).

(i) Double Samdhi (?), as in

āyātāvadan (for 'āyātāḥ+avadan') in 39.38—kim āyātāvadan surāḥ; dānavāḥi (for 'dānavāḥ+api') in 13.65; ekamanādhunā (for 'ekamanāḥ+adhunā') in 29.3—.... tvaṃ ... śṛṇuṣv-aikamanādhunā; ghorānīkāvatasthire (for 'ghorānīkāḥ+avatasthire') in 13.59; graha-nāgāpare (for 'graha-nāgāḥ+apare') in 51.9; jambhakādyātha (for 'jambhakādyāḥ+atha') in 7.69; mātarārtihāḥ (for 'mātaraḥ+ārtihāḥ', or 'mātarāḥ+ārtihāḥ') in 7.96; tasyāgrataḥ (for 'tasyāḥ+agrataḥ') in 22.16; yasyārthe (for 'yasyāḥ+arthe') in 9.57;

chinna-pakṣeva (for 'chinna-pakṣāḥ+iva') in 85.62-

chinna-pakṣeva parvatāḥ;

catur-odbhāsya (for 'caturaḥ+udbhāsya') in 87.1; prāmukh-odamukhaḥ (for 'prāmukhaḥ+udamukhaḥ') in 12.10; samkṣepat-oddhṛtya (for 'saṃkṣepataḥ+uddhṛtya') in 1.53; soktaḥ (for 'saḥ+uktaḥ') in 11.19; yamadaṇḍ-ogradaṇḍaḥ (for 'yamadaṇḍaḥ+ugradaṇḍaḥ') in 3.19;

and so on. are

As a matter of fact, the above instances are not those of double Saindhi at all, the preceding words having been used without their final Visarga like some of their parallels in Prakrit and Apabhramsa.

(ii) Irregular Samdhi, as in

mumocanena (for 'mumoca+anena') in 20.35; patantyādhaḥ (for 'patanti+adhaḥ') in 85.55; sarvamaṅgalayāṃśagāḥ (from 'sarvamaṅgalā+aṃśagā') in 50. i. 29; mārkanḍa-ṛṣayāvāsam (from 'mārkaṇḍa-ṛṣi+āvāsa') in 13.64; śrāvaṇeṣāḍhe (for 'śrāvaṇe+āṣāḍhe') in 93.48; vidhvaṃsayiṣyeti (for 'vidhvaṃsayiṣye+iti') in 84.8; śabda-mātraiva (for 'ṣabda-mātre+eva') in 9.22; taṣyaṃkāram (for 'taṣya+oṃkāram') and yaṣyaṃkārādhivāsitam (for 'yaṣya+oṃkārā-') in 10. vii. 6; vedaṃkāra- (for 'veda+oṃkāra-') in 57.20;

3rāvaņārabhya (for 'śrāvaṇāt+ārabhya') in 98.9; brhodarau (from 'brhat+udara') in 50. iii. 39; sarva-

¹³⁴ Instances similar to many of those cited above occur in the Mahavastu. Lalitavistara, etc.—See Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 33 (4.29) and 34 (4.34-35).

gatānubhūya (for 'sarva-gatān+anubhūya') in 33.25; vividhānubhūya (for 'vividhān+anubhūya') in 33.22;

tvaham (for 'tvam+aham') in 6. ii. 36; devyānte (for 'devyām+ante') in 6. ii. 46 —mucyate sarva-pāpebhyo devyānte fiyate naraḥ; sakti-dvitīyāham (for 'śakti-dvitīyām+aham') in 84.26 —asyā śakti-dvitīyāham sṛjāmi aparājitām; tāruņe (for 'tām+āruņe') in 11.8—bahvṛcas tāruņe dadau; nandikārabhya (for 'nandikām+ārabhya') in 23.1—kṣirāśī nandikārabhya devyā bhakti-rato nṛpaḥ; deviṣtvā (for 'devīm+iṣtvā') in 60.30; satyedam (for 'satyam+idam') in 39.181; stavedam (for 'stavam+idam') in 83.11; satyevam (for 'satyam+evam') in 3.4;

hiranyākhya andhakāras ca (for 'hiranyākhyaḥ+andha-kāras ca') in 3.17; devya apāne (for 'devyaḥ+apāne') in 7.51; bhayebhya muācati (for 'bhayebhyaḥ+muācati') in 15.4; tatrasthā citrakarmāra- (for 'tatrasthāḥ+citrakarmāra-') în 12.27; pūrņo aprāptaḥ (for 'pūrṇaḥ+aprāptaḥ') in 10. iii. 7; vānaro rkṣaḥ (for 'vānaraḥ+rkṣaḥ') in 13.22; so gatāsuḥ (for 'saḥ+gatāsuḥ') in 14.26; so vai (for 'saḥ+vai') in 11.18; rāho'tha (for 'rāhoḥ+atha') in 26.33; alipanktūra (for 'alipanktūḥ+iva') in 32.21;

and so on. 260

Besides the different types of irregular Samdhi cited above there are also many others including those having d (rarely), m or r as an intervening Samdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), viz.,

kytvā-d-upāgatah (for 'kṛtvopāgatah') in 8.6;

ādya-m-antau (for 'ādyāntau') in 46.60; avilambita-m-utthānam (for 'avilambitotthānam' —Bahuvrīhi compound) in 12.46; ayuta-m-ekam (for 'ayutaikam') in 95.7; daṇḍāsi-pāśa-m-udyatā (for '-pāśodyatā') in 85.21; eka-m-ekam (for 'ekaikam') in 85.39, 90.24; eka-m-ekena (for 'ekaikena') in 31.20; iša-rakṣo'nila-toya-m-analātma-namaskṛte (for '-toyānalā-') in 6. ii. 22; kāla-gāruḍa-m-ādiṣu (for '-gāruḍādiṣu') in 6. ii. 31—jyotir-vaidyādi-śāstreṣu

For instances of Samethi similar to many of those given above see Mahavastu and other Buddhist works cited by Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 34 (4.36), 43 (7.14), and so on,

kāla-gāruḍa-m-ādiṣu; ketu-m-ucchrayam (for 'ketūcchra-yam') in 11.57; koṭi-m-ekam (for 'koṭyekam') in 93.255; kṛṣṇāyasa-m-alamkārāh (for '-yasālam-') in 13.74; mayūra-m-āsunārūḍhā (for 'mayūrāsanā-') iu 83.89; -pātāla-m-ākāra-(for '-pātālākāra-') in 84.12; šubha-toraṇa-m-ākulam (for '-toraṇākulam') in 12.46; sūrya-m-ujjvalāḥ (for 'sūryojjva-tāḥ') in 85.59; tathā-m-ayuta-koṭidhā (for 'tathāyuta-') in 19.5; vāyu-m-astram (for 'vāyv-astram') in 15.21; vidruma-m-anvitaiḥ (for 'vidrumānvitaiḥ') in 93.75;

ghantā-kińkiņi-r-āvṛte (for '-kińkiṇy-āvṛte') in 31.21; puṣkariṇi-r-iva (for 'puṣkariṇiva') in 93.79; raudrāyasa-puri-r-iva (for '-puriva') in 93.91; rju-r-avraṇa-niṣṇātaiḥ (for 'rjy-avraṇa-') in 50. i. 51; šaṃbhu-r-ājñayā (for 'saṃbhv-ājñayā') in 16. 15;

and so on,270

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Samdhi in Samāsa.

As in Pali and Prakrit, the adjoining vowels in compounds have been left unchanged, with hiatus, on numerous occasions. See, for instance,

rasa-anya-kriyā-vāda- (6. ii. 31), vāsuki-śaṅkhābja-ananta-kṛta-mekhala (7.14);

aśva-mahişa-mārjāra-ākhu-kākolukam (4.92), vedodgīrita-ānanāḥ (2.58);

karnāpūrita-isave (7.14);

deva-udyānajān (12.5), kṛmi-jālaka-utthāne (12.53), -mahācehadma-uragair iva (7.26), -mahākalpa-utpatti- (6. ii. 28), mahā-ulkā-nibhāya (7.64), -skanda-umā- (2.13), yuga-manvantarā-kalpa-utpatti- (7.43), yugānta-yuga-utpatti- (6. i. 7);

pakṣa-māsa-ṛtu-dvi-tri-ayaneşu (6. ii. 27), sam-āyanaṛtu-māsa- (26.10), -sattvu-ṛṣi-siddha-niṣevite (7.93), vahnišuṛṣi-mantraih (12.39);

vāsuki-upavītine (11.33); vasu-asvina-rūpāya (26.29); and so on.271

⁴ⁿ For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, ep. ciz., 1, pp. 35-37 (4, 59-60, 64).

²⁷¹ Similar instances of absence of Sanothi in Samilar are to be found in Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, ep. vit., 1, p. 35 (4.51-54).

V. Wrong formation of feminine bases, viz.,

(i) anukirtanā²⁷⁰ (from 'anukirtana', a neuter word meaning 'narration', 'statement') in 1.19—cakracārānu-kīrtanām (an Inflectional Tatpuruṣa compound);

kīrtanā (from the neuter word 'kīrtana') in 6. ii. 33-

... sarvā kṛta-kṛtyasya kirtanā;

rajā (from the neuter word 'rajas' > 'raja') in 50, iv. 52—puspa-rāga-kṛtā rajā;

sahasrā (from the neuter word 'sahasra') in 49.7-

trayas ca tri-sahasrāsu devāh ;

vāhanā (from 'vāhana', a neuter word meaning 'a mount') in 7.45—vāhanā hy arī-darpahā;

potā (from 'pota' meaning 'a ship') in 83.112-tvam

potā bhava śūlinī;

-kārakā (for '-kārikā') in 16.17—utpatti-sthiti-kārake (Vocative); -dāyakā (for '-dāyikā') in 90.11—tāḥ phala-dāyakāḥ;

aniechatā (or aniechatī according to some Mss, for 'aniechantī') in 9.36—na hi aniechatā bālā bhunjanīyā; dhātumayā (for 'dhātumayī') in 32.19—vārkṣāṃ vā śailajāṃ vāpi ratna-dhātumayām api; haimā (for 'haimī') in 2.54, 22.10; mahārājā (for 'mahārājī') in 39.16—mahārājeti yā devī . . . ; mohanā (for 'mahanī') and bhairavā (for 'bhairavī') in 9.49—mohanā japyate vidyā padamāleti bhairavā; mrnmayā (for 'mṛnmayī') in 57.6; paurāṇikā (for 'paurāṇikī') in 39.22—etāḥ paurāṇikā devyaḥ; raudrā (for 'raudrī') in 50. i. 15—kālī raudrā kapālī ca; vārkṣā (for 'vārkṣī') in 32.19 cited above in connection with 'dhātumayā';

dātā (for dātrī') in 31.36—śivāyāḥ śiva-dātāyāḥ; trātā (for 'trātrī') in 7.38—trātās tāḥ sarva-devānām;

(ii) daityāntakī (for 'daityāntikā') in 20.25; -kārakī (for '-kārikā') in 6. ii. 23 —-bahu-kāraņa-kāraki (Vocative),
 46.84—utpāta-mṛtyu-kāraki (Vocative); māyātmaka-rūpi

The final of d'anukirtana', 'kirtana', 'vāhana' and 'potā' is really due to the lengthening of the abort vowel a, as often made in Apabhramia. See Saldha-hernalabdānutāsana 4. 330—sy-ādau dirgha-hranvau // apabhramia nāmno 'ntya-svarasya dirgha-hranvau sy-ādau prāyo bhāvamh /—In Apabhrama the final yowel of a word is lengthened or shortened, in case the case-terminations 'si' etc. follow,

(for '-rūpā') in 36.9 —māyātmaka-rūpi (Vocative); -mocaki (for '-mocikā') in 6. ii. 24 —vadha-bandhana-mocaki (Vocative); -pravartaki (for '-pravartikā') in 6. ii. 24 — -nānā-bhāva-pravartaki (Vocative), 9.65 —sarva-karma-pravartaki; -virodhakī (for '-virodhikā') in 6. ii. 22 — -candra-sūrya-virodhaki (Vocative); sādhaki (for 'sādhikā') in 24.26; saṃkampayanti (for 'saṃkampamānā') in 39.137; šaṭhī (for 'saṃkampayanti (for 'vāgīšā') in 16.18;

adanti (for 'adati'—eating) in 85.18; rudanti (for 'rudati') in 9.44; vācanti (derived from the root vac with the suffix 'satr') in 16.41;

kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī (for 'kṛpāṇa-pāṇi' meaning 'a female carrying a sword in her hand') in 14.12; varadābhaya-pāṇinī in 93.288; varadodyata-pāṇinī in 16.40, 50, i. 97, 101, 119, etc.;

kartārī (for 'kartri'), pradattārī (for 'pradātrī'), vettārī (for 'vettrī'), etc. in 6. ii. 21—sṛṣṭi-saɪphāra-kartāri rudra-mūrti-prabhāvatī (Vocative), 83.58—sarva-vidyā-pradattāri vidyeśvarī namo 'stu te, 6. ii. 29—vidyā-vedana-vettāri (Vocative), and so on;

ghanţā-mudgara-dhārī (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 24; mukt-ākṣa-sūtra-dhārī (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 41; padma-kuṇḍala-dhārī (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 120; sruva-mekhala-dhārī (for '-dhāriṇī') in 50. ii. 50; ugrasameārī (for '-saṃcāriṇī') in 83.66;

kāma-rudra-samākṛti (for 'kāma-rudra-samākṛti', a Bahuvrīhi compound) in 59.11;

and so on.278

VI. Wrong use of Number on many occasions

(i) in Dyandva compounds (irrespective of their nature or the number of their component parts), as in

asṭamī-navamīṣu —27.29, brahma-janārdanaiḥ— 15.6, brahma-sūryāṇām —1.59, brahma-viṣṇoḥ—15.5, devī-brahmeša-sūryam—104.9, eka-liṅga-druma-šaila-

m For some of the above-mentioned feminine forms at occurring in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., 1, pp. 84 (11.1-3) and 81 (10.183-185).

gṛha-goṣṭha-trikaṇṭake (Locative, singular)—32.7, indr-āgni-devasya—5.16, irṣy-āsūyā-krodha-paiśunya-sāhasam—8.36, madya-maithuna-māṃsasya—8.41, māgha-caitre (Locative, singular)—27.29, nadī-tīra-drum-odyāna-vivikta-jana-saṃsadi — 1.59, nāga-rākṣasa-daiteyaḥ — 3.17, ravi-candramāḥ — 4.17, sādhu-linga-brahma-hareḥ—12.15, śiva-viṣṇoḥ—2.33, viṣṇu-brahmaṣya—8.54, viṣṇu-brahmaṇā—16.13, viṣṇu-brahmaṣya—7.18, viṣṇu-śakrāṇām—18.1, yam-endubhiḥ—15.6, and so on;²⁷⁴

(ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their

subjects), as in

4.1- ... tau ... vajra-kālau ... | prstavān ... bhārgavam . . . / /, 4.28 - . . . te / āruroha purīm yāmyām / /, 5.10-sukham icchan divaukasah (for '.... icchantaḥ divau-'), 5.16-kṛtvā bṛhaspatir visnur jagmuh, 6. ii. 18 - vayam . . . | tutoşa parayā bhaktyā ... //, 9.38—tasya patnīsahasrāni astāv astau bhavet kila //, 9.57-yasy-ārthe udaram jagmur madiyam bhargavah pura, 14.28 - devā mumoc-opari puspa-vṛṣṭim, 15.13-pranaṣṭa-rājyadravyāni punar eva bhavişyati, 20.24—ghorah jagmuh ..., 39.115- ... śaranam jagmuh ... surarāt tadā, 55.6-rudhiram sravanti, 82.32- ... piban pānāni ... / asur-ānena bhāvena devim pūjayate sadā / /, 86.30 -nrtyante paramo devah, 92.2-sā ca ... / yatra yatra ca pūjyante //, and so on:370

(iii) in adjectives, as in

5.16—deva-devî tavăntakau, 13.7—vanaspatih samastăs ca phala-pușpaih susobhitāh (for 'vanaspatayah . . .'), 26.4—catvāri trīni dve kuryād angulam kuṇḍa-mānatah, 34.4— . . . eka-viṃsati kulam . . . , 43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta ghātamānasya dānavān (for '. hanyamānānāṃ dānavānām'), 79. ii. 15—bhogān

For similar instances in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 125 (23.1-4).
For similar use in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 129 (25.1-6)
and p. 38 (5.4).

mahān³⁷⁸ (for '... mahataḥ'), and so on;³⁷⁷

(iv) in pronouns (irrespective of the Number of the nouns for which they are used), as in 7.18—varam vara hare brahman yat te manasi vañchitam;

(v) in words denoting cardinal numbers, as in 50. i. 66—vidyā-mantrais ca *şaṣṭibhiḥ* (for '... ṣaṣṭyā'); and so on.

VII. Frequent use of words in Genders other than those of their own (in very much the same way as that in Apabhramsa, in which, as Hema-candra, Trivikramadeva and others say, Gender has no rule—lingam atantram²⁷⁸):

(i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz., adhivāsa in 50. i. 64-adhivāsāni ... krtvā ...; anta in 15.10 -na cādir asyā na ca madhyam antam ...; ātmāna in 8.19 - ātmānam paramam devam tosanīvam sadā budhaih; drstānta in 37.91—drstāntāni bruvanti ca; ghāta in 4.18-yuddhe ghātam bhaved vatsa ...; grāma in 9.7-pura-grāmāņi; homa in 27.28 - . . . bhaveddhomam . . ., 54.16, 55.13 - laksahomain ..., 54.18, 55.13- ... koti-homain ..., 54.20-homam kāryam, 57.14, 15-homam; hutāsana in 15.7—tvam hutāśanam . . .; jūra in 8.51 tac ca jivam matam budhaih; ksava in 12.24-.... nemyā nāśe ksayam tathā (in which 'kṣayam' is the subject); mantra in 10, vi. 3-yoga-mantram viśisyate; pāta in 13.30 -šakrn-mūtr-āśru-pātāni (Tatpurusa compound); putra in 35.29-dānam istam ca putram ca devyā dīpas tathaiva ca; nudra in 54.3-šivam rudram sadā vatsa karnikāyām nivesitam; sura (arrow) in 43.43 - agneyam cintitam saram, 43.45 muktam nārāyaņam śaram; ieşa in 12.30-śesāni; soma in 51.20-vedāh somam kratur yajñāh pātrāny

The Accusative plural (masculare) form of 'make' derived from 'makes' by dropping the final consonant 't'.

³¹¹ For similar use in Buddhin works see Edgerton, op. at., 1, p. 38 (5.5).

tm See Hema-candra's Siddha-hema-fabdānusānana 4.445, and Trivikramadeva's Prākṣta-sabdānusānana III. 4.60.

For instances of want of restriction as regards Gender in Mahavasto, Labravistaru etc. see Edgerton, op. etc., 1, pp. 39-41 (6.1-20).

evam vidur budhāh; stava in 26.26—tad-ante ca stavam kāryam ...; svapna in 8.35—divā-svapnam (Nominative); svarga in 4.83—tvayā dattam mama svargam ...; ucchraya in 11.57—... kathitam ketu-mucchrayam; uddeša in 26.10—uddešam kimcid atrāpi ...; vara in 1.38—tapas taptvā varam lebhe viṣṇunā ..., 39.131—varam varaya ... yat te hṛdi vyava-sthitam; vigraha in 3.8— ... pātāla-vigraham / prārabdham ... //; yoga in 10. i. 12—kenopā-yena tad yogaṃ prāpyate ..., 10. i. 8—yena yogena sā vidyā ... sidhyati / tac ca deva samākhyāhi //, 10. vi. 4—alpa-vīryam hi tad yogaṃ ..., 13.2—kathitam ... yogaṃ nārada-pṛcchitam; and so on.

(ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz.,

astra in 4.90-nārāyaņāstra-brahmāstra-śaivāś cănve 'tha văruṇāh; bhūta in 6.ii.40-na bhūtā na ca rāksasāh; dāru in 90.13-dārum; indriya in 8.27sevvamān-endriyā brahman pravrddhim upayānti hi (in which the word 'sevyaman-endriyah' is a Karmadhāraya compound and subject to the verb 'upayānti'), 8.32- -gandha-vāg-indriyas tathā; naksatra in 39.92-naksatrā bahu-rūpāś ca; pātāla in 3. 18-pātālān, 3.30-tam jitvā tu pātālam gatvā anyam rasātalam, 4.3 -nirjitāh sapta-pātālāh, 4.6 pātālāh, 8.1-martya-pātālāh, etc.; puspa in 54.6gandha-puspāś ca dātavyāḥ, 69.18-puspāṃś citrān, 98.17—puspān; sata in 49.7—trayas ca tri-satas caiva ...; sthāna in 68.9, 90.9—ete sthānāh; vasu (wealth) in 2.92-vasum prati; vrata in 1.18-vratāš ca niyamādayah; and so on.

(iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz.,

diva (for 'div') in 4.6— divam duhkhena sādhyati (passive voice), 4.10—divam dharmena rakṣitam, 15.7—tvam bhūmi-vāyū kham jalam hutā-śanam diśo divam sāgara-ṛkṣa-cakram; koṭi in 4.34—lakṣa-koṭini; patākā in 12.42—patākāni; pramadā in 22.19— . . . pūjyeta kanyakāh pramadāni ca; śobhā

in 50.i.61—anekāni ca šobhāni . . .; and so on. (iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in

1.34- ... artha-samprăptih ... bhāvyam ...; 3.2 — ahan ... prāptam ...; 7.38 — ... āpatsu sumahatsu . . .; 8.21—brahmā / strī-rūpadhāriņi bhūtvā ... //; 8.28—dāha-jvara-mahātāpo vahni-pitta-sumudbhavam; 9.9 -- amātva-sahito vägmī candrabuddhir amantrayat (in which Candrabuddhi is the name of a female); 9.29-evam tasya matir bhūta nārada-pathagā . . .; 12.42-tatah sakadaliksu-dandan patākāni samuechrayet; 16.18-... samhāra-kārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya ... (qualifying 'devi' in verse 17); 16.36-jayam ca samare nityam vidyā-lābham ca durlabham / dīrgham āyur athotsāham pārthivānām ca istadā //; 17.11-yamāntakah ghātitam devyā . . .; 20.18 - . . . samdhyāyām samupasthite; 27,29 -mahā āśvina-māse tu astamī-navamīsu ca (în which 'mahā' qualifies 'astamī-navamīsu'); 31.29 - . . . strībhir mangalavādibhih; 33.12-nilotpala-patra-gandha-surabhim pitvå . . . madhu; 33,25-suracitaih sragbhih; 40.3mahati pûjāyām; 42.11-devyāḥ (for 'devyaḥ') sarvārtha-dātārah; 43.50 -tadā bhayam mahān āsīt ...; 43,58 -yenāham smāritam (for 'smṛtam') tvayā (said by Pāšupata Śara to Gajānana); 50.iv.84tābhyām homam sukhāvahā; 51.24—šankha-nīlotpalākārān pātrāņi parikalpayet; 55.16-phalavatī apāmārgam; 58.2-tustam umāpatib; 82.74-evamvidhaih sadā strībhir nityam smara-nipidibhih; and so on.

(v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their

pronouns, as in

10.vi,9—śabda-brahma param brahma tasmin kṣṣṇe yad akṣaram / sadā taṃ (for 'tat') manasā dhyāyet//; 16.12—alpa-doṣā viśantīmāḥ ... (for '... viśantīme'); 26.20—chede bhayaṃ vijānīyāt tad-arthaṃ tan na (for 'taṃ na') kārayet

(the word 'tat' having been used for 'cheda'); 33.21tam bhittvå . . . daity-āngan-āntahpuram (for 'tad bhittvā ...'); 34.14-tasya jālam ... tam (for 'tat') avalambayet; 43.40-pāśodyata-karam ghoram amayopari pāta saḥ (i.e. śaraḥ) / ratha-nāgāśvapādātam hanyamānam (for 'ghnan') sahasradhā //; 65.40-rātrau tasmin . . .; and so on.

(vi) Adverbs used in the Masculine Gender, as in 3.17-ksubhito mahān (for 'mahat').

VIII. Wrong declension, as in

(i) -mogha-viryayah (for '-mogha-viryāh') in 84.17, su-hrstātmāh (for 'su-hrstātmānah') in 72.5,

surāriņam (for 'surārim') in 5.12, pathim (for 'panthanam') in 95.9, ūrdhya-retam (for '-retasam') in 63.9, purodhān (for 'purodhasaḥ') in 67.63,

viśvakarmena (for '-karmana') in 93.201, mūrdhanā' (for 'mūrdhnā') in 91.38, bālagbhih (for 'bālakaih') in 98.27, vettāraih (for 'vettṛbhiḥ') in 32.42,

hotāya (for 'hotre') in 11.33, -kartāya (for '-kartre') in 26.34, -vidhātave (for 'vidhātre') in 7.9, vighnahantāya (for '-hantre') in 83.34, mahāretāya (fo '-retase') in 100.21,

antyajām (for 'antyajānām') in 88.4, -mahoragām (for '-mahoragāṇām') in 98.10, -go-vṛṣām (for '-govrsānām') in 98.11, mātr-gaņām (for '-gaṇānām') in 90.20, rājānām (for 'rājňām') in 55.11, 56.1,

pratyuși (for 'pratyușe' or 'pratyușasi') in 90.20, himavante (for 'himavati') in 93,10-himavante mahāgirau,

mahā-kapāla-mālāya (masculine, Vocative) in 11.32, and so on;

saptah or saptā (for 'sapta') in 96.4—pañca-saptas tathă dvijah, 25.18- ... pancatha saptă va ..., 25.19 - pañca-saptā-navāsyam vā, astam (for 'asta') in 82.59-upapātālam astam tu

anyāh (for 'anye') in 12.43-anyās ca vividhā bhogāh . . ., imaih (for 'ebhih') in 65.96—dravyair

imail, 93.188-imair mantrail;

(ii) patākāni (for 'patākāḥ') in 12.42, patākān (for 'patākāḥ') in 65.94, pramadāni (for 'pramadāḥ') in 22.19, sobhāni (for 'sobhāḥ') in 50.i.61, lakṣa-koṭini (for 'lakṣa-koṭyaḥ' or 'lakṣa-koṭayaḥ') in 4.34, mahākoṭyāḥ (for 'mahākoṭyaḥ' or 'mahākoṭayaḥ') in 17.11, vidyutāni (for 'vidyutaḥ') in 87.9, mṛdāni (for 'mṛdaḥ') in 50.iv.90—kāṣṭha-śaila-mṛdāni ca, srajāni (for 'srajaḥ') in 61.7,

mātṛm (for 'mātaram') in 91.6,

gadgadā (for 'gadgadayā') in 36.29, -jyotsnena (for '-jyotsnayā') in 32.25—mayūkha-danta-jyotsnena, mekhalaiḥ (for 'mekhalābhiḥ') in 26.3, vidyaiḥ (for 'vidyābhiḥ') in 86.4, bhaktinā (for 'bhaktyā') in 22.23, 39.69, 89.9, buddhinā (for 'buddhyā') in 27.25, sva-śaktinā (for 'sva-śaktyā') in 90.21, -pańktī-bhiḥ (for '-pańktībhiḥ') in 94.6,

-prakrīdāya (for '-prakrīdāyai') in 8.20, yuga-pīdāt (for '-pīdāyāh') in 50.iv.2,

nandāya (for 'nandāyāḥ'—Genitive case) in 93.273, navamīm (for 'navamyām') in 76.40, pratimau (for 'pratimāyām') in 79.iii,4, tṛtīyām (for 'tṛtīyāyām') and dvādasīm (for 'dvādasyām') in 99.12,

samhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya (feminine, Vocative) in 16.18,

asyā (for 'asyāḥ'—Genitive case) in 84.26, tisrāṇām (for 'tisrṛṇām') in 80.24;

(iii) puṣpān (for 'puṣpāṇi') in 98.17, dārum (for 'dāru' — Accusative case) in 90.13,

dadhinā (for 'dadhnā') in 33.64,

dānasu (for 'dāneṣu') in 91.17, -kāṣṭhasu (for '-kāṣṭheṣu') in 6.ii.26, -madhyasu (for '-madhyeṣu') in 6.ii.3 — -sarit-sāgara-madhyasu,

anyam (for 'anyat') in 3.30;

and so on.

For wrong declension of many other words ending in vowels or consonants see above (in the sections on changes made in the stems and on Genders).

[Similar instances of wrong declension are to be found

in the Buddhist works also.—See Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 48ff.].

IX. Incorrect use of case-endings (vibhakti):

(i) The first case-ending used

- (a) for the second, as in 1.3—kathyatām yatra ghorādyā bhūtāḥ sāmprata-dānavāḥ / bhaviṣyāś ca vināśiṣye devī deva-namaskṛtā // (for '... ghorādyān bhūtān sāmprata-dānavān / bhaviṣyāṃś ca ... //'), 2.75—koṣa-vṛddhiḥ prajā-rakṣā ... (for '-vṛddhiṃ prajā-rakṣām ...'), 7.69— ... te te khādaya ... (for '... tān tān khādaya ...'), 7.72—kāla-pīḍā kriyā-piḍā pāpa-pīḍātha dhātujā / vāta-piṭta-kaph-odbhūtāṃ śamaye bhairavaḥ sadā // (for 'kāla-piḍāṃ kriyā-piḍāṃ pāpa-pīḍām atha dhātujām / ... śamayed bhairavah ... //'), and so on;
- (b) for the third (in the anukta-kartā in the passive voice), as in 1.38—mantrādyāḥ sādhitā yatra nṛpā nāgā rasātale (for '... nṛpair nāgaiḥ ...'), 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa nimn-onnata-virājitaiḥ (for 'ardhendubhir iva lalāṭaiṭ nimn-onnata-'), 7.76—ye cānye vairiṇaḥ kṛtāh (for '... vairibhiḥ kṛtāḥ'), and so on;

(c) for the fourth, as in 26.35 - . . . tvam pitre . . .

(for '... tubhyam pitre ...');

- (d) for the sixth, as in 4.92—na yuddham śreyase deva uragā nakulaih saha (for '... uragāṇām ...'), 7.37—śāntidā vīta-rāgāṇām tā devyā ṛṣi-mānavāḥ (for '... -manavānām')—those goddesses are the givers of peace to those sages and men who are free from desire;
- (e) with the separated component parts of a compound, as in 6.ii.25—brahma-prajeśa-somaś ca yakṣa-rakṣaḥ-piśācaki (for '...-soma-yakṣa-...'), 13.75—... puṃbhiḥ pāśa-daṇḍodyatair mahān (for 'puṃbhiḥ mahāpāśa-daṇḍodyataiḥ').

(ii) The second case-ending used

(a) for the first, as in 3.5—kuśa-dvipam purā tena sa-balenaiva arjitam / jambum śākam tathā krauñcam śālmalīm atha pauṣkaram / sapta dvīpās tatas tena deva-rāja vašīkṛtāḥ //, 3.27—pauṇḍarīkaṃ ca duṣpre-kṣyaṃ śveta-bhadraṃ tathoragāḥ (for 'pauṇḍarīkaś ca duṣprekṣyaḥ śveta-bhadras tathoragāḥ');

(b) for the third, as in 33.72—dakşinām prīyatām śivā (for 'dakṣiṇayā . . .'), 33.84—dakṣiṇām prīyatām

jayā (for 'dakṣiṇayā . . .');

(c) for the fourth, as in 58.15—varam dattam dvijottamam (for '... dvijottamāya'), 69.21—brāhmaṇān bhojanam dadyāt (for 'brāhmaṇebhyaḥ ...'), 93.191—mahādevim namas kṛtvā (for 'mahādevyai ...'), 94.25—guhyeśvaram namas kṛtvā (for 'guhyeśvarāya ...');

- (d) for the sixth (also in the anukta-karma of Kṛd-anta verbs in the active and the neuter voice), as in 1.57—... śravaṇāt ... idam purāṇaṃ śiva-bhāṣitam (for '... asya purāṇaṣya śiva-bhāṣitasya'), 7.28—nīlotpaladala-prakhyair hariṇīr iva locanaih (for '... hariṇīnām iva ...'), 8.22—sarve ca sukham arthinaḥ (for '... sukhasya arthinaḥ'), 21.1—devīm upāṣakāḥ (for 'devyāḥ ...') ,43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāṭa ghāṭamāṇaṣya dāṇavān (for '... hanyamāṇāṇāṃ dāṇavāṇām');
- (e) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as in 4.69—... śatrur asmākam vadham udyataḥ (for '... vadhe udyataḥ'), 9.53—yadi mām varado devaḥ ... (for '... mayi varado ...'), 66.6—... devatāḥ sarvā veṣṭayanti caturdiśam (for '... caturdikṣu'), 93.67—pati-hīnam na rājate (for 'pati-hīne ...'=pati-hīnāyām. ...);

(f) in connection with the words 'pravrttah', etc., as in 14.26—gadām samādāya jayām pravrttah

(iii) The third case-ending used

(a) for the first, as in 1.32—agastyā gīs tu orpagaiḥ
 (=nṛpagā bhūtvā) loke khyātim gamiṣyati;

(b) for the seventh (in the Adhikaraṇa-kāraka), as in 6.ii.35—varadā ca abhūd ubhau (for '... abhūd ubhayoḥ')—granted boons to both (of them), 8.38—

vişayailı samnivesyatām (for 'vişayeşu sam-'), 93.106 — ebhili sthanair mahādevî pūjitā varadā bhavet (for

'cșu sthăneșu . . .');

(c) in Avyayibhāva and Bahuvrihi compounds having 'yathā' and 'yāvat', and 'saha' (contracted to 'sa'), respectively as their first members. See, for instance, 2.49, 65.66, 65.70, 68.7, 95.35, etc. - . . . yathepsayā (for '. . . yathepsam'), 8.55, 32.43, 32.44, etc. - . . . yathāśaktyā . . . (for '. . . yathāśakti . . .'), 100.14 —yāvac-chaktyā (for 'yāvac-chakti'), 3.12 — saṃnahya sabalenaiva mahāsaṃgrāma cakrire (for '. . . sabalam eva . . .'), and so on.

(iv) The fourth case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in 39.78 -indrāya śaraṇaṇ gatāḥ (for 'indraṃ ...'), 83.16 -veda-vedānta-gar-bhāya namāmi ... (for '-garbhaṇ namāmi ...');

(b) for the sixth, as in 3.22—kāla-vajrasya hetave (for '... hetoly'), 52.11—snānam siṣyāya kartavyam ... (for 'snāpanam siṣyasya kartavyam ...');

(c) for the seventh, as in 39.112 -indray-abhi-

mukho 'dhāvat (for 'indrasy-ābhi-');

(d) in the Vocative case, as in 7.7ff. (jaya ... -kāraņa-traya-hetave, jaya ... -buddhindriya-vidhā-tave, jaya ... -pradhāna-puruṣātmane, jaya ... śūline, jaya kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kanṭhastha-jirṇave, jaya ... śaṃbhave, jaya śmaśāna-vāsine, jaya sārdra-gaja-carma-prāvṛtāya mahātmane, jaya triśūla-hastāya kamṭāpūrita-iṣave, and so on), 7.68 —chinda chinda mahācakra iṣu-hastāya śaṃkara, 7.70 — gadā-triśūla-hastāya sarvāṃ bādhāṃ vināśaya, 16.18 —jaya saṃhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya ca; and so on.

In the compound 'kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhasthajirṇave' (= kaṇṭhastha-kālakūṭa-mahāviṣa-jīrṇave) in Devip. 7.12, the part 'jīrṇave' has clearly been formed by adding the fourth case-ending (singular) to 'jīrṇu', a peculiar word having its parallel neither in the Devī-p. nor in any of the Buddhist works written in hybrid Sanskrit. The meaning of the word 'jīrṇa' (which points to the thing digested and

not to the person who digests a thing) and the fourth caseending of 'jirnaye' appear to indicate that the final u of 'jirnu' was not due to the influence of Apabhramsa, in which, as Hema-candra and others sayers, words ending in a have a before Nominative and Accusative singular terminations, So, one may feel tempted to assume that this word (irmu) was derived from the word 'jirna' after turning it into a Nominal verb (Nāma-dhātu) by the addition of nic and then adding the Krt suffix u (as in 'bhiksu', 'cikirsu' etc.); and thus, the said compound would come to mean 'one (i.e. Siva) who digested the great poison Kalakuta remaining in his throat'. But it is more probable that 'kāla-mahāküţa-vişa-kanthastha-jîrnave' is a Bahuvrihi compound formed in imitation of those of the 'āhitāgni' class tso and that its final u (before adding the fourth case-ending) was due to the influence of Apabhramsa.

(v) The fifth case-ending used

(a) for the third, as in 14.21—kṛpāṇa-ghātād api tāṃ jaghāna (for '...-ghātena ...'), 14.24—śarcbhyaś ciecheda (for 'śaraiś ciecheda').

(vi) The sixth case-ending used

(a) for the second (în Karma-kāraka), as în 3.2 — aham ... prāptam tava janārdanāt (for '... prāptas tvām janārdanāt'), 9.68 — ckaikasya padasyāṣṭa-saha-sram japet ... tilānām madhunāktānām aṣṭa-saha-sram juhuyāt (for 'ckaikam padam aṣṭa-... tilān madhunāktān aṣṭa-...'), 25.9 — viprāṇām koṭi-koṭi-nām bhojayitvā ... (for 'viprāṇām koṭi-koṭi-nām bhojayitvā'), 28.1 — indrāc ca mama āgatam (for '... mām, or mayi, āgatam'), 39.108—paṇya-strīva yathā lobhāt kāmukānām varāyate (for '... kāmukān varīyati'), 93.15 — pārvatyās ca praśaṃsante (for 'pārvatīm ca ...');

⁴⁹ See, for instance, Herna-candra's Siddha-hernastabdānutāsana 4.331—sy-amor asy-ot.—The final a of a word is replaced by a in case 'si' and 'am' (i.e., the Nominative and Accusative singular terminations) follow.

²⁴⁹ See Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyt ii.2.37—vāhitāgnyādinu, according to which the word 'āhita' (having the Lis-pratyaya) may be placed before or after the word 'agnif' in a Bahuvrihi compound. Similarly, both 'pita-taila' and 'taila-pita' are corrent.

- (b) for the third, as in 4.72—mamāyam vinipātitah (for 'mayāyam vini-'), 86.30—nṛtyante ... asmākam saha ... (for '... asmābhiḥ saha');
- (c) for the fourth very often in Sampradāna-kāraka and rarely also on other occasions (as in connection with the word 'namah'), e.g. in 1.14-yatra samkirtaved brahmā many-ādīnām praprechatām (for '... manyādibhyah praprechadbhyah'), 1.36 - utpattikīrtanam srsteh prathamam samudāhṛtam / . . . ṛṣīnām pariprechatām // (for '... rsibbyah pariprechadbhyah'), 2.20-... vidyā visņor dattā .../ pitāmahasya tenāpi . . . // (for '. . . viṣṇave . . . / pitāmahāya ... //'), 2.32- ... tasya vara-dānam ... (for '... tasmai vara- . . . 3), 2.41-pradadau tasya daityasya yathepsita-varam nrpa (for '... tasmai daityāya ...'), 2.50-evam dattvā varam tasya . . . (for '. . . tasmai ...'), 2.100-evam tasya varam dattvā ... (for '... tasmai ...'), 40.15-ugrasenasya samkruddhā (for 'ugrasenāya . . .'), and so on,

26.33—(namaḥ) bṛhaspataye śukrāya śane rāho 'tha 'tha 'tha 'tha 'tha 'tha '...');

- (d) for the fifth (in Apādāna-kāraka), as in 3.4 śrņuṣva gadato mama (for '... gadato mat'), 3.18 bhitās teṣām (for 'bhītās tebhyah'), 93.143—prāsādasyottare (for 'prāsādād uttare');
- (c) for the seventh (in Adhikaraņa-kāraka), as in 1.32—tathā manv-atri-bhṛgubhir asmākam avatāritā (for '... asmāsu ...'), 2.39—tuṣṭas tasya khagāsanaḥ (for '... tasmin ...'), 2.40—param aṣṭāṅga devasya bhaktim ekāṃ tu yācate (for '... deve ...'), 2.49—ārtasya me sudīnasya dayāṃ tvaṃ kuru keśava (for 'ārte mayi sudīne ...'), 7.18— ... tadā devo viṣṇu-brahmasya tuṣṭavān (for '... viṣṇu-brahmaṇoḥ ...'), 11.51—tutoṣa keśavas teṣāṃ ... (for '... teṣu ...'), 33.10—yeṣāṃ haraḥ prīta-manā babhūva (for 'yeṣu

We have already seen that 'raho 'tha' is the result of Samdhi between 'rahoh' and 'atha'.

harah . . .'), 39.47— . . . yācanām kasya karomi . . . (for ', . . kasmin . . . ').

(vii) The seventh case-ending used

(a) for the first (in the secondary object in the passive voice), as in 35.2- ... šakrena brahmani

pṛṣṭaḥ pũrvaṃ ... (for '... brahmā ...');

(b) for the second (and also for the third or fifth în some cases), as în 83.16-... namămi tvayi ... (for '... tvām ...'), 51.21-vinā pātre na sidhyati (for 'vinā pātram, or pātrena or pātrāt, . . .');

(c) for the third (in Karana-kāraka), as in 14.4mahāmohe 'timohite (for 'mahāmohenātimohite'), 51.6-avidhau yah sivām pūjyeta . . . (for 'avidhînā

yah . . . ');

(d) for the fourth in connection with the word 'namah' and in Sampradāna-kāraka, as in 6,i,2bhūta-bhavya-bhavişyāṇām kāraṇākāraņe namaḥ (for '... kāraņākāraņāya ...'), 7.58—namaḥ ... koṭarākṣāya bhairave (for '... bhairavāya'), 7.59—namas te . . . surāsura-bhayamkare (for '...-bhayamkarāya'), 26.27— . . . namas te . . . / . . . pita-vāsāya pāvane // (for '... pāvanāya'), 26.28-... brahmaņe dahane namaḥ / . . . sarvāśine sarva-gate . . . namo namaḥ // (for '... dahanāya ... / ... sarva-gatāya ... //'), 26.34—sarvage graha-rūpāya (namaḥ) (for 'sarvagāya ...'), and so on,

9.60-tvayāpi vatsale deyā abhakte nājitendriye (for '... vatsalāya ... abhaktāya nājitendriyāya'), 11.7-11- ... sā dattā ... sārasvate / ... trivṛṣeṇa bharadvāje ... / antarīkṣeṇa bahvṛce ... / tasyāruņena balaje tenāpi ca krtamjaye / krtamjayena rnaje ... / vājašravās tathā some ... // (for '... sārasvatāya / ... bharadvājāya ... / ... bahvīcāya .../... balajāya ... kṛtaṃjayāya .../... ṛṇajāya

.../ ... somāya ...//"), and so on;

(e) for the fifth, as in 2.78 - . . . nāparādho mamopari / kartavyo mama vākyeşu . . . // (for '. . . vākyebhyah . . .'), 7.78-79 - . . . simha-khadgi-bhayesu ca/ trāya mām ... taskarcṣu ... // (for '... bhaye-bhyaḥ ... / ... taskarcbhyaḥ ... //');

(f) for the sixth, as in 33.32—... vidyādharīşu nivasanti kucāntareşu (for '... vidyādharīṇām ni-');

- (g) in Sambodhana, as in 7.7—jaya . . . / . . . sākṣi-bhūta-guṇa-traye // (for '. . . -guṇa-traya');
- (h) in certain Avyayibhāva compounds (such as 'prati-sthānam' etc.), as in 39.146 prati-sthāne sthitāh.
- (viii) Different case-endings used in nouns and their adjectives. See, for instance, 95.8—trayo lakṣān.
- (ix) For other instances of wrong use of case-endings see 4. 35b-37a, 7. 27ff., 9. 29-32, and so on; also 6.ii.1 - pūrve (for 'pūrvam' meaning 'formerly') 282, 6.ii.28 - mānavān deva-śatrūņām brahmādy-asmākajantuşu, 7.55-bhūta-rākṣasa-vetālādy-ariņām samkateşu ca, 16.36 - jayam ca samare nityam vidyā-lābham ca durlabham / dìrgham āyur ath-otsāḥam pārthivānām ca istada // (in which the root 'da' in 'istada' has been taken as governing the Accusatives in 'jayam', 'vidyā-lābham' etc.), 93.207—kundalaih kaja-keyūrair mukuṭādi-vibhūṣitā, 94.7—nānā-śayyā-samākīrṇair nānā-cāmara-śobhitaih / nānā-vastra-vilānais ca nānāvimāna-samkulā //, 20.23-tasya samcaramāņasya kampate ca vasumdharā - and the earth quakes as he moves, 27.2 - megha-dundubhi-śańkhānām veņu-viņāsvanah subhah (for '-sankha-venu-'), vṛṣendra-nṛpakākānām kokilā-svana pūjitah (for -'kāka-kokilāsvanah pūjitah'), 27.3—simha-barhina-syenānām cāmarākṛtir iṣtidaḥ (for '-syena-cāmarā-'), and so on.

It is to be noted that instances of wrong use of caseendings are innumerable, and on many occasions words have been formed and case-endings added to agree with the sounds of the final words of the neighbouring compounds. For such word-formation and use of case-endings see Devi-p. 6.ii. 19ff., 7.7ff., 7.58ff., and so on.

ses For similar use of 'purve' see Lalitavistara 196.5 (=P.L. Vaidya's ed. 142.17).

[For instances of indifferent use of cases in Buddhist works see Edgerton, op. cit., I, pp. 42ff.]

X. Use of words (in the Nominative or the Objective

case) without the relevant case-endings, as in

2.40—param astānga (for 'astāngim') devasya bhaktim ckām tu yācate, 2.92-mantri-vāky-ānal-otthena udyotita vasum prati/matir dānava-nāthasya vratārādhanam āyayau // (for '. . . udyotitā . . . / mati-'), 3.12, 21-mahāsamgrāma cakrire (for '-saɪpgrāmam ...'), 4.12- ... yuşmat (for 'yuşmakam') suraih sārdham yuddham . . ., 7.73—carmena vāmam bhuja (for 'bhujam') pūrayitvā jayā-mukho dhāvati kruddha (for 'kruddhah') kopāt, 14.25—tathāpi kālo gadā (for 'gadām') tām mumoca, 14.26—kālam hatam bhairava (for 'bhairavah') samnirîksya, 14.27-evam sa kālo hata (for 'hataḥ') bhairavaś ca . . . devyā (for 'devyām' =devim) samāsādya įvalanta-kopāh, 15.22-jighāmsa vajram bala-vajra-vîrya (for '-vîryam') śarena haimadala-patritena, 17.14-rakso 'nalam vāyu (for 'vāyum') tathā kuveram ..., 17.31— -phalam vāpi sūksma (for 'sūksmam') tyajitvā vrajante, 27.2kokilā-svana pūjitah (for '-svanah pū-'), 32.34-35śara-cap-aparau tabhyam rsa-mudgara caparau/ paraśu-cakra-dharau canyau damaru-darpana caparau // śakti-kunta-dhṛtau canyau hala-muşala cāparau / pāśa-tomara cānyau tu dhakkā-paṇava cāparau //, 37.72—sravaņa syandanasyārthe (for 'sravaṇam . . .'), 37.73-aveti raksane dhātu adhiprakațane tathă (for '... dhātuḥ ...'), 50.ii.44-sobhakṛd rati kartavyā . . . (for '. . . ratiḥ . . . '), and so on. 550

In putting down the characteristic features of Apabhramsa in his Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 4.329ff. Hemacandra gives two rules, viz., 'sy-am-jas-sasām luk' (4.344) and 'saṣṭhyāḥ' (4.345), which say that in Apabhramsa the Nominative, Accusative and Genitive terminations, both singular and plural, are often dropped. (For similar rules

and Instances of similar use of words without case-endings are to be found in the Buddhist works also.

sce also Trivikramadeva's Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana III. 4,16-17).

XI. Krd-anta nouns governing cases.

For instances see above (pp. 87,115). Also 43.48—brahmāstram prativāraņe—for preventing the Brahmamissile, 53.9-10—mātarāṇām sadā cakram .../pūjanam ...// (for '... cakrasya ...'), 84.6—śambhum ghātāya (for 'śambhoḥ...'), 91.14—śāstrāṇi paṭhanād dānāt... (for 'śāstrāṇām ...'), and so on. ***
XII. Use of cases (Kāraka) without verbs:

(i) Nominatives without verbs, as in

4.35—durnirîkşyâm ripur ghoras tasya dṛṣṭvā tu vāhinīm, 6. ii. 36—tadā tvaham (=tvam+aham) ca samcintya sahāyā bhava suvrate, 13.15—tā dṛṣṭā munayah kṣobham kim punar asurādhipāh, and so on.

(ii) Accusatives without verbs, as in

2.105—nirjitya sarva-nṛpatiṃs tathā dvipeṣu codyamam, 10.i.2—sanatkumāraṃ varadaṃ tapasā dhūtakalmaṣam/mama putraṃ mahāprajňaṃ śiva-bhāvena bhāvitam//, 12.23—vṛttā vā bhaṅgam ādhatte rājňaḥ putraṃ purohitān, 12.51—chatra-pāto nṛpaṃ hanyāt patākā mahiṣi-vadham, 41.9—evaṃ taṃ kṛṣṇa-dharmānaṃ mahābala-parākramam/ saṃgare nihataṃ vatsa brahmendra-parirakṣitam//

(iii) Datives without verbs, as in

12.58-59—evam pūrvam harih ketum prāptavān vṛṣa-vāhanāt// tathā brahmaṣya tenaiva brahmaṇaḥ śakram āgatam/

XIII. Irregularities in the formation of compounds (Samāsa):

(i) Wrong position of the component parts, as in

2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā, 39.115—bṛhaspati-mahā-matim (=mahāmati-bṛhaspatim), 2.16—viṣa-bhau-jaṃga-(for 'bhaujaṃga-viṣa-'), 7.12—kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave (for 'kaṇṭhastha-kālakūṭa-

are to be found in the Buddhist works also, but it is no longer necessary to point out these parallelisms, except in special cases.

mahāviṣa-jīrṇave'), 7.26—veṇī-bandha-mahācchanda 858 uragair iva prsthagaih (for 'mahācchanda-venībandhair uragair . . .'-with highly graceful braids of hair moving like snakes on the back), 7.27-ardhendur iva lalāta nimn-onnata-virājitaih (for 'ardhenubhir iva nimn-onnata-virājita-lalāţaiḥ'-with foreheads having depressions and elevations like the half-moon), 7.32 —guru-vistīrņa - nitamba - māms - opacita-ŝobhitaili (for 'upacita-māmsa-śobhita-guru-vistīrņa-nitambaih'), 7.85—nadi-saṃgama-puṇye (for 'puṇya-nadi-saṃgame'), 7.88-patra-bhūrjeşu (for 'bhūrja-patreşu'), 8.15— . . . rājā bhūmyām jānu-gata-sirāḥ (for 'rājā bhūmi-gata-jānu-śirāḥ'), 12.56—nṛpa-saha rāṣṭram (for 'saha-nṛpaṃ, or sa-nṛpaṃ, rāṣṭram'), 13.15—śaśāṅkasampūrņā vilānchana ivānanāh (for 'vilānchana-sampūrņa-śaśānk-ānanāḥ'-having faces like the stainless full-moon), 15.16-laksyate bāṇa-dhārotthair vajradanda-mahāsvanaih (for 'lakṣyate vajradanda-bāṇa-dhārotthair mahāsvanaih'), 16.8—yasya kari-mahāgandhā mada-mattā na rāstrajāh (for 'yasya mahāgandhakariņo mada-mattā na rāṣṭrajāḥ'), 66.33—sarit-saraḥsakhātena (for 'sakhāta-sarit-sarobhyām'), 93.82-jātīphala-sadādimaih (for 'sadādima-jātī-phalaih'), and 50 on.

(ii) Unlawful separation of the component parts (sometimes adding no case-endings to those which are not final), as in

7.4— ... anghrim ca yugasyadhah (for '... anghri-yugasyadhah'), 7.78—nakra-vyaghra-varaheşu simha-kadgi-bhayeşu ca (for '-varaha-simha-'), 8.15 (cited above), 12.14—sukl-ambara-dharam caiva samudra-taranam nadi (for '... nadi-samudra-taranam'), 13.15 (cited above), 13.75— ... tatha pumbhih pasa-dand-odyatair mahan (for '... tatha pumbhir maha-pasa-dand-odyataih'), 26.6—catvari katak-opetam (for

²⁴⁹ For '-mahacehanda-' the printed edition of the Devi-p. reads '-mahacehandra-', which, though occurring in many Mss, seems to be a mistake for '-mahacehanda-' meaning 'highly graceful.'

'catuş-kaţak-opetam'), 27.29—mahā āśvina-māsc tu aṣṭamī-navamīṣu ca (in which the word 'mahat' qualifies the words 'aṣṭamī' and 'navamī'), 53.3—śubhodayaṃ jayaṃ bhāgyaṃ kalyāṇam aparājitam / maṅgalam aṣṭa-siddhiṃ ca vibhavaṃ śubhadaṃ śubham // (for 'śubhodaya-jaya-bhāgya-kalyāṇ-āparājita-maṅgal-āṣṭa-siddhi-vibhava-śubhadaṃ śubham'), 92.5—kalau ghore mahā prāpte (for 'mahā-ghore kalau prāpte'),

2.40-param astānga devasya bhaktim ekām tu yācate,

and so on.

(iii) Occasional insertion of m or r (or ra) either as a Samdhi-consonant or as a connecting link between the component parts.

For instances see under Sandhi above.

Also 7.89 — sarva-tīrtha-tapo-dāna-m-sarva-vrata-pradāyikā (for '-dāna-sarva-'), 13.57—ingud-oḍumbara-m-kharjura-mātulungaiḥ (for '-oḍumbara-kharjura-'), 16.7—vyūha-kriyā-bhāva-maṇḍala-m-tattva-veditā (for '-maṇḍala-tattva-'), 33.5—tam buddhvā tad-gata-m-cittam (for '-tadgata-cittam'), 84.12—prabhā-m-pātāla-(for 'prabhā-pātāla-');

85,38—cala-dṛṣṭi-ra-kātaram (for 'cala-dṛṣṭi-

kātaram'); and so on.

(iv) Occasional insertion, between the component parts, of any of the indeclinables 'atha', 'hi', 'ca', 'tathā' 266 etc., as in

6.ii.26—lava-syanda-truţi-meşa-muhūrta-atha-kāṣṭha-su, 13.22—tṛṇa-keśa-muktā-hy-asthini darśanam, 13.43— -makarākula-c-odakā (narmadā), 79.iv.4— ayuta-traya-c-ottamā (for '-trayottamā'), 17.18— -caturthī-tath-aikādaśi-kṛṣṇapakṣ-otsave (for 'caturthy-aikādaśi-'), and so on.

It is to be noted that in 'anghri-m-ca-yugasyādhaḥ' (for 'anghri-yugasyādhaḥ' in 7.4) there are both the intervening Saṃdhi-consonant 'm' and the indeclinable 'ca'.

For an instance of insertion of 'tathā' between the component parts of a compound in a Buddhist work see Sādhana-mālā, No. 171 (p. 343)—puspa-dhūpa-tathā-dipa-gandha-naivedya-saspeayaib.

(v) Wrong use of the Samāsāntas, as in

4.51—kaustubhoraska-maṇḍitaḥ, 11.50—kaustubhoraska-bhūṣaṇam, etc.

(vi) Various other irregularities, as in

2.58, 50.ii.2-vedodgīrita-ānanāḥ, 4.33-yamabhangāya mahisasya (for 'yamasya mahisasya bhangāya' -for the defeat of Yama's buffalo), 6.ii.28-brahmādyasmāka-jantusu, 6.ii.34—eyam-bhūtārtha-bhavyaih, 7.27-ardhendur iva lalāṭa-nimnonnata-virājitaiḥ (cited above), 7.40-anaupamā (meaning 'incomparable'), 7.42—svāmi-bhūtā, 7.55—ātmanah para-rakṣāsu—in protection of (one's own) self from others (i.e. enemies), 7.76-işuj-opala-vārkşah-(injuries) created by arrows, stone and trees, 83.117-mahad-apada (for 'mahapat'), 8.34—mahad-aiśvaryāt (for 'mahaiśvaryāt'), 54.7 kṣayādi-mahadāpadaḥ (for '-mahāpadaḥ'), 97.8- ... brahma-vişņu-maheśvarāḥ ... striyaḥ pāna-mano-'nugāh-... Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahesvara ... have their minds running after women and drink, 17.12-... ghorah ... yuddha-mano'nugah-- ... Ghora ... had his mind bent on war, 7.61-pināka-vara-pāņine (for '-pāṇaye'-Dative), 14.12-kṛpāṇa-pāṇinī-(a female) with a sword in (her) hand, 16.40, 50.i.97, 101, 119, etc.-varad-odyata-pāṇinī-(Devi) who has raised her hand for granting a boon, 93.288-varad-ābhayapāṇinīm, 17.23—bhūtāni-tāri (feminine, Vocative)—(a female) who delivers beings, 25.14, 19-pakvesta***. śaila-darvam-made of burnt bricks, stone and wood, 25.18-vimsaikam (for 'eka-vimsatim'), 26.10-samāyana-rtu-māsa-paks-āho-rātra-pūrvavat, 32.33-vimśāstā-twenty-eight, 32.35-šakti-kunta-dhrtau-holding (the missiles) Sakti and Kunta, 33.6-vibhisana-karam -terrifying, 33,70-darbha-mūlābhih (mṛdbhih)-(with mud) that sticks to the roots of Kusa grass, 35.8dhvajā-pālana-kartavyā - protection of the banner should

For 'pakveşta-' Devi-p. 25,14 and 19 wrongly trad 'paştârka-' and 'paştânga-' trapectively. For the trading 'pakveşta-' see Devi-p. 110.2—pakveşta-dâru-iailam....

be made, 37.25—mātarāņy-agrajā—(a female deity) born before the mothers, 39.45—sa-vistarī, 39.157—vināhava-nipātane, 43.14—vana-kānanām (Bahuvrīhi compound), 48.3—paśc-āstamita-bhāskare, 50.i.27—tāvanta-bhedena, 50.i.32, 124—sarvābharaṇa-bhūṣāṅgī (feminine), 50.iii.27, 85.20—bhayānanā, 82.56—traya-rākṣasāḥ, 83.35—rakṣā-pālakaḥ, 82.47—khaḍga-kar-odyataḥ, 85.21—daṇḍāsi-pāśa-m-udyata, 86.27—sa-kṣipram (adverb), 93.63—soṣṇena, 93.285—viṇā-grhīta-hastām (Bahuvrīhi compound), 91.38—evaṃ-vidha-kṛtena, and so on.

XIV. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

(i) Parasmaipadiya roots used in their Atmanepadiya forms, viz.,

(a) bhvādi-gaņīya

bhū in 8.53, 9.20, 23.17, 19, 24.7, 26.43, etc.—bhavate (for 'bhavati'), 86.27—bhavadhvam (for 'bhavata'), 33.21—bhaveta (for 'bhavet'),

car in 47.16-carate (for 'carati'),

drś in 7.5—paśyate (for 'paśyati'), 13.72—paśyeta (for 'paśyet'), 34.13—apaśyata (for 'apaśyat'), 1.70—dadrśe (for 'dadarśa'),

gam in 33.62, 34.5, 42.15, etc.—gacchate (for 'gacchati'), 86.16—gacchase (for 'gacchasi'), 84.4—gacchadhvam (for 'gacchata'), 95.9—gaccheta (for 'gacchet'),

jap in 1.40—japate (for 'japati'), ji in 4.5—jayāmahe (for 'jayāmaḥ'), jval in 8.30—jvalate (for 'jvalati'),

kys (ava+) in 49.2—avakarşate (for 'avakarşati'),

kşar in 49.12, 17, 19—kşarate (for 'kşarati'), pā (to drink) in 48.11—pibate (for 'pibati'),

pat in 27.10—patate (for 'patati'),

path in 7.84—pathate (for 'pathati'), rakş in 7.80, 14.8—rakşate (for 'rakşati'),

raks (pari+) in 41.2—pariraksase (for 'pariraksasi'), sad (pra+) in 1.26—prasidate (for 'prasidati'),

smr in 91.52-smarate (for 'smarati'),

sthā (to remain) in 2.14, 3.34, 7.90, 8.12, etc.—tisthate (for 'tisthati'),

sthâ (ut+, meaning 'to rise') in 55.6-ketavaś cottisthante (for '... cottisthanti'),

tap in 13.25-tapate bhanulı (for 'tapati ...'),

tyaj in 13.19-tyajate (for 'tyajati'),

vad (to say) in 4.84, 6.ii.12, 14.6, etc.—vadate (for 'vadati'), 37.41—vadante (for 'vadanti'),

vas (to reside) in 9.11-vasante (for 'vasanti'),

vraj in 99.33-vrajate (for 'vrajati');

(b) adādi-gaņīya

i (to go) in 39.108—eşyate (for 'eşyati'),

snā (+ņic) in 68.2-snāpayeta (for 'snāpayet');

(c) divādi-gaņīya

net in 13.74—prtyante (for 'netyanti'), tus in 51.11—tusyante (for 'tusyanti');

(d) svādi-gaņīya

āp (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpayiṣyate (for 'prāpsyati'), sādh in 1.24—sādhate (for 'sādhnoti'),

śru in 3.4—śrņusva (for 'śrņu');

(e) tudādi-gaņīya

is in 4.17—iccheta (for 'icchet'),

pracch in 2.18—prechate (for 'prechati'), 9.67, 13.1, 35.2—prechase (for 'prechasi'), 13.3—preche (for 'prechami'), 2.101—aprechata (for 'aprechat'),

viš in 16.5-višate (for 'višati').

(ii) Atmanepadiya roots used in their Parasmaipadiya forms, viz.,

(a) bhvādi-gaņīya

bādh in 16.5-bādhanti (for 'bādhante'),

drś (used in the passive voice) in 85.60—drśyanti (for 'drśyante'), 95.16—drśyet (for 'drśyeta'),

ji (vi+) in 2.98-vijayāmi (for 'vijaye'), 98.9-

vijayet (for 'vijayeta'),

labh in 33.43—labhati (for 'labhate'), 11.11, 59.3, etc.—labhet (for 'labheta'),

lamb (vi+) in 9.56—vilambasi (for 'vilambase'), rabh (sam+ā+) in 58.10—samārabhat (for 'samāra-

bhata'), 59.20-samārabhet (for 'samārabheta'),

ram in 82.75—ramanti (for 'ramante'), 7.92—rarāma (for 'reme'),

sah (sam+-ut-+) in 43.51—samutsahet (for 'samut-saheta'),

sev in 93.20—sevanti (for 'sevante'), 10.iv.1, 8—sevet (for 'seveta'),

sthā (ava+) in 69.4—avatisthati (for 'avatisthate'), trai in 6.ii.12—sā trāya (i.e. 'sā atrāyat', for 'sā atrāyata'), 7.79—trāya (for 'trāyasva'),

yāc^{an} in 6.ii. 35, 16.41, 83.21—yāca (for 'yācasva'), 39.131—yayāca (for 'yayāce');

(b) adādi-gaņīya

han (used in the passive voice) in 85.12—hanyanti (for 'hanyante');

(c) divādi-gaņīya

jan in 33.22, 28—jāyanti (for 'jāyante'),
man in 93.290—manyet (for 'manyeta'),
yudh in 4.13, 14—yudhyanti (for 'yudhyante'),
vid in 33.30——na vidyati nrnām (for '

vid in 33.30- ... na vidyati nṛṇāṃ ... (for '... vidyate ...'),

(d) kryādi-gaņīya

stambh in 7.75—stambha (for 'stabhāna'—Lot, second person, singular).

- (iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (sometimes with unauthorised change of Gana, sometimes without the augment a in Lan, sometimes with the loss of the reduplitive syllable, and so on):
 - (a) bhvādi-gaņīya

bhāş in 39.55-avabhāşata (for 'avābhāşata'),

bhram (pari+) in 43.15—paribhramat (for 'paryabhramat'),

bhū in 14.1—bhavat (without the augment 'a' in Lan, for 'abhavat'),

bhū (sam+ut+) in 4.66—samudbhavat (without the augment 'a' in Lan, for 'samudabhavat'), diś (a+) in 39.133—adiśaya (for 'adiśa'),

¹¹ is rarely used as a Parasmaipadiya root.

dru (abhi+) in 11.23, 39.77, 43.15—abhidrayat (without the augment 'a' in Lan, for 'abhyadrayat'),

gam in 32.1-jagma (for 'jagāma'),

gam (prati+ā+) în 93.200—pratyāgamāmi (for 'pratyāgacchāmi'),

ji in 4.74—jayisyati (for 'jeşyati'), pat in 43.40—pāta (for 'papāta'),

rakş (conjugated as a curădi-ganiya root) in 12.47—rakşayet (for 'rakşet'),

smr (anu+) in 14.3—anusmarat (in Lan, for 'anvasmarat'),

fri (ut+) in 23.19-ucchraye (for 'ucchrayet'),

sthâ (ava+, sam+ut+, ut+) in 13.45—avatişthata (without the augment 'a' in Lan, for 'avatişthata'), 85.33, 59—samutthanti (for 'samuttişthanti'), 4.31—utthan (for 'udatişthat'),

subh in 2.53-soblire (for 'susubhire'),

vah in 13.25—vahan (in Lan, for 'avahan'), 14.29—vavāha (for 'uvāha'),

vas in 10.iv.11—uset (for 'vaset'), with in 43.3—vidhe (for 'vavidhe'),

yāc (conjugated as a curādi-gaņīya root) in 9.52, 39.63—yācayāmi (for 'yāce'), 39.59—yācaya (for 'yācasva'), 4.77—yācayiṣyati (for 'yāciṣyate'),

yāc (prati+) in 43.17—pratyayāca (for 'pratyayā-

cata'),

yaj in 99.36-ijyet (for 'yajet'),

yat (pra+) in 93.268-prayatneta (for 'prayateta');

(b) adādi-gaņīya

cakās in 119.38-cakāsanti (for 'cakāsati'),

i (ut+) in 119.34-udayāmāsa (for 'udiyāya'),

han in 9.56, 85.4—hana (for 'jahi'), 16.42, 39.131—vadha (for 'jahi'), 43.35, 68.16—hanet (for 'hanyāt'), 15.22—jighāṃsa (for 'jaghāna' or 'avadhīt'), 83.23—vadhiṣyati (for 'haniṣyati'),

han (ni +) in 14.8—nighnāmi (for 'nihanmi'),

85.12-nighnanti (for 'nihanti'),

han (vi+) in 2.31, 32-vighnate (for 'vihanyate'),

rud in 119.37-rurodanti (for 'rudanti'),

stu (conjugated as a bhvādi-gaṇīya root) in 2.43—stavati (for 'stauti' or 'stavīti'), 2.95, 11.29—stavate (for 'stute' or 'stavīte'), 80.19—stavase (for 'stușe' or 'stavīṣe'),

vā in 55.7—vāyante (for 'vānti'), šās in 72.5—šāsat (for 'ašāt');

(c) hvādi-ganīya

dā in 93.123—dadanti (for 'dadati'), 11.50, 86.28—dada (for 'dehi'), 91.74—dadet (for 'dadyāt') (the forms 'dadate' in 37.2, 'dadase' in 83.15, and the like having been derived probably from the root 'dad' meaning 'to give'—cf. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī iii.1.139—dadāti-dadhātyor vibhāṣā, and Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 672 and 794 j),

dhā in 2.50, 116.iii.18 (antar+)—antaradhīyata (for 'antaradhīta'—Lun, third person, singular), 48.22 (vi+)—vidhet (for 'vidadhyāt');

(d) divādi-gaņīya

as (vi+ni+) in 44.1—vinyasat (for 'vinyāsyat'), budh in 8.38—buddha (Lot, second person, singular, for 'budhyasva'),

sam in 6.ii.44, 8.30—samate (for 'sāmyati'), 8.29—samet (for 'sāmyet'),

wadh in 43.36-vyādha (for 'vivyādha'),

yudh in 39.82—ayodhyanta (for 'ayudhyanta'), 43.32 (vi+)—vyayodhayat (for 'vyayudhyata');

(e) svādi-gaņīya

āp (pra+) in 6.ii.40—prāpayiṣyate (for 'prāpsyati'), sādh in 1.24—sādhate (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇiya, for 'sādhnoti'), 4.18—sādhyanti (conjugated as divādigaṇiya, for 'sādhnvanti' or 'sādhayanti'),

or in 39.131—varam varaya govinda (for '... vṛṇu ...');

(f) tudādi-gaņiya

kṛt in 9.56—karta (for 'kṛnta'), 7.67 (vi+ni+)—daityān hi vinikṛntaya (for '... vinikṛnta'),

muc in 4.70, 7.87-mocate (conjugated as bhvādi-

gaņīya, for 'muñcati'), 119.35—mumocati (for 'muñcati'), 15.18—vimokṣa (for 'vyamuñcat' or 'vyamukta'),

vid în 2.30, 9.43—vindyāt (conjugated as rudhādiganīva, for 'vindet');

(g) rudhādi-gaņīya

bhid in 13.21-bhindate (for 'bhinte'),

bhuj (to protect, to enjoy) in 9.12—bhuñjate (for 'bhunakti'), 4.10—bhuñjatha (for 'bhunktha'), 9.8—bhuñjāmi (for 'bhunajmi'), 2.42, 2.49, 5.16, 9.56, etc.—bhuñja (for 'bhungdhi'), and so on,

chid in 7.68-chinda (for 'chindhi'), 12.13-chindayet

(for 'chindyat'), 12.20-chindeta (for 'chindita');

(h) tanādi-gaņīya

kr in 35.27—karanti (for 'kurvanti'), 9.8—kurvāmaḥ (for 'kurmaḥ'), 7.78—kurva (for 'kuru');

(i) kryādi-gaņīya

bandh in 7.66, 9.56-bandha (Lot, second person,

singular, for 'badhāna'),

grah in 9.56, 85.4, 116.iii.14—gṛhṇa (Loṭ, second person, singular, for 'gṛhāṇa'), 95.35—gṛhya (for 'gṛhāṇa'),

jāā in 85.34—jānayanti (for 'jānanti'),

li in 95.43-liyanti (for 'linanti');

(i) curădi-ganiya

eint in 2.32-cintate (for 'cintayate'),

dhū (ava+) in 4.64—avadhūnayat*** (Lan, third

person, singular),

kath in 1.31—kathişyati (conjugated as bhvådigaṇiya, for 'kathayişyati'), 82.1—katha (for 'kathaya'), kīrt in 99.50—kîrtanti (for 'kirtayanti'),

pid in 24.18—pidati (conjugated as bhvādi-gaṇīya,

for 'pidayati'),

tad in 41.3, 4—tādayat (without the augment a in Lan, for 'atādayat').

(iv) Irregular Causative (nijanta) and Denominative

verbal forms, viz.,

bhojiyāt (for 'bhojayet') in 33.67, damsāpayati (for

The reading 'avadhunayat' seems to be a mistake for 'avadhulayat',

'damśayati') in 9.68, mocāpayati (for 'mocayati') in 9.68, niyāmase (for 'niyamayasi') in 36.10, nṛṭyāpayati (for 'nartayati') in 9.68, pātayat (without the augment 'a' in Lań, for 'apātayat') in 41.8, pratisṭhayet (for 'pratiṣṭhā-payet') in 32.8, 50.i.45, 50.ii.3, preṣayāt (for 'preṣayet') in 40.14, samaye (Vidhi-liń, third person, singular, for 'samayet') in 7.72, toṣati (for 'toṣayati') in 2.40, utthāpayat (for 'udasthāpayat') in 39.154, vādayat (for 'avādayat) in 39.158, vārate (for 'vārayate') in 37.57, vināšisye (for 'vināšayiṣyet') in 1.3,

homaye (Vidhi-lin, third person, singular, for 'homayet') in 26.36—satatam homaye'nale—should always perform 'homa' in fire, kşamāyeta (for 'kṣamāpa-yet') in 31.27, 36.29.

(v) Wrong use of Denominative verbs, as in

39.108—paṇya-strīva yathā lobhāt kāmukānāṃ varāyate (for '..... varīyati')—just as a harlot wants to have, out of greed (for money), lustful persons as her husbands.

(vi) Wrong formation of Kṛdanta words, viz.,

(a) Present Participles (in 'satr' and 'sānac'), such as bhuñjayat (for 'bhuñjat') in 8.40—bhuñjayan punar anyās ca striyo ratna-vibhūṣitāḥ, utthat (for 'uttiṣṭhat')

in 85.43-kvacit patantam utthantam ...,

bhramanta (for 'bhramat') in 85.38—bhramantāvṛtta-kuṭilam ..., chādayanta (for 'chādayat') in 43.39—chādayanto diśaḥ sarvāḥ pūrayanto navāmbubhiḥ / ... amay-opari pāta saḥ //, jvalanta (for 'jvalat') in 14.27—jvalanta-kopāḥ, 84.14—jvalantāgni-, pūrayanta (for 'pūrayat') in 43.39 (cited above), vahanta (for 'vahat') in 85.39—vahantaiḥ,

anicchamāna (for 'anicchat') in 9.43—anicchamānāpi tathā gṛhītā pāṇinā kare (for 'anicchanty api ...'), cintamāna (for 'cintayat') in 36.32—vedārthaṃ cintamānena viṣṇunā ..., dhyāyamāna (în active voice, for 'dhyāyat') in 10.vi.4—yas tu kāya-kṛtān bhogān dhyāyamānas tu sevate, ghātamāna (in active voice, for 'ghnat') in 32.38—ghātamānā ripuṃ devī ... (for 'ghnatī ...'),

hasamāna (for 'hasat') in 34.15—āgataḥ ... hasamānaḥ, japamāna (for 'japat') in 39.50, 56, krīḍamāna (for 'krīḍat') in 4.78, paṭhamāna (for 'paṭhat') in 39.51, pravišamāna (for 'pravišat') in 12.37—prathamaṃ pravišamānā bhūmiṃ yaṣṭir hanti rāṣṭram (for 'prathamaṃ pravišantī bhūmiṃ yaṣṭir hanti rāṣṭram (for 'prathamaṃ pravišantī bhūmiṃ'), rudamāna (for 'rudat') in 9.46—tena sā vimanā dṛṣṭā rudamānā tu kanyakā (for '... rudatī tu ...'), tatjamāna (for 'tarjayat') in 32.37—tarjamānaṃ hataṃ mūrdhni nāga-pāśena veṣṭitam (for 'tarjayantaṃ ...'),

ghātamānā (in the passive voice, for 'hanyamāna') in 8.31—śatravo ghātamānā hi kṣīyante hy avicāraṇāt, 43.41—ghātamānasya;

(b) Past Participles (in 'kta'), such as

bhidita (for 'bhinna') in 52.7- ... astadhā bhiditena ..., chadmita in 1.39-chadmito guruņā punah-again deceived by Guru (the preceptor of gods), ghātita (noncausative) in 11,41-visnunā ghātītāh kecit ... (for '... hatāḥ ...'), 39.68—evam sa ghātitaḥ ... (for '... sa hatalı ...'), kınlita (for 'kırtta') in 119.9, pathata (for 'pathita') in 32.38-39- ... devī ... // sthāpitā pūjitā śakra smaratā pathatāpi vā / prayaechati śubhān kāmān . . . //, praņamita (for 'praņata') in 33.23- . . . sarva-surāsura-praņamitam sambhum ..., prechita (for 'pṛṣṭa') in 13.2-kathitam . . . yogam nārada-pṛcchitam, 39.26-prechito vrsa-vāhanah, 93.15-prechitah sivah, 92.15 (pra+)-devyā praprcchitam, 39.38 (sam+)samprechitās tatah sarve ..., rangita (for 'ranjita') in 91.38, smarata, smarita and smarita (for 'smrta') in 32.39 (cited above in connection with 'pathata' for 'pathita'), 39.69-smaritam bhaktina, 43.58-yenaham smaritam tvayā;

(c) Gerunds (in 'ktvā' and 'lyap'), such as

apasthāpayitvā (for 'apasthāpya') in 3.18, bhuñjayitvā (for 'bhuktvā') in 9.45, chinditvā (for 'chittvā') in 86.22, krīdayitvā (for 'krīditvā') in 87.14, namaskṛtvā (for 'namaskṛtvā') in 10.i.14, racitvā (for 'racayitvā') in 86.19, saṃmatikṛtvā (for 'saṃmatikṛtvā') in 7.96, smaritvā (for

'smṛtvā') in 39.45, tyajitvā (for 'tyaktvā') in 17.31, ujjhayitvā (for 'ujjhitvā') in 13.13, uttha (for 'utthāya') in 85.58, vācitvā (for 'uktvā') in 28.7, vyāpayitvā (for 'vyāpya') in 7.97, 39.147, yaṣṭvā (for 'iṣṭvā') in 58.13,

bhojya (for 'bhojayitvā') in 35.11, grhya (for 'gṛhītvā') in 39.107, 112, khyāpya (for 'khyāpayitvā') in 7.19, kṣepya (for 'kṣiptvā') in 39.113, paṣya (for 'dṛṣṭvā') in 14.22, preṣya (for 'preṣayitvā') in 39.101, pūjya (for 'pūjayitvā') in 5.13, 33.70, ruhya (for 'rūḍhvā') in 39.71, samaruhya (for 'saṃruhya') in 39.112, snāpya (for 'snāpayitvā') in 33.70, sthāpya (for 'sthāpayitvā') in 4.4, 33.73, tarþya (for 'tarpayitvā') in 2.73, tyajya (for 'tyaktvā') in 14.12, and so on;

(d) miscellaneous other primary bases, such as

bhuñjanîya (from the root 'bhuj') in 9.36—na hi anicehatā (=anicehantī) bālā bhuñjaniyā kadācana, daršakārin (for 'daršaka') in 10.iii.6-7, dhyāpana (for 'dhyāna') in 10.v.12—ity ete dhyāpan-opāyā ṛṣibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ, sanjitṛ (conqueror) in 15.3—yamasya vahner api sanjitāram, vaivāha (for 'vivāha') in 27.6— . . . yajña-vaivāhasthāpane—in sacrifice, marriage and consecration.

(vii) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in

43.3—mahādevī ... ghoram hatvā devena vismunā/ dattāparājitā candre ... //, 55.4—rātrāv indradhanur dṛṣṭvā ... smasāne dhūmo jāyate, 95.36—bhuktvā tu vipulān bhogān pascān mokṣo bhaviṣyati.

(viii) Wrong use of Tenses and Moods:

(a) Lat used for Lit, as in

15.18—vavarşa plavate (for 'plāvayate') sarvām dānavīm vāhinīm tadā—then rain poured down and flooded the entire army of the Dānavas;

(b) Vidhi-lin (Potential) used for Lan, as in

2.69—atandrita-manāḥ šakra dharmādīni na hāpayet (for 'ahāpayat' = ajahāt), 2.71-72—ghṛte vā darpaṇe vāpi mukhaṇ paśyed (for 'apaśyat') dadau ca gām // tataḥ sabhāṭṇ samāsthāya paśyet (for 'apaśyat') kāryāṇi kāryiṇām /, 2.73—sabhā-maṇḍapam āsthāya paśyet (for 'apaśyat') svāṇi balāni ca, 2.76—mukto hy aṣṭādaśair

doşaiḥ kuryād (for 'akarot') rājyam mahāsuraḥ, 13.67—sa cāśvina-prathamāhe girindram avarohayet (for 'avārohayat'=avārohat), 13.69—karam prasārayed (for 'prāsārayat') devyāḥ ...—stretched out (his) hand towards Devī, 13.70—saṃdhyāyāṃ vijayā gatvā kāraṇāyāṃ nivedayet (for 'nyavedayat'), 13.72—ghoro 'pi svapnān paṣyeta (for 'apaṣyat'), 40.13-15—muṇḍaṃ saṃpīḍayed (for 'samapīḍayat') devī ... // indrāya preṣayāt (for 'praiṣayat') ṣaktiṃ ... // ... indraṃ khaḍgena tāḍayet (for 'atāḍayat') //, 40.17—vāyavyaṃ prakṣiped (for 'prākṣipat') devī ..., and so on;

(c) Aśīr-lin (Benedictive Mood) used for Vidhi-lin, as in 12.54—ketor niratā yajane bhūyād vipra-kanyāś ca, 67.53—vastram kārpāsikam dhriyāt (for 'dharet', i.e.

'dhārayet').

(d) Lṛṭ (future) and Vidhi-lin (Potential) mixed up, as in 1.3—vināśiṣye (for 'vināśiṣyet' < 'vināśayiṣyet' formed by wrong conjugation of the root 'naś').

(ix) Causative (nijanta) forms of verbs used for the

non-Causative (anijanta), as in

2.69—hāpayet (for 'ajahāt'), 6.ii.40—prāpayisyale (for 'prāpsyati'), 9.56—bhedaya (for 'bhindhi'), 12.41—ghātitāḥ (for 'hatāḥ'), 13.67—avarohayet (for 'avārohat'), 20.18—tathāstaṃ prāpite (for 'prāpte') sūrye ..., 43.59—mocitam (for 'muktam'), 43.61—ghātayitvā (for 'hatvā'), 66.6— ... devatāḥ sarvā veṣṭayanti (for 'veṣṭante') ..., and so on.

(x) Non-Causative (anijanta) forms of verbs used for the Causative (nijanta), as in

2.94— ... tasya deva-devo janārdanaḥ / dadarša (for 'daršayāmāsa') svām tanum ... // —Janārdana, the god of gods, showed his own person to him ..., 9.51— tadā tasya dadarša tām—then (Nandin) showed him that

²⁰⁰ A similar form (kārayisyet) occurs in Mahāvastu i.267.9 (prose). See Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. 152 (31.97 and 40). See also Whitney, Sandarit Grammar, 938 (pp. 333-4) for similar forms in the Rgveda, Aitareya-brühmuna. Gopatha-brāhmana, Mahābhārata, etc.

(Padamālā Vidyā), 7.6—stavenainam tutoşa (for 'toṣa-yāmāsa'), 15.18—(meghaḥ) vavarṣa plavate (for 'plāva-yate') sarvām dānavīm vāhinīm tadā, 27.8—yā samate (for 'śamayate') ca hutāśanam—and which extinguishes the fire, 42.16—... brahma-hatyādi-pātakam / samate sā na saṃdeho vidyā ... // (śamate=śamayate), 52.11—snānam śiṣyāya kartavyam (for 'snāpanam śiṣyasya kartavyam), 88.6—śaktibhir jātam (for 'janitam'), and so on.

- (ix) Confusion as regards voice:
- (a) Active forms of verbs used in the passive voice, as in
- 2.31-32—vighnate (for 'vihanyate'), 2.77—so 'pi tātena dṛṣṭavān (for 'dṛṣṭaḥ'), 21.8—kṛtavān sarva-devaiś ca pūjāḥ (for 'kṛtāḥ ...'), 11.9—(vidyā) bhara-dvājena prāptavān (for 'prāptā'), 15.4—bhayebhya muñcanty avicāraņena ... tvām āśritā vita-bhayā bhavanti (for '... mucyante ...'), 17.27—te 'pi pāpāt pramuēcanti (for 'pramucyante'), 90.4—viṣṇuḥ śakreṇa pṛṣṭavān (for 'pṛṣṭaḥ'), and so on.
- (b) Passive forms of verbs used in the active voice, as in
- 83.2—tvam punah kathyate (for 'kathayasi') ... 3.2—tvam ca ... kathām pūrvām prakathyase (for 'prakathayasi'), 4.86—tasya kah śakyate (for 'śaknoti') yuddhe, 9.11—sa katham mucyate pathah (for '... muñcati panthānam'), 9.74—yas tu devim na pūjyate (for 'pūjayate'), 43.40— ... sah (śarah) / rathanāgāśva-pādātam hanyamānam (for 'ghnan') sahasradhā //, 51.6—avidhau yaḥ śivām pūjyata (for 'pūjayeta'), and so on.

(c) Active and passive voice mixed up, as in

- 2.23—śakrena ca samāyāntam dṛṣṭvā devam pitāmaham / tyaktvā siṃhāsanam tūrņam daṇḍavat patito bhuvi //
- 3.5— ... tena ... arjitam / jambum śākam tathā krauñcam śālmalīm atha pauşkaram / /

4.42-43-indrena tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā yama-hutā-

śanau / mahākṣobhaṃ samāsthāya gaja-rājaṃ ruroha saḥ //

8.4— ... ghoraḥ ... / ... kṛto yatnaḥ ... //

- 8.11—dvāḥsthena tam samāyāntam dṛṣṭvā brahmasutottamam / praviṣṭo yatra vai rājā ghoro ghoraparākramaḥ //
 - 11.22-tena dvīpādhipān jitvā divam utsahate jaye,
- 15.18—tam dṛṣṭvā vajra-daṇḍena mahāmāyā-samudbhavam / vāyuṃ mumoca . . . //
- 17.3—evam pṛṣṭas tadā brahmā / vimṛṣya kathyate sarvam //
- 35.32—rājūā vānena vidhinā ... dhvaja-yaṣṭim samucchrayet,

and so on.

- (d) Wrong formation of passive verbs, as in
- 24.19-pidante nața-nartakăh (for 'pidyante nața-').

XV. Wrong formation of Taddhitanta words, viz.,

dārva (for 'dārava'—wooden) in 25.14, 25.19, 32.39, sakhāyatva (for 'sakhitva') in 39.146, sphāţikamaya (for 'sphāţika' or 'sphaţikamaya') in 93.226, tapavān (for 'tapasvān') in 2.37, tāvanta (for 'tāvat') in 50.i.27, vaimāna (for 'vimāna') in 64.3—vāta-raṃhasa-vaimānaiḥ, viṃsatima (for 'viṃsatitama') in 10.ii.3—tac ca viṃsatimam tattvam ..., yathāṣaktitaḥ (for 'yathāṣakti') in 35.17— te yathāṣaktitas toṣyāḥ ..., and so on.

XVI. Defects in versification:

- (i) Want of restriction with regard to the number of syllables in a Pāda, as shown by
- (a) the Padas having more syllables than necessary, as in
- 2.7—sanakah sanatkumāras ca, 2.22—kṛtvā kratuśatam vidhivat . . ., 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca, 4.78 —yama-mahiṣam ivāparam, 7.29—kunda-kuṭmalavadābhāsa-, 8.7—yena kenacid upāyena, 13.57—iṅgudoḍumbara-m-kharjura-, 27.2 — manaḥšīlā-kuṣṭhakarpūra-, 84.10, 86.1—kavacinah soṭṭara-cchadāḥ,

50.i.10-rddhir vrddhir unnatih siddhih, and so on,

(b) the Padas wanting in syllables, as in

- 2.52—tam āyāntam tu śrutvā, 5.12—tvam devarşe viprendra, 7.64—mahāvidyujjihvāya, 15.6—tam devi dṛṣṭvā bhasmi-prayātam (Upajāti), 29.8—sakala-bhū-divam bhūtam, 57.21—sa ca maṅgalām rūpām, and so on.
- (ii) Indiscriminate use of (metrically) long and short syllables in a Pāda, as in
- 2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā, 2.8—śāṇḍilyo maharṣir vahni-, 3.25—bhogāḥ kulikaḥ sauvarṇaḥ, 4.90 (second Pāda)—vināśaḥ kena kriyate, 6.ii.20—pīta-padmāruṇahema-, 6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak-, 7.14—karṇā-pūrita-iṣave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 8.32—śabda-sparśa-rasa-rūpa-, 8.36—daṇḍair vācā iṛṣyāsūyā-, 54.9—rakta-karavīra-puṣpaiḥ, 85.58— chinna-bāhu-kara-kaṇṭha-śiroru-vinistambhitāḥ, 89.7 (first Pāda)—karta-vyaṃ jita-dvandvena, and so on.
- (iii) Wrong pronunciation or non-pronunciation of vowels and consonants necessitated:

(a) Long vowels to be pronounced as short, as in

7.14—jaya triśūla-hastāya (în which the 'ū' of '-śū-' is to be pronounced as short), 7.22—ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmāthar-vāṇām (in which the 'ā' of '-mā-' is to be pronounced as short); similarly in 8.3 (third Pāda)—bṛhaspatinā cākhyātam, 13.76 (third Pāda)—tamo 'ndhakāre kāntāre, and so on.

(b) Short vowels to be pronounced as long, as in

5.14—tava ghora-suta vajra (în which the final 'a' of '-suta' is to be pronounced as 'ā'), 6.ii.20—pīta-padmāruņa-hema- (în which the 'a' of '-ṇa-' is to be pronounced as 'ā'); similarly in 6.ii.26—lava-syanda-truţi-meṣa-, 7.14—jaya sārdra-gaja-carma-, karṇāpūrita-isave, 7.27—ardhendur iva lalāṭa-, 15.22—śareṇa haima-dala-patritena, 32.2—saṃmārjanam upalepam, and so on.

(c) Consonant-groups to be pronounced as single

consonants, as in

6.ii.25—paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-tiryak- (in which '-pakṣi-'

is to be pronounced as '-pakhi-'), 6.ii.33 (fourth Pāda)—vettā tvam vedanī ca tvam (in which 'tvam' is to be pronounced as 'tam'), 9.33—varuţī puṣpa-granthinī (in which '-gra-' is to be pronounced as '-ga-'); similarly in 27.14—sātatyād avicchedinī, 41.15—dahyamānaḥ saṣyandanaḥ, 55.14—pāyasaṃ dadhi-kṣirājyam, 67.67—catuṣke ghṛta-dyotitaiḥ, 79.iii.1—vrataṃ me mana-stuṣṭidam, 79.iv.8—patantī viyaccāriṇī, 80.21—pṛcchāmī jagaddhetave, 85.58—śiroru-vinistambhitāḥ, 87.21—brahmaṇā śiva-skandena, and so on.

(d) Non-pronunciation of intermediate or final vowels of words, as in

2.7—sanakah sanatkumāras ca (in which 'sanat-' is to be pronounced as 'sant-'), 2.22—kṛtvā kratu-sataṃ vidhivat (in which 'vidhivat' is to be pronounced as 'vidhvat'), 3.16—hilihilo bhadranāmā ca (in which 'hilihilo' is to be pronounced as 'hilihilo'), 4.78—yama-mahiṣam ivāparam (in which 'yama-' is to be pronounced as 'yam-'), 13.57—ingudoḍumbara-ṃ-kharjura-mātuluṅ-gaiḥ sa-dāḍimaiḥ (in which the final 'a' of '-kharjura-' is not to be pronounced), 32.34—parasu-cakra-dharau cānyau ḍamaru-darpaṇa cāparau (in which 'parasu-' and 'ḍamaru-' are to be pronounced respectively as 'parsu-' and 'ḍamru-'), 32.36—kurvanti kalakalāravaiḥ (in which 'kalakalā-' is to be pronounced as 'kalkalā-'), 51.2—maṅgalāḥ śākambhari kālī (in which 'maṅgalāḥ' is to be pronounced as 'maṅglāḥ'), and so on.

That the above mode of pronunciation was actually in practice, is shown by the occurrence of the word 'parśu' (for 'paraśu') in a number of verses, viz., 39.15 (parśurāmeņa), 43.8 (parśunā) and 43.19 (parśuḥ).

(e) Non-pronunciation of the final Anusvāra and Visarga of words, as in

15.7—tvam bhūmi-vāyū kham jalam hutāśanam (in which the Anusvāra of 'kham' is not to be pronounced), 82.20—vibhūti-krīḍam samkṣepāt (in which the Anusvāra of '-krīḍam' is not to be pronounced), and so on;

3.25-bhogāḥ kulikaḥ sauvarnaḥ (in which the

Visarga of 'kulikaḥ' is not to be pronounced), 27.21—amṛtaṃ haviḥ kāmikam (in which the Visarga of 'haviḥ' is not to be pronounced), 31.39—sa sukhaṃ yaśaḥ saubhāgyam (in which the Visarga of 'yaśaḥ' is not to be pronounced), 36.3—pulahādibhiḥ sattamaiḥ (in which the 'Visarga' of '-pulahādibhiḥ' is not to be pronounced), and so on.

In 'kavacinaḥ sottara-cchadāḥ' (84.10, 86.1), both the 'a' and Visarga of '-naḥ' are to be overlooked in pronunciation. So, 'kavacinaḥ' is to be pronounced as 'kavacin'.

(It may also be pronounced as 'kavcinah').

That the final Anusvāra and Visarga of words were sometimes not pronounced (for the sake of metre) will be evident from the instances cited above (in section X). See also 65.52— -nigranthayaḥ (for '-nirgranthayaḥ'), 72.55—ity uvāc-ośanā svayam, 84.26—asyā śakti-dvitīyāham.

(iv) Very frequent presence of hiatus (caused by

absence of Samdhi) in verses, as in

1.14—varņāśrama-sthitir yatra ācārasya ..., 1.26—... devī ātma-bhāv-ānurūpataḥ, 1.35—... yati iha-loke ..., 1.36—... tu ṛṣṇṇāṃ ..., 1.54—... pādaṃ vā ādyādhyāya-trayaṃ ..., 2.1—nṛpavāhana-mahātmā agastyasyāśramaṃ gataḥ, 2.2—... yatra ṛṣayaḥ ..., 2.5—... ramante ekataḥ sadā, 2.14—... ramye agastyas tiṣthate ..., 2.17—... pratipūjāṃ tu āsanārghya-, yathā ṛtvig guruś caiva ..., 2.22—brahmā ṛṣi-varair yuktaḥ, 2.25—... veda-garbhāya utpatti-..., 2.29—cvam uktas tu indreṇa ..., 2.34—parā vā aparā vātha ..., 2.38—tena ārādhitaḥ pūrvaṃ ..., and so on.

(v) Unwarranted Svara-bhakti (Anaptyxis) already made in the text, or required to be made in pronunciation, as in

10.ix.11—darasanam api punyam yoga-mārgasthitānām (for 'darsanam ...'),

15.6—tam devi dṛṣṭvā bhasmi-prayātam (in which 'bhasmi-' is to be pronounced, with Svara-bhakti, as 'bhasamī-').

XVII. Use of wrong words, such as bhukṣā (for 'bubhukṣā') in 33.6—bhukṣōrmi-tṛṣitam, gavi, gāsi (for 'go') in 64.1—vṛṣaṃ gaviṃ ..., 103.2—... sukha-dohāṃ gaviṃ ..., 103.8—śubhāṃ hemamayim gāvīm kārayet

läncha (for 'länchana') in 35.38- ... vähana-

länchena länchitäh,

nemāli (for 'navamālikā') in 62.2—nomāli-kusumaiḥ pūjā . . . ,

varākin (for 'varāka') in 4.21—brāhmaņena varākinā, and so on.

See also 6.ii.19ff. (for the words 'praśāmati', 'bhāvati', 'virodhaki, etc.).

XVIII. Use of verbal roots in peculiar meanings, such as

dakş (in the sense of 'paying honorarium—dakşinā—to') in 33.79— ... kanyā bhojyeta ... śaktyā dakṣeta vācayet, 99.43—bhojanīyās tathā dakṣed go-bhū-dāna-hiraṇyataḥ.

XIX. Use of nouns as adjectives, as in

4.11—mājāra-mūşikam yadvad yuddham dhvānkşolukam yathā, 4.12—mahişāśvam yathā yuddham yathā danti-mṛgādhipam, 4.92—aśva-mahişa-mārjāra-ākhukākolukam... yuddham ..., 39,121—uvāca sausthavām vāņim ...

XX. Use of synonymous words, as in

2.2—yatra veda-dhvanih śabdah, 2.3—vidyā-redaka-vettārah, 2.60—svādu-jal-odakāh (dirghikāh), 2.61—svabhāva-prakṛti-sthitāh, 4.71—sākhilam sarvam, 13.76—tamo'ndhakāre kāntāre, 14.23—vajrāšani-vajra-kopah, 17.16—sarvān samastān api pidayitvā, 33.7—vañeita-mokṣa-mārga-rahitam, 43.14—pṛthivīm vana-kānanām, 83.100—ghaṇṭā-nināda-šabdena, 91.42—sarvartu-kusumaih puṣpaiḥ, and so on.

XXI. Ungrammatical construction of sentences, of

which only a very few instances are cited below:

2.92—mantri-vāky-ānal-otthena uddyotita vasuņ prati / matir dānava-nāthasya vrat-ārādhanam āyayau //

4.32-33—yugāntakas tathā cakre ... / mahiṣam

yama-bhangāya mahisasya mahābalam //

4.42-43—indreņa tau samāyātau dṛṣṭvā ... / mahā-kṣobham samāsthāya gaja-rājam ruroha saḥ //

4.70—na yuktam śatru-pakṣasya vṛddhim dātum

kadācana,

4.71—nipātya sākhilam sarvam mūlam yasya na khanyate,

4.86-tasya kaḥ śakyate yuddhe sabalasya nipātitam,

4.90—nārāyaṇāstra-brahmāstra-śaivāś cānye 'tha vāruṇāḥ / tasya evaṃvidhaḥ śatror vināśaḥ kena kriyate //

6.ii.18—tadā tvayā mahādeva jñātvā šaktim mahā-

balām / ... vayam ... / tutoṣa ... //

9.14—yadā hi vyasanāsaktam nṛpam buddhiviparyaye / vijñāya sa tadāmātyah prākṛtam darśayed bhayam //

9.23—strī-svarūpā yadā kincin mayā vāņī na saṃskṛtā / tathāpi mama kṣantavyaṃ bālānāṃ hi na ruṣṭatām // (in which '-svarūpā' has been used for '-svarūpayā', and 'ruṣṭatām' for 'ruṣyatām').

9.29-vayam tvam ca tathāgaccha pratyakṣam anu-

śāsyatām,

9.31—yathāpi bhavato nāsmān vācāyām api bhāṣate,

9.51—ārādhya nandinā pūrvam deva-devam jagadgurum / yogābhyāsena mahatā tadā tasya dadarša tām //

11.46-47—yathā na śaktāḥ samare daityān yoddhum pitāmaha / śatrūṇām paribhūtānām śaraṇam tvā gatā vayam // yathāham cintayāmāsa śakra viṣṇu-divaukasām /

16.2— ... suşenah pratyabhāşata / mayā tvam sarva-devānām buddhir nābhyadhiko matah //

39.70-atha devair gate svargam ...,

39.76—atha tad-danu-rājendrah pitṛ-vairānalo 'bhavat,

39.134—pūrvam so'ham hato mayā,

43.41—na saṃkhyā vidyate tāta ghātamānasya dānavān (for '... tāta hanyamānāṇā dānavānām').

The peculiar features of the language of the Devi-p., noted above, are perhaps sufficient to show that they have much in common with those of Buddhist hybrid San-krit found in the Mahāvastu. Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalita-vistara and a good number of other works on Buddhism. There is little scope for doubt that they are due chiefly to the influence of (early) Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which have controlled to a very great extent the formation of stems used in this work and are responsible for the peculiar features of its euphonic combination, declension, conjugation, formation of compounds, use of numbers, genders and cases, and so on. As a matter of fact, it is mainly Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa which form the basis of the un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit of this Purāṇa which form the basis of the un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit of this Purāṇa hiterature from the linguistic point of view.

Devl-p, is evident from the rules of Prakrit grammar with restrict to formation of fembranes of the service of

In his Prākgta-peakāsa Vararner avs that the final 'g of wonless reglected by are in case any of the case-terminations follow (tra firsh supplied 31), that the world indihas its first 'r' changed into 'a' under the sing condition (mainr t - 2.21), and that the words 'pitt,' 'blir tr' and 'jam tr' have, for their tinal 'r, 'ara' ar I not 'ra' in all the cases (pitr-librate-jämätrenäm arab 5.34) and also "I" in N = native so lar imis (à ca sau - 5 3). Hem candra al s say in he Prikrit grammer Sciellas ema dell'intesasana that the fermitine word 'wast' et have the da' . Praiyaya and the giverie to the stem " att", 'duhia etc - waarader da 3 lot that the first 'c' of - la are substituted by 'arm in the presence of any of the ca -er by far hey-adan -3.45. that in the same circumsta ces the word matr hand 'r characters' in the contract of the contra with the former of which this word me is 'a cott r and into the later, 'a mathergodden' lå arå måtuh 3 46, hå i laki janante eth ova å deralletha va til arå tit details to many, and that such words in pirr, 'blirt's and 'less' man-'designation have their fiel 't' changed into 'ara' in all the case, but into 'a' in Nominative ingular only name, as b 147, a sau na v. 348, it with a world 'naman' means 'amin' at rolling a or 'men' at led by Packet P. L. Valla and other Similar statements has also been made in Iriniara, the a Proprasabdān autom (12.41— mire ir da), and (12.49-52.—ārah tept, mitter art., days iarab, a way will By for ming these process of change the Deal-p. harmon means 'dill', or ta grain' hotara 'verter' 'pull' tara , 'sta' man a sure on, in in nation of those in Prakrit

Now, the question arises as to whether the Devi-p. is indebted to the Buddhist works for its peculiar language,

In Vararuci's Prākīta-prakāta there is a rule (4.5—antyasya halah) which states that the final consonant of a word is dropped (in Prakrit). Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva also give nimilar rules in their Siddha-hema-labdānusāsana (1.11—antyavyañjanasya, 1.12—na irad-udoh) and Prākīta-sabdānusāsana (1.1,25—antya-halo 'irad-udi') respectively. So, the Devi-p has such stems as 'atharva' 'bhasma', 'brahma', 'adha', 'anthha', 'sapta', 'astādasa' etc. on the basis of their parallels in Prakrit.

See also Prākṛta-prakāia 1.7—striyām āt az 1 4.9 na vidyum, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.15—striyām ād avidyuti, and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana 1.129—avidyuti striyām āt, which provide for the formation of Prakṛit stems like 'sariā', 'ampaā' etc. Consequently, the DevI-p has 'āpadā', 'mrdā', 'sampadā', 'srucā', etc. (for 'āpad',

'mrd', 'sampad', 'sruc', etc. .

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva, the pronoun 'idam' is replaced by 'ima' in all the cases (idama imab Prākṛta-prakāsa 6.13, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 3.72, and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana it.2.76). So, the Devi-p. has the stem 'ima' (for 'idam'), which it declines as 'imaih' in Instrumental plural (masculine and neuter).

In treating of euphonic combination Hemacandra says that Saindhi between the vowels of two words (of a compound) is optional see Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.5—padayoh saindhir vā). Vararuci and Trivikramadeva also give similar rules in their Prākṛta-prakāsa (4.1—saindhāv acām aj-lopa-višeṣā hahulam and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana (i.1.19—saindhas tv apade). So, for Sanskiit 'vyāsarṣiḥ,' Prakrit has 'vāseṣi' and also 'vāsa-iil' (with hiatus). Similarly, the Devi-p. has 'rasa-anya-kriyā-', '-sankhāhṣa-ananta-', '-mārjāra-ākhu-', etc. (with hiatus).

According to Vararuci, Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva, a vowel, when followed by another, is often dropped (see Prākrua-prakāša 4.1 cital above, Siddha-hema-sabdānusāsana 1.10—luk, Prākrua-sabdānusāsana i.1.4—lopah). Thus, for Sanskrit 'tridaselah' Prakrit has 'tiastso' (from 'tiasa+lso' Sanskrit 'tridasa+lsah'). In a

similar way the Devi-p. has 'mumocanena' (for 'mumoca | anena', etc.

In his Prākṛta-prakāša Vararuci says that the Kṛt suffixes 'šatṛ' and 'šānac' are replaced respectively by 'nta' and 'māṇa' in Prakrit inta-māṇau šatṛ-šānacoḥ—7.10) and that in the feminine gender these suffixes are replaced by 'I' as well as 'nta' and 'māṇa'. Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva also snake similar statements in their Siddha-hema-šabdānusāsana (3.180—nta-māṇau, 3.181—satr-ānasaḥ, 3.182—I ca striyām) and Prākṛta-šabdānusāsana (ii.4.41—māṇa-ntaul ca lṛṇaḥ, ii.4.42—iatṛ-šānacoḥ, ii.4.43—striyām I ca) respectively. Thus, for Sanskrit 'hasanti' Prakrit has 'hasant' (<'hasatī') 'hasantī', 'hasamāṇā' and 'hasamāṇī', and for Sanskrit 'vepamāṇā' Prakrit has 'vevaf' (<'vepati', 'vevamāṇā' and 'vevamāṇī'. Similarly, the Devi-p. has 'anicchati', 'adanti', 'rudanti' etc.

Hemacandra and Trivikramadeva say that in conjugation the root 'hhuj' becomes 'bhuñj' (see Siddha-hema-fabdānusāsana 4.110 and Prākṛta-sabdānusāsana il.4.137). Consequently, the Devi-p. conjugates the root 'bhuj' [meaning 'to protect', 'to enjoy']

often as 'bhuñj' (as in 'bhuñjate', 'bhuñjatha', 'bhuñjami, etc.).

For change of the root 'kṛ' to 'kara' and 'jñā' to 'jāṇa' in conjugation, see Prākrtaprakāša 8.12-13—rto 'raḥ, kṛṇah kuno vā, and 8.23—jňo jāṇa-muṇau, Siddhabema-fabdānusāsana 4.234—r-varṇaṣy-āraḥ, 4.7—jño jāṇa-muṇau, and Prākrtašabdānusāsana ii.4.66—ara uh, ii 4.130—jāṇa-muṇau jñah. So, the Devi-p. has the forms 'karanti', 'jāṇayanti' etc.

It is needless to multiply examples.

and, if not, how this type of incorrect Sanskrit came to be adopted in such an important work of the Hindus. The references to the decadent state of Buddhism in several places of this work and its mention of the Tantrik Bauddhas and of the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Visnu, tend to create the impression that in its language the Devi-p. was influenced by the Mahavastu and other Buddhist works mentioned above. But a critical study of the Devi-p. and a consideration of several matters relating to Indian religion, literature and culture encourage us to hold a perfectly different view. We have already seen that the Devi-p., as we have it now, is the result of several revisions and abridgments to which its original text was subjected in different ages before attaining its present form, and that this work in its present state (excepting a very few interpolated passages and verses) comes down from the sixth century A.D. and most probably from its latter half. So, there can be little doubt about the fact that, in spite of its incorporation of matters bearing stamps of comparatively late dates, the Devi-p. contains chapters (or parts thereof) and verses which were composed much earlier than the sixth century A.D. Thus, it is evident that the language of this Purana had a much earlier beginning, which finds strong support in the Tantric Mantras and Vidyas recorded in it as well as in the striking similarity it has in some respects with the Mahāvastu. It can hardly be denied that the various Tantric Vidyas, and more particularly the Tantric Mantras, like the Vedic ones, are not in every case new creations made by individual authors but have long traditions behind them. The frequent reference to Agamas and Tantras as authorities and the mention of a good number of them by name show that a rich Tantric literature had developed before the rise of the Devi-p. and that this work derived its Vidyās and Mantras from these Agamas and Tantras. As a matter of fact, the Devi-p. expressly says with regard to a particular 'Mahāvidyā' called Pada-mālā (or Mantra-mālā) that after extracting this Vidya from 'a crore of works' (koți-granthât) Siva spoke it out to Vîresa (Nandin) in the

Mulatantra²⁰⁰. The Devi-p. even connects this Vidyā with the Atharva-veda by calling it 'atharva-pada-dīpani'²⁰⁰. So, the history of the Vidyās and more particularly of the Tantric Mantras (both of which are replete with incorrect forms based on or influenced by Prakrit) goes far back to the pre-Christian days. Consequently, the period of origin of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Devi-p. has to be pushed farther back, probably up to, or even beyond, the time of first composition of the oldest Buddhist hybrid text, viz., Mahāvastu, the nucleus of which is believed to have 'originated as far back as in the 2nd century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later, by additions and interpolations'²⁰⁴. This early origin of the language of the Devi-p. is supported by certain facts, which may be stated as follows.

After critically examining the language of Buddhist hybrid texts Edgerton divides these works into three main classes²⁹⁶, viz., class i consisting principally of the Mahāvastu, and also of a short citation made in Śāntideva's²⁹⁶ Śikṣāsamuccaya from the lost Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka, and a short Jātaka printed in the Appendix to Āryaśūra's²⁹⁷ Jātakamālā, class ii, of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha, Kāśyapa-parivarta, Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā, Sukhāvatīvyūha (both the longer and the shorter text), Samādhirāja-sūtra, Suvarṇa-

²⁰⁰ Devi-p. 9.65-devy uváca

kailāsa-pitha-madhyastham vīrešam paramam prabhum uktā yā ca mahāvidyā mūlatantre tvayā prabho/

koji-granthāt samāhrtya sarva-karma-pravartaki/

⁽The printed text of the Devi-p, reads 'samāhitya' for 'samāhītya' contained in many Mss.).

²⁰³ Ibid., 9.54-

tathā te 'ham pravakṣyāmī iṛṇu tattvena vāsava/ siddhānta-veda-karmāṇām atharva-pada-dīpanīm/ anayā tu samā vidyā na bhūtā na bhaviṣyati//

²³⁴ Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 247.

²⁰⁰ See Edgerton, op. cit., I, p. xxv.

⁸⁵⁶ Santideva belonged to the seventh century A.D.—Wutternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 365 ff.; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 72.

²⁰⁷ Aryasūra probably lived in the fourth century A.D.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 276; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 68.

bhāsottama-sūtra, Udānavarga (containing no presel, and nearly the entire Siksa-samuccaya (consisting mainly of quotations from older texts mostly extinct at present), and class iii, of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda-vinaya, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-śataka, Prātimokṣa-sūtra, Ārya-mañjuśri-mūlakalpa, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Astasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Satasāhasrikā-prajūāpāramitā, Mahāmāyūrī, Bhiksunikarmavācanā, and a few other works (including the Lankāvatāra-sūtra). As regards the language of these three classes of works, Edgerton says that in the works of class i 'the pro e parts are thoroughly hybridized, showing as many Middle-Indicisms as the verses', that in the works of class ii 'the verses are hybridized, as in the first class, but the prose contains relatively few signs of Middle Indic phonology or morphology', and in the texts placed in class iii 'even the verses (if any; ... are substantially as Sanskritised as the prose parts' and 'the entire text of these works resembles linguistically the prose parts of the second class'. These strata in the Sanskritisation of the Buddhist hybrid text indicate that about the second century B.C. when the Mahāvastu first came into existence, hybrid Sanskrit as a language of religious texts was quite popular and that, with the progress of time and the consequent changes in the country, Sanskrit attained greater popularity even with the Buddhists, who consequently set their hands to Sanskritising their hybrid texts more and more, evidently for effecting better circulation of their religious views. Now, the date of original composition of the Saddharma-pundarika and the Lalitavistara is most probably to be placed in the second or even the first century A.D. 200; and the verses of these two

a later phase of Buddhism', the nucleus of this work is not probable to a later phase of Buddhism', the nucleus of this work is not probable for the because it was quited by N gripma (who probable for towards the end of the second century AD, and was translated into first in 223 A.D. and a sain by Dharmaraksa in 286 A.D. There were also to traditional later times.—We ternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 23-4. The litting is a little of the Endels of the Saddharma-pundarika.

The Lalitavertara beings in the first (or continues of the Corollege table) of later dates. See Winternitz, History in him Ligrature, II, pp. 255-6; P. L. Vaidva's Introduction pp. xi anil to him edition of the Lahayistara

works as well as of the others constituting class ii have Prakritisms as frequently as the Mahāvastu, but their prose parts show signs of the influence of Prakrit on a small number of occasions. A greater tendency towards Sanskritisation is found even in the early works placed in class iii. For instance, the Avadāna-sataka, which was composed about the first or second century A.D.200, has very few Prakritisms in its verses, its prose portions being almost clear of these. Similar peculiarities are also found in the language of the other works of the third class. So, it can hardly be denied that from about the beginning of the Christian era Sanskrit had begun to find favour with the Buddhists and to make its way into the Buddhist works in a greater degree, with the result that in works like the Pratimoksa-sutra as found in Anukul Chandra Banerjee's edition (Calcutta, 1954), prose and verse have become almost totally free from Prakritisms.

As regards our Devi-p., it is remarkable that the prose portions show as much influence of Prakrit as the verses; and in this respect it is similar to the Mahāvastu, which also, unlike the other hybrid texts of the Buddhists, has Prakritisms equally in its verses and prose parts. There is another point of agreement between the Mahāvastu and the Devi-p. Unlike the other Buddhist hybrid texts the former has its Nominative and Accusative singular ending in 'u' in rare cases²⁰⁰. Similarly, the Devi-p., as we have already seen, appears to have the final 'a' of a word replaced by 'u' on a single occasion (in Devi-p. 7.12—kāla-mahā-kūṭa-viṣa-kaṇṭhastha-jīrṇave). So, the history of the language of the Devi-p. can reasonably be traced back to the time of origin of the Mahāvastu.

But the dissimilarities between the language of the Devi-p. and the Mahāvastu are so varied and serious and outnumber the similarities to such an extent that the former

This date of the Avadāna-sataka is based mainly on its translation into Chinese in the first I If of the third century A.D. and on its mention of Dināra as a minted coin (lakṣaṇāhataṃ dīnāra-dvayam).—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, p. 279, and P. L. Vaidya's Introduction [p. x] to his edition of the Avadāna-sataka.

⁸⁰⁰ See Edgerton, op. cd., f, pp. 49 (8.20-21) and 51 (8.30). Also thid., pp. 12 (1.95) and 26 (3.51 ff.).

work can never be said to have been influenced in its linguistic peculiarities by the latter. In order to show the nature of the Prakritisms in the Mahāvastu, two extracts are quoted below from its verse and prose protions.

- (a) apare pi parasparam pradustamanasamkalpā āyasehi nakhehi pātenti tīkṣṇāni ca asipatrāṇi hasteṣu prādurbhavanti gātrāṇi cchindanti na ca kālam karonti yāvat sānam pāpakā karmā na parikṣīṇā // kālasūtre mahānarake adrākṣīt satvām kālasūtreṇa sūtritāṅgā nihataksīyantām parasūhi pi vipāṭīyantām karapatrehi vipāṭīyantām //
- Mahāvastu Āvadāna, p. 5.

 (b) imam lokam pāralokam satvānām āgatim gatim / cyuti-upapatti-samsāram sambuddho svayamaddasā // āvajjanto saphālatām karmanām prāna-samsiritām / yathāsthānam vipākam ca svayam avabudhyc munih // so abhijāāya ākhyāsi narakān aṣṭa gautamaḥ / pratyakṣa-dharmā bhagavām sarva-dharmesu

cakşumām // Mahāvastu Avadāna, p. 9.

That these sorts of Prakritisms are not peculiar with the Mahāvastu only, will be evident from the following quotations made from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha and Sukhāvatīvyūha:

(a) yehī mahī śobhatiyam samantāt parṣāś ca catvāra sulabdha-harṣāḥ / sarvam ca kṣetram imu samprakampitam ṣaḍbhir vikārehi subhīṣma-rūpam // sā caiva raśmī purimā diśāya aṣṭādaśa-kṣetra-sahasra-pūrṇāḥ / avabhāsayī eka-kṣaṇena sarve suvarṇa-varṇā iva bhonti kṣetrāḥ // yāvān avīcī paramam bhavāgram kṣetreṣu yāvanti ca tesu sattvāḥ / ṣaṭsū gatīṣū tahi vidyamānāḥ cyavanti ye cāpy upapadyi tatra // karmāṇi citrā vividhāni teṣāṃ gatīṣu dṛśyanti sukhā dukhā ca / hīnā praṇītā tatha madhyamā ca

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iha sthito addasi sarvam etat //
             Saddharma-puņdarīka, p. 5 (Gāthās 3-6).
   atītam adhvānam anusmarāmi
   acintiye aparimitasmi kalpe /
   yadā jino āsi prajāna uttamaš
   candrasya sūryasya pradīpa nāma //
   saddharma dešeti prajana navako
   vineti sattvāna ananta-kotvah /
   samādapetī bahu-bodhi-sattvān
   acintiyan uttami buddha-jñane //
             Saddharma-puņdarīka, p. 18 (Gāthās 57-58).
(b) athāpi vā trņasya tūli bhūmito grhītvanā
   dadāti māya āturāņa sarvi bhonti nirjarā /
   saukhya-prāpti nirvikāra gehi gehi gacchişu
   bhaisajya-bhūti vaidya-rāji kukṣi-sampratiṣthite //
   yasmi kāli māya-devi svātanum nirīksate
   adrśāti bodhi-sattva kuksiye pratisthitam /
   yathaiya candra antariksa tārakai parivrtam
   tathaiva nāthu bodhi-sattva-laksanair alamkṛtam //
                       Lalitavistara, p. 55 (verses 31-32).
(c) tvat-prabhāvata aham mahāmate
    bodhi prasthitu hitāya dehinām /
    tatra niścayu ananta-gocaro
    yo mama bhavati tam śrnohi me //
                          Gandavyūha, p. 54 (Gāthā 1).
    ye eta naya samudrān avatīrņa sthihitva buddha-
    bhūmi ve /
    te bhonti sarva-darši siksanto lokanāthānām //
                          Gandavyūha, p. 57 (Gāthā 7).
(d) ... ... ... ...
    sūrya-maņi-girīša-candra-ābhā
    na tapita bhosisu ebhi sarva-loke //
    rūpam api anantu sattva-sāre
    tatha api buddha-svaro ananta-ghosah /
    śilam api samādhi-prajňa-virvaih
    sadršu na te 'stiha loki kašcid anyah //
    gabhiru vipulu suksma-prāptu dharmo-
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'cintitu buddha-varo yathā samudraļi / tenonnamanā na cāsti śāstuli khila-dosāñ jāliyā ato 'dhikālam //

Sukhāvatīvyūha, pp. 7-8 (Gāthās 1-3).

It will be noticed that in these extracts, as also in the other relevant parts of the hybrid texts, Prakrit phonology and morphology have been followed to a very great extent. Thus, the conjunct consonants have often been assimilated, single consonants have not rarely been dropped or replaced by others, non-final vowels of words have been subjected not infrequently to various changes or eliminated in some cases, new vowels have been inserted at times, non-Sanskrit endings (Vibhaktis) have very often been used in declension and conjugation, and so on. The Devi-p., on the other hand, has Prakrit influence in a much limited sphere. It allows assimilation of conjunct consonants not in its written text but only in pronunciation, evidently for the sake of metre; it does not drop or change any single consonant unless it is final; it scrupulously avoids the use of non-Sanskrit endings of verbal inflection, and has non-Sanskrit case-endings only in extremely rare cases 201; and so on. As a matter of fact, the Devi-p. uses Prakrit practically as a basis for its un-Pāninian Sanskrit but does not allow it to exert too much influence on the latter and thereby to obliterate its character. So, the language of this unique Purana follows a tradition very different from that of the Buddhist hybrid texts. The occasional similarity in language, which the Devi-p. has with the Arya-manjuśri-mulakalpa and the Lankāvatāra-sūtra, does not deserve any serious consideration, because these two Buddhi t text come from comparatively late dates and the points of their linguistic

²⁰¹ As in '-prakrīdāya' (for '-prakrīdāyai') in Devi-p. 8.20, 'nandāya' (for 'nat lā-yāḥ'—Genitive case) in Devi-p. 93.273, 'trīlyām (for 'trīlyāyām') in Devi-p. 99.12, and 'saṃhārakārāya rudra-deha-bhavāya' in Vocative feminine in Devi-p. 10.18.

Regarding the period of original composition of the Arya man, it is also lenoyted Bhattacharya says "The Manjuuri-mult kalpa deals with the armulae and practices which lead to the material prosperity of the followers of Mahayana, and probably belongs to the early centuries A.D. but decidedly after the time of the composition of the Amitayus Sutra or the Sukhavati Vyūha which unbered in the arcept of Amitabha or Amitayus and Avalokiteivara for the first time in Mahaya. The

dissimilarity with the Devi-p. far outnumber those of their

similarity with it.

There is another matter which cannot be overlooked here. Long before the rise of the Mahavastu and other Buddhist hybrid texts the Hindus accepted the standard of correct Sanskrit set up by Pāṇini in his famous grammar Astādhyāyi; and the language of their Sanskrit works, written after Panini's time, has been controlled to a very great extent by the rules laid down by that great grammarian. On the other hand, the Buddhists were looked down upon and called Pasandas (heretics), with whom the Hindus following the Vedic tradition did not like even to meet or talk. Thus, the Visnudharma, which was composed some time during the third century A.D. 303, severely denounces the heretics (including the Buddhists) 804, identifies the founders of the heretical faiths with the dreadful Mahamoha born of the malevolent rite (kṛtyā) performed by the demons Sanda and Marka for the destruction of the gods 2005, and characterises the language of the religious works of these heretics as 'Meccha-bhāṣā'300. The Viṣṇu-p. gives out the Bauddhas, Ārhatas (Jainas), and other anti-Vedic sectaries

265 For the evidences in favour of this date of the Visnoulharma see Vol. 1, pp. 137-143.

204 Ibid., pp. 124 and 147-149.

Amitāyus Sūtra was first translated into Chinese at a period between A.D. 148 and A.D. 170 and hence the time of its composition may be fixed at about 100 A.D. or a little later. The Mañjuri-mūlakalpa in that case would be only about a hundred years later than the Amitāyus Sūtra." (See B. Bhattacharya's Introduction, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi. to his edition of the Sādhana-mālā, Vol. 11). But according to M. Winternitz, the arguments, put forward by B. Bhattacharya in favour of such an early date of the Arya-mañjuri-mūlakalpa, 'are by no means convincing.' (See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, 11, p. 635). That this work was composed earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century A.D., admits of no doubt, because it 'was translated into Chinese as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Sūtra between 280 and 1000 A.D. and into Tibetan as a Tantra in the 11th century.' (See Winternitz, sp.cit., 11, p. 397). J. N. Farquhar ascribes it to the tenth century A.D. (See Farquhar, Outline, pp. 272 and 398).

In chap. 105 of the Visuudharma the following heretical sects have been named: Utkocas (v.l. 'utkaucâh' for 'utkocâh'. Saugatas, Mahāyānists, Kāpilas, Bhikṣus, Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas, and Siddhaputras. (For the relevant verses of the Visuudharma see Vol. L. p. 150).

see Vol. 1, pp.128-9.

For the relevant verse of the Visquedharma see Vol. 1, p. 150.

as 'Pāṣaṇḍas' and 'Nagnas' (naked, i.e. bereft of the raiment or covering consisting of the triple Veda) and fabricates stories to show how the demons led themselves to ruin by forsaking the Vedic Dharma and taking to the religious rites and practices of the Bauddhas, Jainas and other heretics, and how king Satadhanu incurred sin by speaking with a heretic just after his holy bath in the Ganges during his observance of a fast on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika and consequently became a dog, a jackal, a wolf, a vulture, and so on in his successive rebirths. The Purāṇa (III.18.95-102) then says:

"esa pāṣaṇḍa-saṃbhāṣa-doṣaḥ prokto mayā dvija /

tasmāt pāṣaṇḍibhiḥ pāpair ālāpa-sparśane tyajet / viśeṣataḥ kriyā-kāle yajñādau cāpi dīkṣitaḥ // kriyā-hānir gṛhe yasya māsam ekaṃ prajāyate / tasy-āvalokanāt sūryaṃ paśyeta matimān naraḥ // kiṃ punar yais tu sā tyaktā trayī sarvātmanā dvija / parānna-bhojibhiḥ pāpair veda-vāda-virodhibhiḥ // pāṣaṇḍino vikarmasthān baiḍāla-vratikān śaṭhān / haitukān baka-vṛttīṃś ca vāṅ-mātreṇāpi nārcayet // dūrād apāstaḥ saṃparkaḥ sahāsyāpi ca pāpibhiḥ / pāṣaṇḍibhir durācārais tasmāt tān parivarjayet // ete nagnās tavākhyātā dṛṣṭyā śrāddh-opaghātakāḥ / yeṣāṃ saṃbhāṣaṇāt puṃsāṃ dina-puṇyaṃ praṇaśyati // ete pāsaṇḍinaḥ pāpā na hy etān ālaped budhaḥ / puṇyaṃ naṣyati saṃbhāṣād etesāṃ tad-din-odbhavam //*

"Such is said to be the sin of speaking with a heretic,

[O] twice-born man,

"So, [one] must avoid discourse with and contact of the heretical sinners, especially at the time of observing [a religious rite] and also after getting initiated for [the the performance of] sacrifice etc.

"A wise man is to look at the sun after beholding one in whose house there is omission of [Vedic] rites for a

month.

"What, again, [O] twice-born man, [can he be required to do after beholding] those sinning anti-Vedic

parasites who have forsaken the triple Veda completely?

"One must not honour even with a word [of the mouth] the heretics, the performers of acts not meant for them, the followers of the [deceitful] course of conduct of cats, the scoundrels, the sceptics, and those [hypocrites] who behave like cranes,

"far from having any intercourse with these sinful heretics of ignoble practices; so, one must avoid them

by all means.

"These persons, spoken of to you, are the Nagnas, who spoil a Śrāddha ceremony by their very sight, and conversation with whom destroys the [religious] merit

of persons carned in a day.

"These are the sinning heretics, with whom a wise man must not speak, [because] the [religious] merit obtained [by the speaker] on a particular day will be lost through conversation with them."

In his commentary on Yāj. 1.103 Aparārka ascribes to the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' a number of verses in which the Bauddhas, Jainas, Kāpālikas and others have been decried as 'following bad practices and being foreign to the acts of purification' (durācārāḥ śaucācāra-bahiṣkṛtāḥ) and classed with the outcasts. The Ṣaṭtriṃśan-mata, as quoted in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's Smṛṭi-candrikā (II, p. 310), says:

"bauddhān pāśupatān jainān lokāyatika-kāpilān / vikarmasthān dvijān spṛṣṭvā sacelo jalam āviśet / kāpālikāṃs tu saṃspṛśya prāṇāyāmo 'dhiko mataḥ //'

"After touching the Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas, and those twice-born [people] who take to unlawful acts, [a man] should get into water with [all his] clothes on; but in case of contact with the Kāpālikas [performance of] prāṇāyāma is prescribed as [an] additional [duty]."

Going to suggest an alternative explanation of two Sūtras of Jaimini²⁰⁷ for the rejection of the scriptures of the Buddhists and other anti-Vedic sectaries as authorities on

nor Viz., Pūrva-mimāmuā-sūtra i.3.3—virodhe tv anapeksam syād asati hy anu-mānam, and i.3.4—hetu-darianāc ca.

Dharma, Kumarila-bhatta points out that the texts compiled by Sākya (i.e. the Buddha) and the propounders of the systems of Sāmkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and the like, in which there are statements about Dharma and Adharma, are not accepted as authorities by those who know the Veda. that these texts have in them a certain mixture of the Vedic Dharma which serves as a thin cloak to hide their true character, that they are meant for achieving selfish ends such as a good following, pecuniary gain, respect, fame, etc., and that, in spite of their occasional recording of statements about non-killing, truthfulness, self-control, charity, kindness, etc. in agreement with those of Sruti and Smrti, they are opposed to the Veda. So, Kumārila says, the said two Sūtras establish the unacceptability of the above-mentioned works as authorities on Dharma for their anti-Vedic character as well as for the worldly motives lying behind them, because the rejection of the authority of these works has not been established in any other Adhikarana and also because they are sufficiently known and have wide circulation "like the knowlegde of the imports of [such incorrect forms of] words [as] 'gavi' etc." and Again, after referring to the statement of the Puranas that Sakya and others would become the causes of confusion of Dharma in the Kali age, Kumārilabhatta says in his commentary on Pürva-mimāmsā-sūtra i.3.7 that, like very small quantities of real gold-dust, camphor etc. put in masses of artificial ones, the few Vedic truths, mixed up in these works

vadi hy anādaren-aṇām na kalpyet-āpramānatā/ aiakyaiveti marv-ānye bhaveyaḥ sama-dṛṇṭayaḥ//

na yad vä, yöny etäm trapi-idhkir na pangi i kimen isadharna-ka enhiyd-patitim lokopasangraha-lätha-pūjā-khvāti-praynjana-p rām trayi- ij arit-ānn-baddha-dryta-sobhādi-pratyakṣ-ānumān-opamān-ārthāpatn-prāva jukti-mni panibaddhāni ulmkhya-yoga-pāñcarātra-pāiupata- ya granha-pa i ab dhandu visa-cikital-vasikaran-occātan nmādanādi-samartha-kat pa a-mantr-ausadi-kādācitka-siddhi-nidarana-baikna ahimaā-satyavacana-dama-dā ad yādi truti- u rti-tamvādi-stokārtha-gandha-vānta-jivikā-prāv-ārth utar-opadesim catta-chruti-raredha-het darka-biyām anapelyanirat an prati

Tantra- rit ka, pp. 114-5.

For this extract see also Mimārusi-dariana, p. 194 where it result, "graniba- (lin-'-nirgrantha-').

with numerous other statements misrepresenting Dharma, lose themselves in the latter, and thus, like milk kept in a bag of dog-skin, remain unacceptable to us until they are discovered in the recognised Dharmaśāstras (already mentioned in the Tantra-värttika). Kumärila adds that when these truths are clearly known from these Dharmaśāstras, the works of Śākva and others become useless for us. So, Kumārila concludes, no compilation outside the recognised Sastras such as the Veda etc. is to be recognised as an authority on the Vedic Dharma.300 At another place of his Tantra-varttika Kumārila-bhatta says that the scriptures of the Sākyas, Jainas and others, abounding in incorrect words and being thus bad and unreliable compilations, cannot be recognised as Sastras and that they are composed in incorrect words consisting mostly of those of Magadha, Dākṣiṇātya and their Apabhraṃsas. Thus, Kumārila says, the objects denoted by such words as are themselves unreal, cannot be accepted as real, and the words having deteriorated forms, cannot be recognised as eternal. \$10

It is needless to refer to any more authorities.

From the Viṣṇudharma and other works cited above it is evident that the followers of the Vedas and the varṇāśramadharma bore a very strong feeling of hatred towards the

> emaryante ca purăneșu dharma-vipluti-hetavah/ kalou śākyādayas tejām ko vākyam śrotum arhati// yathā intaka-karpūra-suvarpādiju diyate/ yad bijam tad api vyaktam agrāhyatyāt praliyate//

tena karm-atturüpya-sämänyatu distärth-apatti balat tud-abhipraya-kalpita-dharm-abhita-madhya-patitam san-mülam apy ahimtädi iva-drti-niksipta-kalravad anupayogy aviirambhanlyam ca tau-mätr-opalabdham bhavatiry avadyam yävat-patiganita-dharmafattrobhyo nopalabhyate tävad agrāhyam bhavati/

yadā iāstrāntaren-aiva so'rthali spusto 'vadhāryate/ tadā tenaiva siddhatvād itarat syād anarthakam//

tasmād yāvat-parigaņita-vedādiskāstra-vyattrikta-nibandhanans tad-dharma-pramāna-tvena nāpekņitavyam iti.—Tantra-vārstika, p. 127.

** asādbu-iabda-bhūyighāḥ iākya-jain-āgamādayaḥ/ asan-nibandhanatvāc ca iāstratvam na pratiyate//

mögadha-dükunütya-tad-apabhranna-präy-äsädhu-iabda-nihandhanā hi te/ 'mama vi hi bhikkhave kammavac ca iii save/ tathā ukkhitte loḍammi uvve atthi kāraṇam/....../ aṇuppatti-kāraṇam' ityevam-ādayaḥ/

tatai tāsatya-iabdeņi kutas tesv artba-satyatā/ drat-āpabhraṣṭa-rūpeṣṇ kuthaṃ vā syād anāditā//

Buddhists and their scriptures and had no respect for their language, which they called 'Mleccha-bhāṣā' and denounced as being quite unfit for religious works. Under these circumstances the Devi-p., which is a religious work of the Hindus and holds the Vedas in high esteem as the sources of Dharma, cannot be expected to have derived its peculiar language from the Buddhist religious texts. If, in spite of the strong feeling of antagonism and hatred between the Hindus and the Buddhists, this Purana was written by somebody in such undesirable language in imitation of the Buddhist works, it would hardly be able to attain wide popularity and to occupy and enjoy for long a position of high authority even among the Smrti-writers including Laksmidhara, Apararka and others who do not recognise the scriptures of the Pancaratras, Pasupatas and similar other sectaries as sources of Dharma³¹¹. As a matter of fact, we do not know of a single scholar, Smarta or otherwise, who has raised the slightest objection against its language. It is true that Vallalasena does not utilise its contents in his Dānasāgara and rejects its authority with the following remark:

"tat-tat-purāņ-opapurāņa-samkhyā-bahiskṛtam kasmalakarma-yogāt /

pāṣaṇḍa-śāstr-ānumatain nirūpya devi-purāṇain na nibaddham atra//"²¹²

"Finding that the Devi-p., which was excluded from the [recognised] lists of Puranas and Upapuranas due to its connection with (i.e. treatment of) foul acts, followed

Saivägamas etc in his Kṛṭya-kalpataru, nor dies he care to mention the names of these works even by way of rejection in course of selecting the authorities on Dharma at the beginning of the Brahmacāri-kānda.

Apararka, on the other hand, ducu. — at length the question of accepting the religious texts of the Sarvas, Pasupata. Pancaratras and other similar sectaries as sources of Dharma and comes to the following conclusion: These works are not to be decried, nor are their prescriptions to be carried out into action in their totality; and one may follow in practice only such statements of these works as agree with, or do not go against, the directions of the Vedas. But those texts of these sectaries which are of human authorship paurineys), are to be rejected without any reservation. (See Apararka's commentary on Yaj 1.7).

¹¹¹ Dănasăgara, p. 7, verse 67.

the scriptures of the Pāṣaṇḍas, it was not drawn upon here."

But the word 'pāṣaṇḍa', as used in this verse, definitely means the 'Tantriks', and not particularly the 'Buddhists'ata; and this meaning of the word finds strong support in Vallālasena's statements made in the introductory verses of the Dānasāgara about the Bhaviṣya-p. and five other Purāṇic works which he considered spurious. Going to explain why he did not utilise those parts of the Bhaviṣya-p. which dealt with the procedures of religious rites to be observed on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī Tithis, Vallālasena says:

"saptamy-avadhi purāṇam bhaviṣyam api saṃgṛhītam atiyatnāt /

tyaktv-āṣṭamī-navamyoh kalpau pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau //" sat

The printed edition wrongly reads 'saptamy-aiva' (for 'saptamy-avadin') in the first line, and '-navamyau' (for '-navamyob') in the second. Of these two readings the firmer is clearly arbitrary as well as nomentical, being supported neither by any of the Msi used in this edition nor by sense or grammar, and the latter, though contained in two Msi, is equally unsuitable for the same reasons. So, we have to prefer the readings 'saptamy-avadin' and '-navamyob' given by two Msi of the Dânasâgara, viz., the India Office Ms for which see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., Part III, p. 544 and the Vangiya Sâhitya Parisat Ms (No. 1374, fol. 3a). It is remarkable that these two readings can be made to stand in correct grammatical relation with the other words of the said verse and to create a perfectly relevant meaning in it, and that the former (viz., 'saptamy-avadhi') finds considerable support in the corrupt reading 'saptamy-avava' of Ms B written in Bengali scripts. Moreover, in the printed edition of the Bhavisya-p, the Brāhma-parvan (which consists of chaps, 1-215) is found to deal with the 'kalpas' procedures of religious rites' to be followed on the different Tithis from Pratipad to Saptami in the following chapters:

Chaps, 16-18—Pratipat-kalpa, chaps, 19-20—Dvitiyā-kalpa, chaps, 21—Trityā-kalpa, chaps, 22-31—Caturthi-kalpa, chaps, 39-46—Saathi-kalpa, chaps, 47-215—Saptami-kalpa (including stories of Samba and others relating to Sun-worship).

Vallälasena's statement shows that the Ms, of the Bhavisya-p., current in Bengal in his days and used by him in his Dānasāgara, contained chapters on the Astami- and the Navami-kalpa and that these chapters had already been influenced by the Pāṣaṇdas in Vallālasena's time. That chapters on the Astami-kalpa and Navami-kalpa did once occur in the Bhavisya-p., is also shown by some Mss of this work (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V. Nos. 3739 and 3741, Shastri, Notices, H, No. 151, and Mitra, Notices, Nos. 1742 and 2553) as well as by those verses, ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.' in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani (Vol. II) and in other Smṛti Nibandhas, which deal with the

and In his Introduction (p. axiii) to his edition of the Dānasāgara Bhavatosh Bhattacharya takes the word 'pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra' in the said verse to mean 'the Buddhistic Scriptures.'

¹¹⁴ See Dänasägara, p. 7, verse 59.

"The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa also has been drawn upon with much care up to [the part dealing with] the Saptamī [-kalpa], leaving off [the parts on] the Aṣṭamī- and the Navamī-kalpa [which were] taken up by the Pāṣaṇḍins." In naming the said spurious Purāṇas and giving a short account of their extents and contents Vallālasena says:

"tārkṣyam purāṇam aparam brāhmam āgneyam eva ca / trayoviṃśati-sāhasram purāṇam api vaiṣṇavam // ṣaṭ-sahasra-mitam laiṅgam purāṇam aparam tathā / dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍa-yukti** -ratna-parikṣaṇaiḥ // mṛṣā-vaṃśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ / asaṃgata-kathā-bandhaiḥ paraspara-virodhibhiḥ // tan-mīnaketanādīnām bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-liṅginām / loka-vañcanam ālokya sarvam cvāvadhīritam //"***

vows and worships (including that of the godde. Durgā) to be observed on the Astami and Navami Tithis but do not occur in the present Bhaviyya-p. We have already seen that the Bengal Singti-writers are found to ascribe to the 'Bhaviyya-p.' a good number of version on Durgā pūjā, some of which seem to betray Tantric influence but are not traceable in the printed text of this Purāna. It should be mentioned here that it is the Bhaviyyatara, and not the present Bhaviyya, which is found to deal with Durgā-pūjā in chap. 138, that this work, though claiming to belong to the Bhaviyya-p. as its final part and printed as such with the latter, is an independent work of a different dat and that it chap. 138, which deals with the Mahānavami-vrata requiring the worship of Durgā on the Astani and more particularly on the Mahānavami Tithi, contain no trace of Tantric influence, even the Mantras prescribed for use in Devi-worship being Purāṇic, and not Tantric. (See Bhavi yottara 138.41b-42a pūjā-mantrān prava-

For a more detailed discussion on the santability of the said two readings see our article on a 'Crinical Examination of Some Readings of the Danasagara' published in Our Heritage, Vol. VIII, 1900, Part 2.

The word 'pagan la-yuku' means 'usa et or practice of Tantrik', and ust 'arguments of the Buddhi n' at said by the learned chitor of the Danasagara in his Introduction, p. xxiii. It is well known that the Purana, as we have them at present, were meant for religious yith cost as well at for the popularisation of the variatrana-dharma and the authority of the Vedas in exter. On the other hand, the Buddhi have in all ages been openly ann-Veda. So, the Purana are found to decry Buddhism often in viry strong times, although in the operatively late Purana works the Buddhish has been to prected not as such but as an inmature of Viole come down to the earth for feluding people at it makes them for the right path of the Vedac Dharma lander the circumanage, it was not, all mild it the public for the Buddhish to that anything to do don'the with the Purana or to introduce their 'are mente' into these works for help of the paradic of the right path of the Buddha, but they do so interable for themselves the united his of the Buddha, but they do so interable for the nor one buddhish and it for a figure is in tach.

310 Sec 1) no Sgara, p. 7, vene 63-66.

In the sixth line (the starkat he was the printed dition reads skat a-bandha-

"[There is] another Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruḍa) Purāṇa, as well as a Brāhma and an Āgneya [Purāṇa], also a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa of twenty-three thousand [Ślokas],

"[and] likewise another Lainga Purāņa consisting of six thousand [Ślokas]. [which deal] with initiation, consecration [of images etc.], usages of Pāṣaṇḍas, and testing of gems,

"with false accounts of the families [of kings and sages], with lexicography, grammar etc., and with irrelevant statements having mutual contradiction.

"Finding people to be deceived [with these] by those

[well-known] Minaketanas and others, who are hypocrites, Pāṣaṇḍas and pseudo-ascetics, all [the abovementioned Puranas] have been rejected with contempt." It is hardly necessary to say that in the above-mentioned verses of the Danasagara on the Bhavisya and the spurious Purāņas, the word 'pāṣaṇḍa' or 'pāṣaṇḍin' has been used by Vallalasena to mean the Tantriks, and not particularly the Buddhists; and this meaning of the word becomes evident from the facts that the Buddhists had practically nothing to do directly with any of these Purāņas or with Durgā-pūjā dealt with in them, and that the present Garuda- and Agni-p. (now available in printed forms), which, as Vallālasena's enumeration of the contents of the spurious Puranas shows, are undoubtedly the same as his second 'Tarksya' and 'Agneya' Purāṇas, prominently betray the influence of the Tantras (including particularly the Pāñcarātra Samhitās). As a matter of fact, on one occasion Vallalasena himself expressly takes the word 'pāsandin' to mean 'those people who instruct such Dharma as is opposed to that of the Veda'317. We have already seen that according to Kumārila-

para-para-virodhatab' and this reading is supported by all the three Mw, except in the case of '-virodhatab', for which the Indian Office Ms reads '-virodhitab'. But as, with this reading, the said line cannot be properly construed with the rest and does not give any cogent meaning, we have preferred to read it as '-kathā-bandhaib paraspara-virodhibhib.'

Bit See Danasagara, p. 57-

vișnudharme—păsandino vikarmasthân nălapec caiva năstikân | pășandino veda-viparita-dharm-opadeștăral |

bhatta, the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras, Pāśupatas and similar other sectaries were 'opposed to the triple Veda' (travi-viparita). Following Kumārila, Medhātithi also names the Bhojakasais, Pañcaratras, Pasupatas and others as persons denying the authority of the Vedas and look upon their scriptures with equal disrespectare. In Kūrma-p. 1.12.250-259 Devi has been made to declare Sruti and Smrti, and no other works, as the sources of Dharma consisting of sacrifices etc., and to decry 'the delusive (mohanātmaka, mohanārtha literatures of the Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Yāmalas, Vāmas, Ārhatas, Kāpilas, Pāncarātras, Dāmaras, and others of these types' as 'opposed to Sruti and Smrti' (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni) and meant 'for infatuating in their subsequent births those persons who mislead others by means of bad scriptures'; similarly, in Kürma-p. I.16.115-117 Siva and Keśava are said to have 'compiled the delusive scriptures (moha-śāstrāņi) [such as] Kāpila, Nākula, Vāma, Bhairava, Pūrva-paścima, Pāńcarātra, Pāśupata, and also others by thousands' for deluding those who had become extra-Vedic as a result of Gautama's curse320; in Kurma-p. II. 37.146-7, the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāśupatas, Somas,

ata They formed a class of Sun-worshippers.—See Vol. 1, pp. 95-99

⁶¹⁹ See Medh'ithi's commentary on Manu-smrti 2, 6.

³¹⁰ The story of Gautaina, as given in Kürma-p. 1, 16, 95-122, runs as follows:

In ancient time, there was once an extremely severe drought, which continued for a very long time and compelled the sages living in Daruvana to approach Gautaina for maintenance. Gautaina supported them with food for twelve year, after which there was heavy rain and the earth regained its former state. As the difficulty was over, the sages met Caut ma for permi ion to return to Diruvana for austerities, but the latter requesed them to stay with him for some time more. Being eager to leave the place, the lages created a black onw by virtue of their malic power and presented it to Gautama. But as soon as Gautama touched this magic aw, it fill down deal. This associating Gautama with sin, the ages left for Daruvana. Very soon Gautama saw through the plan and cursed the best to be extra-Ved, and guilt, of heinous crimes (mahāpātakin) and to be born as such again and soam Being in a difficult situation the sages pranted Samkara and Virtu with 'All of the oliver has notra he for immunity from sin, and as a result these two gods compiled for their dell crance the delusive scriptures of the Kāpālas, Nākula Vār Bharavas, Pūrva-pascimas, Pincarātras, Pasupatas, and three nd of others' and asked the sages to follow the prescription of their works and go to hell and again until, with the echambon of their in, they would be born as human beings and attain the state of pions men by worshipping G. I. The tages did as dired by Samkara and Vivi, compiled other emptures, tai ht them to their duciple, and deluded people by under the relief in

Lāngalas, Bhairavas, and other extra-Vedic sects have been said to be delusive (mohana) and opposed to the Vedas (veda-vāda-viruddhāni); in Kūrma-p. 11. 16.15 one following the Vedic Dharma is urged not to show respect, even by a word (of the mouth), to the Vāmācāras, Pāñcarātras and Pāsupatas who are Pāsandins (i.e. follow an anti-Vedic course of conduct) and always do acts not meant for them; and in Kūrma-p. II. 21.32 the Buddhist saints, Nirgranthas, Pāñcarātras, Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas, and similar other sectaries have been called 'Pāṣaṇḍas'. Thus, Vallālasena's use of the word 'pāṣaṇḍa' or 'pāṣaṇḍin' and the fact that in spite of his deep hatred of the Paşandas he says nothing expressly about the language of the Devi-p., show that this avowedly pro-Vedic royal Smarta of great eminence cannot be taken to mean that the Devi-p. was influenced in its language by the Buddhists.

From what has been said above it is evident that the language of the Devi-p. follows a tradition which originated not later than that followed by the Buddhists in their hybrid texts and was quite distinct from the latter. As a matter of fact, this tradition comes down from a much earlier date, which finds strong support in the occurrence in this Purana of a good number of such Vedic and epic forms and usages as had gone out of use long ago, and it was followed in ancient times by the adherents to the Pancaratra, Pasupata and similar other religious systems as known and practised by those Hindus who had little regard for the Vedas and the varņāśrama-dharma. As regards the compilation of the earliest pro-Vedic Pāñcarātra work the Mahābhārata says in its Nārāyaṇiya section set that the seven illustrious Citrasikhandin Rsis 'unanimously proclaimed on the great mountain Meru an excellent Sastra which was made consistent with the four Vedas and meant for the popu-

Onsisting of chaps, 335-351 of the Santi-parvan. These chapters correspond to chaps. 322-339 in the Poona critical edition.

¹⁰⁰ Mbh XII. 335, 27b-28-

ye hi te payah khyātāh sapta citra-likhandinah //
talt eka-matibhir bhūtvā yat proktam šietram uttamam /
vedais caturbhīh samitam kṛtam merau mahāgirau //

lace, ³²³ that it consisted of one lac of verses ³²⁴ and dealt with the best 'loka-dharma' (religious duties of the people), ³²⁵ and that as it was to direct them in their activity as well as inactivity, it was furnished with (the teachings of) the Yajus-, Rk-, Sāma- and Atharva-veda. ³²⁶ Although no Pāñcarātra Śāstra ascribed to the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Rṣis has come down to us nor is there any definite evidence in favour of its actual existence, the very mention of making this work, which was meant for the populace, conform to the four Vedas, is important in that it implies the non-Vedic, and perhaps also in some respects anti-Vedic, character of the ideas and practices of the Pāñcarātra system as understood and followed by the common run of people. The Mahābhārata itself differentiates the Pāñcarātra system from the Vedic, saying:

"sāṃkhyam yogaḥ pāñcarātram vedāḥ pāśupatam tathā / jñānāny etāni rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāni vai //""

"Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata—know these, O royal saint, as [branches of] knowledge holding different views."

That before the compilation of the said pro-Vedic Śāstra by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Rṣis the Pāñcarātras had little regard for the Vedas and the varṇāśrama-dharma, is also shown by the extant Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās of early

The first two lines are the same as Poona critical ed. XII. 322, 26, the third being given there as spurious.

tas Mbh XII. 335. 32b—lokān samcintya manasā tatah šāstram pracakrire. (This line is the same as Pouna critical ed. XII. 322–29c.

tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmah pravartate // (—Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 36).

^{1816.} XII. 335. 29a—āsyaih saptabhir udgirņam loka-dharmam anustamam. (In the Poona critical ed. this line has been given as spurious).

See also verse 39 cited in the immediately preceding footnote.

³¹⁹ Ibid., XII. 335, 40

pravyttau ca nivyttau ca yasmād etad bhavişyau / yajur-rk-sāmabhir justam atharvāngirasais tathā //

For this verse see Poona critical ed. XII. 322. 37. The Poona ed. reads 'yonib' for 'yasınāt'.

⁴⁸⁷ Mbh XII. 349. 64. This verse, as occurring in Poona critical ed. XII. 337. 59, reads 'yogam' for 'yogah'. See also ibid. XII. 349. 1—43mkhyam wash paragradu vedāranyakam eva cai jūānāny etāni brahmarie lokesu pracaranti ha // Poona critical ed. XII. 337. I, which reads 'yogam pañca-'.

origin which continue more or less the non-Vedic, and in some cases also anti-Vedic, tradition of the ancient Pāñcarātras. About the Pāśupatas also the Mahābhārata expresses a very similar view. We have already seen how it distinguishes the Pāśupata system from the Vedic. At another place of this work Śiva is found to say that in ancient times he created the Pāśupata Vrata which 'was contradictory to, though in some cases agreeing with, the rules of varņāśramadharma' and which was 'denounced by the unwise.' In his Smṛti-candrikā (II, p. 311) Devaņabhaṭṭa quotes from the 'Brahmāṇḍa-p.' a verse which says:

"śaivān pāśupatān spṛṣṭvā lokāyatika-nāsitkān / vikarmasthān dvijān śūdrān savāsā jalam āvišet //"

"[After] touching the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, Nāstikas, those twice-born [people] who have taken up the duties not meant for them, and the Śūdras, [one] should get into water with [all the] garments on."

In the same work there is another verse, ascribed to the 'Ṣaṭtriṃśan-mata', in which, as we have already seen, the Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas and Kāpālikas have been denounced in a similar way, ²⁵¹ These and other condem-

vedžu sad-angād oddīrītya sānkhya-yogāc ca yuksitali /
apūrvam sarvatobladram viivatomukham avyayam /
abdair daiārdha-satņyukum gūdham aprājāa-ninditam //
camāirama-krtair dhamair siparlian kravit samam /
gatāira adhyavasitam atyākamam idam vratam //
mayā pāmpatam dakṣa subham utpāditam purā /

These verses have been quoted by Apararka in his com. on Yaj. 1.7 (pp. 17-18) with the readings 'faktitah' (for 'yuktitah'), 'arthair dasardhaih samyuktam' (for 'abdair etc.'), 'ianhtaih' (for 'gatām taih'), 'anyāśramam' (for 'atyāśramam'), 'smṛtam' (for 'vratam'), 'pūrvaṃ' (for 'dakṣa'), and 'yogam' (for 'subham').

In the Poona critical cd. the above verses have been taken as sputious and placed in Appendix I (No. 28, lines 404-407) with the readings 'dasāha-' (for 'dasārdha-'), 'gatāntair' (for 'gatārp tair'), and 'yegam' (for 'subham'). Still, their early origin cannot be denied, and this is clearly indicated by their occurrence, with variation in readings, in the Vâyu-p. (30, 293-5), Brahma-p. (40, 108-110), Lānga-p (11, 20, 9-11), etc.

For an idea of the non-Brātonanical character of the ideas, rites and practices of the Pāḥcarātra Saphtitās, see our analysis of the contents of the Jayākhya-samhitā given in our Purānic Records, pp. 218-223.

⁴⁸⁹ See Mbb XII. 349, 64 quoted above.

¹³⁰ Ibid., XII. 284, 121-124a-

set For this years are above.

natory statements made in the comparatively early Sanskrit works about the Pāśupatas show that among the early worshippers of Siva-Pasupati there was a large section which was no less irreverent of the Vedas and the varnāśramadharma than the early Pancaratras. 420 It is natural, therefore, that these Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas and also similar other sectaries among the Hindus should have their scriptures written in an unorthodox language. Speaking of those Brahmin sages who, at the advice of Siva and Visnu, followed the teachings contained in the scriptures of the Vāmas, Pāšupatas, Somas, Lāngalas and others, the Kūrma-p. says that after being cursed by Gautama to be extra-Vedic and guilty of Mahāpātakas, these sages pleased the two gods 'with popular hymns' (laukikaih stotraih). At another place this Purana says that in the Kali age people would praise their deities 'with popular songs' (laukikair gānaih). *** It is highly probable that by 'laukika storra' and 'laukika gāna', the Kūrma-p. means such hymns and songs as were composed in a popular language like that of the Devi-p.

That the peculiar language of the Devi-p, was not confined to this work only, but was used in writing their scriptures by those other sects among the Hindus which were stamped out as 'extra-Vedic' by the staunch followers of the Vedas, is shown by the earliest extant Pancaratra Samhitas such as the Pauskara and the Jayakhya, more particularly the former, which was written, like the Jayakhya, in Northern India but comes from an earlier date. On the strength of doctrinal and palaeographical evidences Benovtosh Bhattacharya assigns the Jayakhya-samhitā to about 450 A.D.334 So, the Pauskara-samhitā is to be dated earlier. The high age of this work is further shown by the fact that it is named in the Sātvata-samhitā, 23 which, again, is mentioned in the

that There is hardly any scope for doubt that the extra-Vedic ideas, cites and practices of these early Philipatas come down more or less through the early Agamas.

M. Kdrma-p. I. 29. 24—gäyanti laukikair gämair daivatäni narädhipa.
Jayökhya-sauhitti, Foreword, pp. 26-34.
evaru-ädyais tu vidhivad-bhogair nänävidh-onthitaih / yab athitas trividhe sange vibbavali pärameivarah // yah athitas tuvimie saige voltative mahāmate / pauskarākhye ra vārābe prājāpatye mahāmate / vūkņimativena ca nilhiesam pratyeknamin hi aetate // 132-133.

Ahirbudhnya. 336 In its printed edition this work consists of forty-two chapters covering as many as 272 pages. In order to show how strikingly its language agrees with that of the Devi-p, in the variety as well as frequency of grammatical and other irregularities caused mainly by Prakrit and Apabhramsa, we cite below a few instances from the first five chapters covering a little more than 31 pages only.

- I. Unlawful changes made occasionally in the stems:
- (i) Substitution of the final f (of masculine words) with ā, as in 'savitā' (for 'savitr') in Pauskara-samhitā 3.69-savitākhyam ca sāvitram
- (ii) Loss of the final single consonants of masculine and neuter words, as in 'sasi' (for 'sasin') in Ps. 007 4.155-... śaśim rātrikaram smaret; 'adhva' (for 'adhvan') in 5.3-sad-adhvam syāt tṛtīyam ca ... (in which 'sadadhvam' qualifies 'mandalam' in the immediately preceding verse); 'raja' (for 'rajas') in 1.6- ... pūrayitvā rajaih subhaih, 5.53- ... vyoma bāhyam rajena tu.

For a few more instances see under III (i) below.

- (iii) Loss of the final syllables of words denoting cardinal numbers, as in 'vimsa' (for 'vimsati') in Ps. 5.145—dvitiyenātha viṃśādīn . . . ; 'saptaviṃśa' (for 'saptavimsati') in 5.269- ... saptavimsa-padotthitam.
- (iv) Loss of the final vowels of words, as in 'pad' (for 'pada') in Ps. 5.170-tulyam caturvidhākāram pād-bhedena yathāsthitam; 'viņisat' (for 'viṃśati') in 5.154—catur-abhyadhikān vimšad-amšakān ..., 5.178 -śatāni pañca-bhāgānām vimšadbhis tu navādhikaih; 'ekonavimsat' (for 'ekonavimsati') in 5.118-bhāgair ekonavirpśadbhih ...; 'pañcavimśat' (for 'pañcavimśati')

sas samkalpa-nirmitä laktir yä tat-tat-kärya-gocarā / sätvate fäsane sarvam tat tad uktam mahämune //

¹⁴¹ Pa. = Pauskara-samhitä.

in 5.64—koṣṭhakaiḥ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.119—kamalaṃ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.140—paṅkajaṃ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ...

- II. Lengthening of short vowels (evidently for the sake of metre), as in Ps. 5.152, 260—caturāšītibhir bhāgaiḥ ... (for 'caturašītibhir ...'); 5.271—saptādaša-padād bhūtaṃ ... (for 'saptadaša- etc.).
- III. Saındhi made against the rules of Sanskrit grammar:
- (i) Double Saṃdhi (?), as in 'tatordhvam' (for 'tataḥ +ūrdhvam') in Ps. 4.20—madhyamam viddhi tanmānam tatordhvam tu smṛtaṃ mahat; 'śiropari' (for 'śiraḥ+upari') in 4.83— ... tac-chiropari vinyaset; 'rajottame' (for 'rajaḥ+uttame') in 5.201—rajasā pūrayet paścāt ... / ... vyoma-bāhye rojattame //
- (ii) Irregular Samdhi, as in 'samekavarņā' (for 'samā + ekavarņā') in Ps. 2.18—samekavarņā sarpādyair nirmuktā . . .

An instance of irregular Samdhi with r as an intevening Samdhi-consonant (or hiatus-bridger), viz., 'jāti-r-inkulikā-bhena' (for 'jātīnkulikābhena') in Ps. 5.76—dasakam dasakam vipra bhāgānām atha ranjayet / jāti-r-inkulikābhena vyoma-bāhyāt tu pūrayet //

IV. Hiatus created by absence of Samdhi in verses, as in Ps. 1.30—tathaivāyatanānām ca āšramāṇām mahāmune, 2.17— ... hy apare āmra-kānanam, 5.66—dvāro-pagasya madhyāt tu aṣṭau ...

V. Wrong use of Number

(i) in Dvandva compounds, as in 'udag-yāmye' (for 'udag-yāmyayoḥ') in 5.162, 'pūrva-paścimam' (for 'pūrva-paścimau') in 3.4 and 3.16, 'dakṣinottaram' (for 'dakṣinottarau') in 3.38, 51, 52, 'paścimottare' (for 'paścimottarayoḥ') in 3.68;

- (ii) in verbs (irrespective of the Number of their subjects), as in Ps. 5.35—... bhaved dvārāņy ath-āśrayaḥ, 5.47—... ekaviṃśottaraṃ śatam / utpadyante ca bhāgānām ... //, 5.66—... aṣṭau śobhā-dvaye bhavet, 5.71— kṛtvā dvidaśadhā kṣetraṃ ṣaṇṇavaty-adhikaṃ śataṃ / utpadyante 'ṃśakānāiṃ tu ... //;
- (iii) in adjectives, as in Ps. 2.20—atyuṣṇā yā ca hemante rasānvā (? rasālā) jaladāgame / kāṃsya-bhāṇḍa-svanā ghaṇṭā-viṇā-vaṃśa-ravāḥ śubhāḥ // (in which 'yā' has been used for 'mahī' in the immediately preceding verse), 5.1—yāgas tu deva-deveśa bhadrādīni kramād vada, 5.84—rāgais tu pīṭha-koṇāni paścimādi tataḥ punaḥ;
- (iv) in words denoting cardinal numbers in most cases, as in Ps. 3.28—aṣṭāviṃśatibhir yukta-dvy-aṅgulair dhanuṣi śṛṇu/aṣṭādaśāṅgulā vipra dvy-aṅgulair daśabhir vinā //, 3.29—triṃśadbhir dvy-aṅgulair ūnā ..., 4.8—caturviṃśatibhir brahman hastas tair aṅgulair bhavet, 4.10-11—ādya-dvādaśabhir mānam aṅgulaiḥ parikīrtitam / dvitīyam aṣṭādaśabhiś caturviṃśatibhiḥ param //, 5.64—koṣṭhakaiḥ pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.118—bhāgair ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ ..., 5.139—ekaviṃśatibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., 5.152—caturāśītibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., saṭtriṃśadbhis tu koṣṭhakaiḥ //, 5.178—trayoviṃśatibhir bhāgaiḥ ..., and also 5.206, 208, 226, 241, 247 ctc. (for similar use),

4.6-tābhir likşāsṭakair yūkām viddhi . . .

- (v) in other cases such as 'yāgas tu ... bhradrādīni ... vada' (for 'yāgāṃs tu etc.') in Ps. 5.1, 'saptādaśa-padād bhūtam ...' (for 'saptadaśa-padebhyaḥ etc.') in 5.271, '... catvāriṃśat-pade sthitam' (for 'catvāriṃśat-padeṣu etc.') in 5.280.
- VI. Unauthorised change of Gender:
- (i) Masculine words used as neuter, viz., 'ādhāra' in Ps. 5.16—buddhy-ādhāram ataḥ proktam ..., 5.258— ... buddhy-ādhāram athocyate; 'ākāra' in 4.104— ... kartavyam jyeṣṭhākāram gaṇasya ca; 'aṃśa' in 5.186—

saptavimsaty-athāmsāni ..., 5.196—samsodhy-aikādaśāmśāni ..., 5.232—dve catuş-şaţ tathāmśāni ..., 5.266—ekonavimśaty-amśāni ...; 'bhāga' in 3.30 śańkor dvādaśa-bhāgam yad vijñātavyam tad angulam / tasya yat sasthamani bhagain boddhavyam dvy-angulam tu tat //, 5.38-pitha-dik-sthita-bhāgāni ..., 5.41paritas tatra bhāgāni sodhayitvā ..., 5.81—ekaikādaśabhāgāni ..., 5.102—trīṇy-ardham pañca-bhāgāni ..., 5.265, 268, 301- ... bhāgāni ...; 'daṇḍa' in 4.120sarvāņy ādheya-daņḍāni ..., 4.204—vedi-toraņadandâni ...; 'deśa' in 3.18—tathā paścima-bhāgastham deśam ... (for '-bhagastho deśah ...'), 5.61-tat-koṇamadhya-deśāni ... rañjayet; 'jaya' in 5.10-ataḥ pañcadaśam yagam jayam nama jaya-pradam, 51.3-yam dṛṣṭvā bhavinām śaśvad bhaved bhūta-jayam dvija, 5.151-idam uktam jayam nāma ...; 'koņa' in 5.28, 50, 249— ...koṇāni ..., 5.39—tad-upasthāna-koṇāni..., 5.68 —pitha-konāni sarvāni ..., 5.70 — ... tadvat konam iti smṛtam, 5.77- ... pīṭha-koṇāni rañjayet, 5.84rāgais tu pītha-koņāni ..., 5.94—pīthasya sarvakonāni ... pūrayet, 5.95-koņāny athopapīthasya tenaiva parirañjayet; 'pralaya' in 4.92- ... pralayani ca yojya ca; 'sameaya' in 1.5-evam-ādi yadā bhūyāt karunam vākya-samcayam; 'stembha' in 4.63-stambhāni ca suvrttāni . . .; 'sugrīva' in 3.73-indras cendrapadākhyas ca sugrīvam kusuma-dvija; 'vighna' in 3.49— ... madhye vighnam bhavet sphuṭam; 'yaga' in 2.3pravartante ca yāgāni ..., 5.5, 9, 10, 14, 97, etc.yagam (for 'yagah'), 5.18-asyaparam mahayagam dhruvākhyam ca prakirtitam; and so on.

- (ii) Neuter words used as masculine, viz., 'sthāna' in Ps. 5.45—dvāra-kanth-opagau sthānau ...; 'dvāra' in 5.106—dvārādīn ... susamsthitān, 5.203—dvārān nrpopalābhena sobhām pitena pūrayet.
- (iii) Feminine words used as neuter, viz., 'aśri' in Ps. 5.78 –nṛpopalābhen-āśrīṇi śobhāni vyoma-bāhyavat:

'śobhā' in 5.78 (cited above), 5.96—pītena copaśobhāni ..., 5.106—sitena copaśobhāni ..., 5.114—śeṣāc chobhopaśobhāni bhāgair dvārāṇi kārayet.

- (iv) Difference in Gender between nouns and their adjectives, as in Ps. 1.33—bhāva utpadyate kṣipraṃ tan-madhye śraddhayānvitam, 4.78— ... kuryāc chīrṣa-gaṇaṃ mahat, 4.85— ... stambha-saṃtatim/ kiṃcit samucchritaṃ dattvā ... //, 4.97— ... kuryāt ... / prākāraṃ ... mahat //, 5.1—yāgas tu devadeveśa bhadrādīni kramād vada, 5.160—evam īśāna-dik proktam ..., 5.202—jātyā hiṅkulikābhena ..., 5.252—dve catuṣ-ṣaṭ ca bhāgāṃs tu ...
- (v) Difference in Gender between nouns and their pronouns, as in Ps. 1.8— ... tam tu viddhi caturvidham (in which 'tam' has been used for 'maṇḍalam'), 2.14— ... tath-ānye mṛga-jātayaḥ, 2.18-19—vāpī-kūpādikam khātam īśāne yasya cottare / śubha-lakṣaṇa-yuktā sā sarva-siddhi-karī mahī //, 4.6—tābhir likṣāṣṭakair yūkāṃ viddhi ...

VII. Wrong declension, as in

'prajāpatim' (for 'prajāpatiḥ') in Ps. 3.74; 'śaśim' (for 'śaśinam') in 4.155—bṛhac-chaśaka-pṛṣṭhasthaṃ śaśiṃ rātrikaraṃ smaret; 'ekādaśāni' (for 'ekādaśa') in 5.249— ... koṇāny ekādaśāni tu; 'ekonaviṃśadbhiḥ' (for 'ekonaviṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.118; 'viṃśadbhiḥ' (for 'viṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.178 (cited above); 'pañcaviṃśadbhiḥ' (for 'pañcaviṃśatibhiḥ') in 5.64, 119, 140; 'ekacatvāribhiḥ' (for 'ekacatvāriṃśadbhiḥ') in 5.278— ... ekacatvāribhiḥ padaiḥ;

'tule' (for 'tulāyām') in Ps. 3.27—tule tu meşa-sadṛśī vṛścike dvādaśāṅgulā.

VIII. Incorrect use of case-endings:

(i) The first case-ending used

(a) for the second, as in Ps. 1.51—anyas ca viddhy anāhāro velā tasyendra vartate (for 'anyam ca ...

anāhāram ...'), 4.77—bandhaś ca sadṛśaṃ dadyāt ... (for 'bandhaṃ ca ...'), 5.1—yāgas tu devadeveśa ... vada—(for 'yāgāṃs tu etc.'), 5.39— ... paripūrayet / dvārāṇi ... cāśrayaḥ (for '... cāśrīḥ'), 5.62— ... ranjayet ... / dvārāṇi ... vāśrayaḥ (for '... vāśrīḥ');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 5.161—tat tu paścima-dik

kuryāt ... (for '... paścima-diśi ...').

- (ii) The second case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.154—... bhāgam catuṣṭayam (for '... bhāgānām ...'?).
- (iii) The third case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 5.131—gātrakābhyām samīpam tu ... (for 'gātrakayoḥ ...').
- (iv) The fifth case-ending used for the sixth, as in Ps. 4.78— ... bhinnād upari ... (for '... bhinnasya upari ...').

(v) The sixth case-ending used

(a) for the fourth, as in Ps. 1.8—pūjitam daršayct tasya ... (for '... tasmai ...');

(b) for the seventh, as in Ps. 1.4—dayām kuru tv anāthasya ... (for '... anāthe ...').

(vi) The seventh case-ending used

(a) for the third, as in Ps. 4.206-mrda gomaya-

miśrāyām upalipya ... (for '... -miśrayā upa- ...')

(b) for the sixth, as in Ps. 2.15—janayaty āśu cāhlādam sva-kāntāsv iva daršanam (for '... sva-kāntānām iva ...'), 3.18—tasyām abhyantarastham vā ... (for 'tasyāh abhya-...'), 3.53—dikşu caivāntarālāni ... (for 'dišām caivā-...').

IX. Irregularities in the formation of compounds:

(i) Occasional insertion of 'm' as a connecting link between the component parts, as in 'torana-m-mānam'

(for 'torana-mānam') in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādašamāmšena toraņa-m-mānam abjaja, and 'pankti-dvaya-m-jātam' (for 'pańkti-dvaya-jātam') in 5,101-bhāgam pańkti-dvayam-jātam samcārārtham tu śodhavet.

- (ii) Occasional insertion of the indeclinable 'atha' between the component parts, as in 'saptavimsaty-athāṃṣām' (for 'saptaviṃśaty-aṃṣān') in Ps. 5.186—saptavimsaty-ath-āmsāni kona-desād visodhayet.
- (iii) Wrong use of Samāsāntas, as in 'sad-adhvam' (for 'sad-adhva', a Bahuvrīhi compound qualifying 'mandalam') in Ps. 5.3-sad-adhvam syat trtiyam ca ..., 5.33- ... sad-adhvam adhunocyate, 5.40-sadadhvam ca mayā proktam ...

(iv) Various other irregularities, as in

'divā-rātram' (a Dvandva compound meaning 'a day and a night', for 'divā-rātrī') in Ps. 3.15-yasmin deśe divā-rātram nityam eva samam dvija, and 3.16samam yatra divā-ratram ekasmin vaisuve dine, 'pūrvapaścimam' (for 'pūrva-paścimau') in 3.4- ... yatnatah pūrva-pascimam / vijneyam ... //, and 3.16-tatrānena viscsena jňatavyam půrva-pascimam, 'půrva-pascimat' (for 'pūrva-paścimābhyām') in 3.35, 'dakṣinottaram' (for 'daksinottarau') in 3.38, 3.51, 3.52, 'paścimottare' (for 'paścimottarayoh') in 3.68- ... daksine paścimottare / isty-aivam kona-padmesu ... //,

'corātanka-bhayādike' (for '-bhayādikaih' connected with '-vinirmukte') in Ps. 2.7-dusta-prāņi-vinirmukte corātańka-bhayadike, 'sa-sthūlaih' (for 'sa-sthaulyaih') in 4.76-drdha-kāstha-samudbhūtaih sa-sthūlair bahubhis tathā, 'cimśādīn' (for 'viṃśaty-ādīn') in 5.145dvitiyenātha vimsādin satkam satkam tad-aśrisu,

'saptavimsa-padotthitam' (for 'saptavimsati-padotthitam') in Ps. 5.269, 'pad-bhedena' (for 'pada-bhedena') in 5.170-tylyam caturvidhākāram pād-bhedena yathāschitam.

'viņisad-aṃšakān' (for 'viṃšaty-aṃšakān') in Ps. 5.154—catur-abhyadhikān viṃšad-aṃšakān kamalodbhava, 'cka-catvāribhiḥ' (for 'cka-catvāriṃšadbhiḥ') in 5.278—śatāṣṭa-kaṃ tu bhāgānām cka-catvāribhiḥ padaiḥ.

X. Wrong formation and use of verbs:

- (i) Parasmaipadīya roots used in their Ātmanepadīya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaṇīya 'sthā' (meaning 'to remain') in Ps. 1.50—yathaikas tiṣṭhate tṛptaḥ ... (for '... tiṣṭhati ...'), 3.92—saṇyuktaṃ tiṣṭhate dehe ... (for '... tiṣṭhati ...').
- (ii) Ātmanepadīya roots used in their Parasmaipadīya forms, viz., bhvādi-gaņīya 'mud' in Ps. 2.15 yatra modanti vai vyāghra-kuñjarāḥ saha mānavaiḥ (for '... modante ...').
- (iii) Irregular conjugation of verbs (mostly with unauthorised change of Gana):
- (a) bhvādi-gaṇiya 'ikṣ' (to see) in Ps. 3.43 (with 'nir')— ... tathā chāyā nirikṣayet (for '... nirikṣeta');
- (b) adādi-gaņīya 'mṛj' in Ps. 5.216, 246, 252—mṛjet (for 'mṛjyāt');
- (c) hvādi-gaņīya 'hu' in Ps. 4.206—hunci (for 'iuhuyāt');
- (d) divādi-gaņīya 'ar' in Ps. 2.90, 4.60, 4.67, 4.74, etc. (with 'ni')—nyaset (for 'nyasyet'), 4.83, 4.127 (with 'vi+ni')—vinyaset (for 'vinyasyet');
- (e) svādi-gaņīya 'ti' in Ps. 4.56 (with 'vi')—vicinvīyāt (for 'vicinuyāt'), 4.105—cinvīyāt (for 'cinuyāt').

(iv) Wrong formation of Krd-anta words, viz.,

(a) Gerunds (in 'ktvā' and 'lyap'), such as 'samjūātvā' (for 'samjūāya') in Ps. 1.42—kṛta-kṛtyam tu samjūātvā ..., 'samīkṣayitvā' (for 'samīkṣya') in 4.60 samīkṣyitvā tān sarvān ..., 'unmījayitvā' (for 'unmījya') in 5.271,

'lānchya' (for 'lānchitvā') in Ps. 3,56- ... lānchya

pūrvokta-lānchanaih, 'lopya' (for 'lopayitvā') in 5.246, 'pūjya' (for 'pūjayitvā') in 2.27, 'pūrya' (for 'pūrayitvā') in 3.79 and 82, 'śodhya' (for 'śodhayitvā') in 5.250, 'yojya' (for 'yojayitvā') in 4.92.

(b) Other primary bases, such as 'ārurukṣakaḥ' (for 'ārurukṣuḥ') in Ps. 1.49—siddhaś ca sidhyamānaś

ca trtiyaś cārurukṣakaḥ.

- (v) Wrong use of Gerunds, as in Ps. 3.49—śańkusűtram dvidhā bhańktvā madhye vighnam bhavet sphuṭam, 5.63—sarva-kāma-pradam caiva kṛtvā 'mitraghnam ucyate / kṣetram tridaśadhā kṛtvā bhāgānām jāyate śatam //, 5.100—bhavanti śobhā-tulyāni kṛtv-aivam gātrakāṇi tu, 5.107-8—kṛtv-āṣṭādaśadhā kṣetram ... / jāyate vai caturviṃśaty-adhikam ... //, 5.118— ... kṛtvā tu jāyate, 5.128—kṣetram dvādaśadhā kṛtvā bhavec chatacatuṣṭayam, 5.151-2—dvir ekādaśadhā kṣetram kṛtvā saṃjāyate dvija / caturāśītibhir bhāgair adhikam tu catuḥśatam //, 5.155—evam aṃśaka-bimbam ca kṛtvā dvāropamaṃ bhavet, 5.271—saṃmārjy-onmīlayitvā ca bimbam tu prathamaṃ bhavet, and so on.
- (vi) Unauthorised use of Āśīr-liń (Benedictive Mood) for Vidhi-liń, as in Ps. 1.5—evam-adi yadi bhūyāt karuṇaṃ vākya-saṃcayam / pravarteta tad-arthaṃ tu gurur maṇḍala-pūjane //
- XI. Wrong formation of Taddhitānta words such as 'dvādašama' (for 'dvādaša') in Ps. 4.125—etad dvādašamāṃšena toraṇa-ṃ-mānam abjaja, 'ṣaṣṭhama' (for 'ṣaṣṭha') in 3.30—tasya yat ṣaṣṭhamaṃ bhāgaṃ boddhavyaṃ dvy-aṅgulaṃ tu tat, 'traiḥ' (for 'triḥ' formed with the Taddhita suffix 'suc', i.e. 's' added to the word 'tri') in 4.92—bhìttau bhittau catus trair vā pralayāni ca yojya ca, 'vistṛtāṃ' (formed with the Taddhita suffix 'tal' i.e. 'tā' added to the wrongly formed word 'vistṛ'?) in 4.4— ... astrāder bhūmivistṛtām (for '... -vistṛtim').

XII. Use of an adjective as a noun, as in

Ps. 4.76—dṛḍha-kāṣṭha-samudbhūtaiḥ sa-sthūlair bahubhis tathā (in which the word 'sthūla' in 'sa-sthūlaiḥ' is an adjective used as a noun for 'sthaulya').

XIII. Use of a noun as an adjective in Ps. 5.154— ... pańktyā bhāgaṃ catustayam(?).

XIV. Use of synonymous words, as in

Ps. 1.33—tadīyena prabhāvena šraddh-ādyādyeşu kim punah, 2.7— ... cor-ātanka-bhay-ādike, 3.73— ... yāvad-vāyu-pad-āvadhi.

It is needless to cite more instances. The above citations will be found sufficient to indicate the nature of the language of the Pauskara-samhitā and to show its striking similarity with the language of the Devi-p. It should be mentioned here that our citation of instances of grammatical and other irregularities from the first five chapters of the Pauskara-samhitā is not exhaustive. The above collection has been made simply to give a general idea of the variety as well as frequency of the irregularities found in this work.

Like the Pauşkara-samhitā the Jayākhya also is looked upon as one of the earliest and most authoritative works of the Pāñcarātra Āgama. But it comes from a date later than that of the Pauşkara and consequently lacks many of the linguistic peculiarities of the latter, evidently under the growing influence of Sanskrit. Still it retains a good number of such irregular forms and usages as amply testify to the original nature of the language of the Pāñcarātra scriptures. In order to give an idea of these irregularities, a few striking instances are noted below mostly from the first sixteen Paṭalas of the Jayākhya (which cover about half of the work consisting of thirtythree Paṭalas).

(1) The Jayakhya-samhita uses the word 'tredha' (for classical 'tridha') in 16.176—ekadha va dvidha tredha ..., and spells 'tritiya' once as 'tritiya' in 15.184—tritiyam

mūla-khaṇḍānāṇ ..., and 'siṃha', 'nṛṣiṃha' and 'narasiṃha, very often as 'siḥma', 'nṛṣiḥma' and 'narasiḥma' respectively. (See, for instance, Jayākhya-saṃhitā 16.21, 37, 107 etc., 25.16, 27, 31, 38, 51, 54, 62 etc., 16.91, 25.42, 72, 86, 95 etc.; 29.5, 9 etc.; 2.12, 15, 143, 26.107, and so on).

Sometimes it shortens the final long vowels of words, as in 'devata' (for 'devata') in 2.57—tadā saṃbodhito brahmā devatair munibhih saha, and sometimes it lengthens the short ones, as in 'śakti' (for 'sakti') in 14.66—tasya śabdamayī śaktī jvālāvan niḥsṛtaṃ mahat, and 'kuśā' (for 'kuśa') in 15.115—madhya-namraṃ kuśā-kāṇḍaṃ gṛhītvā . . .

Sometimes it drops the final single consonants of words, as in 'ekatrimśa' (for 'ekatrimśat') in 13.194— ... ekatrimśākṣaram param / mantram ... //, 'śira' (for 'śiras') in 16.128— ... śiṣyam sama-pāda-śironnatam, and 'sarpi' (for 'sarpis') in 15.146—hiranya-madhusarpibhyām snānam ...

(2) As regards Gender, the Jayākhya-saṃhitā sometimes goes against the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Thus, it uses neuter words as masculine, as in 15.143—narasihmādayo vaktrāḥ sphurat-tāraka-saṃnibhāḥ, and 16.139— . . . sa hi karm-āspado yatah, and

it allows nouns and their adjectives or pronouns to have different Genders, as in 14.66—tasya śabdamayi śaktī jvālāvan niḥsrṭam mahat (in which the words 'niḥsrṭtam' and 'mahat', though qualifying 'śaktī', i.e. 'śaktiḥ', have been used in the neuter Gender, for 'niḥsrṭā' and 'mahatī'), and 16.141—sādhu parṇa-puṭe sūtram kṛtvā tam mallake 'tha vā (for '... sūtram ... tat mallake ...').

(3) It contains instances of irregular formation of feminine bases, as in 2.66—sampravistas tataś cāham imām padmodbhavīm tanum (for '... padmodbhavām ...').

(4) Saṃdhi has sometimes been effected irregularly either with the elimination of the final single consonant of a word followed immediately by the initial vowel of another word, as in 'pāyūpastheti' (for 'pāyūpastham + iti') in 3.6—tac ca vāk-pāṇi-pādākhyaṃ pāyūpastheti ca smṛtam, and in '-sironnatam' (for '-siraḥ+unnatam') in 16.128— . . . śiṣyaṃ sama-pāda-śironnatam,

or with the insertion of a Samdhi-consonant (or hiatusbridger), such as 'r', as în 'tri-r-aŭgulā' (for 'tri+aŭgulā') in 15.103—vistārasya tri-bhāgena grīvā sāśrā tri-raŭgulā.

(5) In using Vibhaktis the Jayākhya-samhitā sometimes violates the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Thus, it employs

(a) the fourth case-ending in place of the sixth (in the sense of 'sambandha'), as in 2.3—svam ātmānam puraskṛtya sad-bhaktāya hitāya ca (for '... sad-bhaktasya hitāya ...'),

(b) the sixth case-ending in place of the fourth and the seventh, as in 2.64—dattam mayābhayam teṣām ... (for '... tebhyaḥ ...'), and 12.132—kramoditena vidhinā tasya tuṣyāmy aham mune (for '... tasmin tuṣyāmy ...'),

(c) the seventh case-ending (instead of the sixth) in connection with the word 'upari' (formed with an 'atas-artha pratyaya', viz, 'ril', i.e. 'ri'), as in 11.4— kṣitāv upari vinyāsaṃ ... / tasmiṃs copari vinyāsaṃ ... //, 12.128— ... tasyām upari bhāvayet, and 15.189— tatr-opari ghṛtaṃ dadyāt ...,

and so on,

(6) Its irregularity in the formation of compounds is found in the words 'ekatrimiākṣaram' (a Bahuvrīhi compound, for 'ekatrimiād-akṣaram') in 13.194 (cited above), 'tri-r-aṅgulā' (for 'try-aṅgulā') in 15.103, 'suṣuptāvasthagaḥ' (for 'suṣupty-avasthā-gaḥ') in 16.175, 'pāyūpastha' (for 'pāyūpastham') in 3.6 (cited above), 'kušā-kāṇḍam' (for 'kuša-kāṇḍam') in 15.115, 'udak-paścima-aiṣāna-prāṅ-

mukham' (with hiatus, for '-paścimaiśāna-') in 16.192, and so on,

(7) On several occasions it uses Parasmaipadiya roots in their Ātmanepadiya forms, and vice versa. Thus, it has 'saṃsmarasva' (for 'saṃsmara'—Lot, second person, singular) in 2.58, 'ācarate' (for 'ācarati') in 12.131, 'labhet' (for 'labheta') in 13.45, 'samārabhet' (for 'samārabheta') in 15.161, and so on.

It has irregular conjugation of verbs in 'hanet' (for 'hanyāt'—Vidhi-lin, third person, singular of the root 'han') in 10.4, 'hunet' and 'juhet' (for 'juhuyāt') in 15.183 (also 16.160) and 16.176 respectively, and so on.

- (8) Among the irregularly formed Krd-anta verbs there are
- (a) the Gerunds, such as 'likhya' (for 'likhitvā') in 6.27, 'prerya' (for 'prerayitvā') in 16.138, 'pājya' (for 'pūjayitvā') in 6.7, 'tādya' (for 'tādayitvā') in 13.86, and so on, and
- (b) the Present Participles, such as 'anicchamāna' (for 'anicchat') in 16.138—anicchamānasya balāj jantoḥ ..., 'bhrāmayamāṇa' (for 'bhrāmayat') in 13.85—smṛtvā bhrāmayamāṇas tāṇ saṃviśed yāga-mandiram, 'dhyā-yamāna' (for 'dhyāyat') in 16.95— ... dhyāyamānas tam eva hi, 'patamāna' (for 'patat') in 12.122—smṛtvā mantraṃ tu tan-mūrdhni patamānaṇ dvijāmbarāt, and so on.

The Sātvata-samhitā, which, with the Pauşkara and the Jayākhya, formed the three jewels of the Pāncarātra scripture, is undoubtedly an early work like the other two. It has been drawn upon by Rāmānuja in his Śribhāṣya³³, and named and referred to in the Ahirbudhnya-samhitā³³¹

an See Sribhāşya on Vedānta-sūtra, II. 2, 42 (p. 1600)-

^{....} sátvata-samhitāyām uktam brāhmaņānām hi sad-brahma vāsudevākhya-yājinām /

viveradam param iästram brahmopanijadam mahat // iti.

This verse is the same as Sărvata-samhită 2. 4a and 5a.

³³³ For the relevant verse of the Ahirbudhnya-sambită see footnote 336 above.

and the Bhāgavata-p.340. But its mention of the names of the Pauṣkara, Vārāha and Prājāpatya (i.e. Brāhma) Samhitā in one of its verses341 with references to some of their topics, shows that it is to be dated later than all these three works. So, we can scarcely expect to find in it grammatical and other irregularities as much as in the Pauṣkara. Still it is not totally free from these, but there is hardly any necessity of noting them here.

Although we have got very little information about the early Saiva Āgamas and the Sākta Tantras, the language of the mystic Vidyās, Kavacas, Mantras, etc. contained in the extant Saiva and Sākta works shows that the early Āgamas and Tantras were written in an unpolished language very similar to that of the Devi-p. and the Pauṣkara-saiphitā. In connection with imparting religious instructions to kings and others, the Siva-dharmottara says:

"rāga-dveṣ-ānṛta-krodha-kāma-tṛṣṇānusāri yat / vākyam niraya-hetutvāt tad durbhāṣitam ucyate // saṃskṛten-āpi kim tena mṛdunā lalitena ca / avidyā-rāga-vākyena saṃsāra-kleśa-hetunā // yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyam rāgādīnām ca saṃkṣayaḥ / virūpam api tad vākyam vijneyam atiśobhanam //""
"Whatever utterance follows from love, hatred, false-

hood, anger, desire and longing, is called bad speech, because of its being the cause of [residence in] hell.

"What [can one have to do] with the words of attachment arising from nescience, which cause sufferings of rebirths, even though these [words] may be polished, gentle and charming?

"That speech, though deformed, is to be known as highly elegant, which, being heard, creates merit and destroys attachment etc."

²⁴⁰ I. 3. 8-trilvam rji-sargani vai devarsitvam upetva sab /

tantram sātvatam ācasta naiskarmyam karmanām yatab //
This verse unmistakably means our present Sātvata-samhitā, in which Nārada appears as the speaker.

⁵⁴⁵ For the relevant verse of the Sătvata-samhită see footnote 335 above.

¹⁰² Chap. 2, fol. 42a.

The Siva-dharmottara allows to the Saiva teachers sufficient freedom in the use of language for religious instruction, saying:

"saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ / deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //""

"That person is regarded as a [religious] teacher who enlightens [his] disciple with refined and vulgar speeches (or, with expressions in Sanskrit and Prakrit) and by means of local dialects etc. according to [the latter's] fitness."

It is to be noted that unlike Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, who refused to accept as Śāstras those works which were composed in incorrect words (asādhu śabda) derived mostly from the Prakrit dialects such as 'Māgadha, Dākṣiṇātya and their Apabhraṃśas', the Śiva-dharmottara has a very liberal view as regards the medium of religious instruction and prefers the 'deformed' (virūpa) speech to the refined one (saṃskṛta) in case it rightly serves the purpose.

The recognition of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the local dialects and also a mixture of all these as mediums of religious instruction, was likewise made by the Nandi-p., an extinct

This verse has been quoted and ascribed to the 'Visquelharmottara' in Raghunandana's Vyavahāra-tatīva (for which see Smṛṭi-tatīva, II, p. 205) and to the 'Visquelharma' in Mitramiira's Viramitrodaya (Vyavahāra-prakāša, p. 54).

As this verse does not occur in the present Visundharma and Visundharmoutara, its ascription to these works seems to be wrong. But it is not possible to dogmatise that this verse did not occur in the texts of these works known to Raghunandana and Mitramiira.

³⁴³ Chap. 2 (fol. 43a).

Both Raghunandana and Mitramiira take this verse as their authority for stating that even in teaching (adhyāpana) there is no restriction about the use of correct words and that for the take of proper understanding plaints etc. may be recorded in the courts of justice by using the popular words of the contending parties. (See Smṛti-tatīva, II, p. 205—..... iti bhāṣā-sarīram/ etac ca saṃskṛta-desahhāṣ-ānyatarena yathābodhaṃ vaktavyaṃ lekhyaṃ vā, mūrkhānām api vādi-prativāditā-darianāt / ata evādhyāpane 'pi tathoktaṃ viṇuudharmottare—'saṃskṛtaib prākṛtair vākyair yab siṇyam anurūpatah / desa-bhāṣādy-upāyais ca bodhayet sa guruh smṛtah // Vīramitrodaya, Vyavahāra-prakāsa, p. 54—bodhakais tu yesām ye sabdāḥ prasiddhās tair eva bhāṣādi lekhanlyam / prativādi-sabhyādināṃ tad-anabhiṇāarve bhāṣā-dvayādy-abhiṇāais te bodhaniyā ityādy ūhyam / ata eva viṇudharme 'dhyāpane 'pi sādhu-sabda-niyam-ānādara uktaḥ / 'saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yah siṣyam anurūpataḥ / desa-bhāṣādy-upāyais ca bodhayet sa guruh smṛtaḥ //' iti /).

work composed not later than the seventh century A.D., and this is shown by two of the verses³⁴⁴ on Vidyā-dāna quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Anantabhaṭṭa and others.³⁴⁵

From what has been said above it is evident that the type of un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit, found in the Devī-p., Pauskara-saṃhitā etc., had a very early origin, with which the Buddhists had nothing to do in any way. As a matter of fact, the popular religions current among the Hindus in early days were recorded in this type of Sanskrit, which scrupulously avoided Prakrit phonology and morphology to a very great extent but widely used Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa as its basis. As these religions concerned the common run of people who were indifferent to the Vedic views of religion, life and conduct and also perhaps to Sanskrit learning, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, which were widely used and understood by them, were very naturally allowed to play a great part in the making of the Sanskrit of their religious works. But Sanskrit had to be retained, however 'deformed' (virūpa)

att sagukāraib sagukņām vidyām prākņtaib prākņtām api / ālāpa-mātrair vyākhyānair yad ca šisyān prabodhayet // deiābhidhāna-vinyāsair bodhayec cāpi yo gurub / sa guruh sa pitā mātā sa ca cintāmanīb smṛtab //

⁽For these verses of the 'Nandi-p,' see Laksmidhara's Kṛṭya-kalpararu, V, p. 218, Aparārka's com, on the Yāj., p. 400, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 552, and so on).

³⁴³ For references to the relevant works of these Smrti-writers see Chap. III, footnote 76 below,

the Devi-p., Pauskara-samhita etc. and these works are taken to be of dates not going beyond the third century A.D., we fail to understand why these works should be composed in a synthetic language in imitation of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit in spite of the fact that the Buddhists themselves had begun to look upon their own hybrid Sanskrit with growing apathy and to Sanskritise their hybrid texts from a much earlier date going as far back as the beginning of the Christian era.

This is shown by the traditional use of different kinds of Prakrit in Sanakrit dramas, as well as by the fact that the learned and extremely intelligent Vaihasika, who was the prototype of the Vidüsaka and who was engaged by kings and harlots for the extremely difficult task of psychological study of people, spoke not in Sanakrit but in some popular dialect, in order to hide his own identity and learning. For more information about this Vaihasika and the Vidüsaka of Sanakrit dramas see our article on 'The Vidüsaka in Sanakrit Dramas—His Origin' published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (Letters, 1933, pp. 85-103.

it might have to be made for practical purposes, and, even in spite of the deep association of Prakrit with the daily life of the people, it could not be replaced by the latter, nor could it be allowed to change its appearance by taking the latter's phonology and morphology, because the persons for whom the said works were meant were Hindus and it was Sanskrit (be it Vedic, epic or otherwise) which had long been accepted by the Hindus as the language of their religious works.

It is true that the un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit, as now found particularly in the Devi-p. and the Pauşkara-saṃhitā, has many peculiar features in common with the language of the two great epics of India, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. But we cannot overlook the fact that these two epics remarkably lack the variety and frequency of grammatical and other irregularities, very often made under the influence of Prakrit and Apabhramsa, which we find in the Devi-p, and the Pauskara-samhita. This dissimilarity, which is deep as well as extensive, is very striking and shows definitely that the language of the Devi-p., Pauskara-samhita, and similar other works was not derived from the epics. We have already seen that this peculiar language originated long before the rise of the Buddhist hybrid texts. So, the assumption of derivation of this un-Pāṇinian Sanskrit from the epics would create insurmountable difficulties in explaining away the variations referred to above. It appears that even in the pre-Paninian period a kind of grammatically incorrect Sanskrit (of which a later and probably more improved form is presented by the Devi-p, etc.) had come into being among the less cultured sections of the Vedic and allied population as a result of the contact of the Vedic language (including pre-Pāṇinian Sanskrit), on the one hand, and the early Prakrits and their Apabhraṣṭa forms current in the lower strata of the society, on the other, and that this synthetic language, which was evidently evolved for practical purposes, could not be set aside totally by the cultured Aryans because of their daily necessity of maintaining religious, social, economic, political or cultural contact

with the other sections of the population.347 But, as we have already said, Aryan supremacy in Indian society demanded that this synthetic language should be more Sanskrit than Prakrit, whatever its basis may be, and it is for this reason that in the Devi-p, we find the Sanskritised forms of such Prakrit words as were originally non-Sanskritic or were derived from Sanskrit, but the Vibhaktis and Pratyayas are very often Sanskrit. The present Rāmāyaņa and the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, attempted at religious synthesis by bringing about a compromise between the popular religious views and those of the orthodox followers of the Vedas, who had great faith in the Vedic sacrificial religion as well as in the varnāśrama-dharma. As they were meant for guiding the unorthodox members of the Hindu society in their religious, social and individual life in conformity

¹⁴⁷ In pointing out, in his Mahābhāṣya (pp. 12ff.), the various purposes served by the study of grammar, Patanjali says that it ensures perfect protection of the Vedas through knowledge of elision, augmentation, and change of letters, places the Brahmin priests of sacrifice in a position to make the right use of the Vedic Mantras by effecting necessary modifications in these, by acquiring knowledge of these, and by removing doubts as regards their meanings by correct accentuation, and offers a means of carning knowledge of words within a short period. Patañjali further says that by studying thu science a Brahmin (who is the custodian of the Vedas and has to perform sacrifices) learns to avoid the employment of originally wrong (mlerchs) and misprenounced (apabhāṣita) words (like 'helaya' for 'he arayah'), and also of such words as become defective due to the use of wrong accents or letters. He then adds:

[&]quot;yo hi sabdān jānāty apasabdān apy asau janāti / yathaiva hi sabda-jūāne dharmab, rvam apaiabda-jūšne 'py udharmah / atha vā bhūyān adharmah prāpnoti / bhūyāṇso 'paśabdāh, alpīyāmuah sabdā iti / ckaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo 'pahhramsah / tad yathā gaur ity asya tabdasya gāvi gonī gotā gopotalik-ety-ādayo bahavo 'pabbramiāh' atha yo 'väg-yoga-vid ajñinam tasva taranam /"

[&]quot;One, who knows the [correct] words, also knows the incorrect overs. Just as merit accrues with the knowledge of [currect] words, in the same way demerit also arises with the knowledge of incorrect words. Or, greater becomes the demerit, [because] the incorrect words are more numerous [whereas] the [correct] words are comparatively small [in number]. For, each individual word has many wrong forms, just as the word 'gauh' (menning 'cow') has many deteriorated forms like 'gavi', 'goni', 'gota', 'gopota'ika, etc. Now, one who does not know the formation and use of correct words, has ignorance as his resort."

From Patanjah's statement it is evident that even the orthodox Brahmin followers of the Vedas widely used in their everyday life such words as were originally wrong or became wrong due to wrong propunciation or want of knowledge of grammar; and this, in spite of their high education, was possible because of their close contact with the masses who were very often indifferent to or ignorant of the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

See also Mahābhāyva, pp. 87 and 89

with the prescriptions of the Vedas, their language, though chastened to a great extent, could not eliminate the popular elements fully but followed a middle course lying between correct Sanskrit and the highly incorrect synthetic language of the pre-Pāṇinian days, an idea of which we get mainly from the Devi-p.

For want of early records of this synthetic Sanskrit it is not possible for us to say anything definitely about its constituents. It is highly probable that during the long period of its growth, the popular dialects of different parts

of India made their contributions to its making.

The association of this synthetic Sanskrit with the popular religious literatures of the Hindus was a matter of such a hoary past and was consequently so well established in the country that in spite of their having a synthetic language of their own, which we have named as hybrid Sanskrit, the Buddhists composed their Tantras (except the Ārva-mañjuśri-mūlakalpa368) in a kind of Sanskrit which agrees much more with the language of the Devi-p. than with their own hybrid Sanskrit. In these works Prakrit phonology and morphology are remarkably wanting, except in the Gathas (which must have been derived from older sources), and many irregular forms of words, like those in the Devî-p., have been used. For instance, the Prajña-paramitasādhanasu of Asangasso has 'atra' (with the Taddhita suffix 'tral' in place of the seventh case-ending) for 'asya' in 'atrapy upari', and 'vama-daksine cotpale' (for '-daksinayoś cotpalayoh') on p. 324; the Guhya-samājatantra, which is one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras written not later than the seventh century A.D. 251, shows signs of laxity about the use of gender (as in 'jātikām trividham'

310 Sādhana-mālā, No. 159, pp. 321-5.

sas See Sādhana-mālā, II, Introduction, pp. xxvii ff., xxxv; Winternitz, History

of Indian Literature, 11, pp. 394ff.

In this work we find a number of the leading features of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit as well as of the language of the Devi-p, and the Pauskara-samhitä.

Asanga probabby fived in the fourth century A.D.—See Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, II, pp. 355ff.; also p. 392. Benoytosh Bhattacharya places Asanga about 270-350 A.D.—See Sādhana-mālā, II. Introduction, pp. xl and xxiv-xxv.

on p. 33), and has pûja' (for 'pûjā') in 'pûja-hetuna' on p. 33, 'cintya' (for 'cintayitvā') on pp. 52, 53, 'grhya' (for 'gṛhītvā') on p. 52, 'bhāvitvā' (for 'bhāvayitvā') on p. 35, 'prabhāvitvā' (for 'prabhāvya') on p. 53, 'cintet' (for 'cintayet') on p. 40, and 'daśa', 'pañca', 'sapta' etc. (for 'daśama', 'pañcama', 'saptama' etc.) on p. 152; the Trisamayarāja-sādhana of unknown authorship has 'ime vajra-padāh (for 'imāni vajrapadāni') on p. 2, 'kleśa-duhkha-jālān' (for '-jālāni') and 'sarvasukhān' (for '-sukhāni') on p. 4, 'mahām' (for 'mahatīm') on p. 4, 'dentu' (for 'dadatu') on p. 2, 'dadahi'asa (for 'dehi') on pp. 4 and 7, 'vidhunāhi' (for 'vidhunu') on p. 4, and 'nyaset' (for 'nyasyet') on pp. 4, 5 and 6; the Trailokyavaśamkara-lokeśvara-sādhanas351 of Saraha have 'bali' used in the neuter Gender on pp. 80 and 83 (idam balim grhua ..., in which 'bali', though taken as neuter, has been declined as masculine), and 'dhyāyāt'358 (for 'dhyāyet') on p. 80 and 'grhna' (for 'grhana') on pp. 80 and 83; the Vajratarasādhana246 of Dharmākaramati has 'devatī'257 (for 'devatā') in 'daśa-devatī-parivṛtam' on p. 195 and in 'devatīnām' and 'madhya-puṭa-devatīnām' on p. 199; the Viśva-mātāsādhana sas uses the inflected words 'mātā' and 'bhuvi' as basic words (for 'mātr' and 'bhū') in 'viśva-mātā-sādhanam' and 'viśva-mātāyai namaḥ' on p. 240, and 'sakala-bhuvi-tale' on the same page respectively; the Kalpokta-tarodbhavakurukullā-sādhana has 'mayūkhā' (for 'mayūkha') and 'nirmalina' (for 'nirmala') on p. 343 (tasya citra-mayūkhābhili kṛtvā nirmalinam jagat), 'trātā' (for 'trātri') on p. 344 (kṣantavyam tat tvayā devi yatas trātāsi dehinām), 'sodhya' (for 'śodhayitvā') on p. 343, 'dadanti' (for 'dadati') on p. 346, 'trānana' (for 'trāna') on p. 346 (mamāpi trānanārthāya kha-vajr-ādyam dadāhi me), and the compounds 'dhūpa-

348 Sādhana-mālā, No. 1, pp. 1-14.

264 Sadhana-mālā, Nos. 35-36, pp. 79-83.

For the form 'dadilhi' see also ibid., pp. 231, 316 etc.

sas For 'dhydrit' are also ibid., pp. 198, 327, 345, 349, 352 etc.

¹⁰⁰ Sädhana-mälä, No. 97, pp. 195-200.

For 'devati' see also shid., p. 240.

²⁴⁸ Sādhana-mālā, No. 113, p. 240.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., No. 17, pp. 313-7.

puspa-tathā-dipa-gandha-naivedya-samcayaih (with the indeclinable 'tatha' as an intervening member) on p. 343, 'mahad-bhūtā' (for 'mahābhūtā') on p. 346 and 'yathecchayā' (for 'yatheccham') on p. 346; the Tārodbhava-kurukullāsādhanaso of Muktaka (circa. 1100 A.D.) has the word 'upasama' used in the neuter gender on p. 349 (... prathamamāse rogādy-upaśamam bhavati) and conjugates 'labh' as 'labhet' (for 'labheta') on the same page; the Suklakurukullā-sādhana341 has 'samidhāni' (for 'samidhaḥ') on p. 369, 'jāta-mātreņa' (for 'jāta-mātram') on p. 364, and cakrankitam sveta-phaninam punar narair nihśankam dhriyate' (for 'cakrānkitah śvetaphani punar narair niḥśańkam dhriyate') on p. 371; the Şadbhuja-kurukullā-bhaţţārikāsadhana 342 has 'nimantrayami' (for 'nimantraye') and 'carisye' (for 'carisyāmi') on p. 379; and so on. For instances of metrical irregularities in the Sādhana-mālā reference may be made to p. 196 (asta-bhujām kanaka-varņām ..., caturbuddha-mahāmukuţim ..., with more syllables than eight in a Pāda), p. 265 (... dvibhujaikajatā-sādhanam), p. 343 (... kurukulla-parvate gatām, in which the word 'kulla' of two syllables has to be pronounced as 'kul' of one syllable), and so on. It is to be noted that the grammatical and other irregularities in the Tantric texts mentioned above, are much less varied and frequent than in the Devi-p. and the Pauskara-samhita and that even the Gathas, derived from older sources, have often been Sanskritised in such a way that the number of Prakritisms in them has gone down in many cases. These variations and the fact that the Buddhist Tantras cannot possibly be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D. show that it was the linguistic tradition of the Samhitas, Agamas and Tantras of the Hindus which influenced the language of the Buddhist Tantras, and not vice versa.

From what has been said above it appears that the prototype of the synthetic Sanskrit now found in the Devi-p.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., No. 172, pp. 347-356.

MI Ibid., No. 180, pp 362-371.

¹⁶³ Ibid., No. 182, pp. 379-380.

and the Pauskara-samhitā attained the position of the medium of expression in religious and social matters in quite early days, that due to its wide popularity the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, and undoubtedly also the early Purānas, 3023 aiming at religious synthesis as well as mass enlightenment, could not but imbibe many of the peculiarities of this language, and that in view of the influence of this synthetic Sanskrit as well as of Prakrits and Apabhramsa on all grades of people including even the Vedic priests, Pāṇini and others tried to set up the standard of correct Sanskrit by writing grammatical treatises. It is hardly necessary to say that it was not merely Prakrits and Apabhramsa with their peculiar phonology and morphology but a kind of widely circulated and deep-rooted incorrect Sanskrit based on or influenced by Prakrits and Apabhramsa, which stimulated and necessitated the setting up of a standard of correct Sanskrit and the compilation of grammatical works. It is highly gratifying to see that specimens, though of comparatively late dates, of this synthetic Sanskrit have been preserved for us in the Devi-p. and the Pauskara-samhitä.

As regards hybrid Sanskrit as found in the Buddhist texts mentioned above, it may be said that, being fully alive to the advantages of the synthetic Sanskrit of the Hindus, the Buddhists also adopted it in some of their works, but, finding that due to the prevalence of Sanskrit words and

Was That once the un-Paninian forms in the Purauau were more numerous and varied than those now found in the printed texts and comparatively late manuscripts of these works (in which the interfering hands of the scribes and editors cannot escape our notice) will be evident from the interesting collection of these made from printed texts as well as manuscripts by Amand Swarup Gupta and published in Purauam, Vol. IV, Part 2, 1962, pp. 277-297.

It may be traited here that there is no evidence to prove that the Purănas, or any parts or individual verses thereof, were originally composed in Prakrit and later on rendered into Sandarit by the Purănic reductors (as said by F.E. Pargiter in his Purăna Text of the Dynastics of the Kali Age, pp. xvii aviii and 77-83, and Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 3-14, and by Anand Swarup Gupta in Purănam, IV, Part 2, p. 200. Equally baseless is Sri Gupta's surmise that the Purănas were originally composed in 'laukika-samskrta' (by which he means classical Samkrit or the 'Bhāṣā' of Pāṇini) has were later influenced by the 'loka-bhāṇd Prakrit' (loka-bhāṣayā prākruma prabhāvitam) in the course of their circulation by Vyāsa, Sūta and others, (See Purānam, IV, pp. 279-280.)

forms it had receded much from actual life, they made it more practical by introducing into it Prakrit phonology and morphology in considerable measures in order to fulfil the wish of the Buddha that preachings of Buddhist doctrines should be made in popular dialects and according to a pronunciation which people can understand. If, in compliance with their Master's wish, the Buddhists made their preachings in popular dialects and did not adopt any kind of popular Sanskrit for the purpose, then we would find their religious texts composed in hybrid Prakritouzh and not in hybrid Sanskrit abounding in Sanskrit words and forms. It may be mentioned here that the intention underlying the use of hybrid Sanskrit in the compilation of some Buddhist religious texts was clearly and unquestionably the popularisation of the religious views of the Buddha, and that the Buddhists were always on the look out for possible means for occupying an advantageous position over the Hindus, who were their greatest rivals in the field of religion. So, their hybrid Sanskrit must have had, in its origin, some connection with contemporaneous popular life and could not be their own creation, because in the latter case a newly created language of this type might satisfy the personal whim or taste of its creators but would never find favour either with the literate Hindus for its Prakrit phonology and morphology or with the illiterate masses for its predominant Sanskrit elements.

Thus, from the linguistic point of view the importance of the Devi-p. is immense; and it opens up a new line of investigation, which, if made with a more thorough and critical study of the relevant sources, is expected to solve many problems relating to our language, religion and culture.

As we have already indicated, the whole of the Devi-p.

Man The prevalence of Prakrit phonology and morphology in the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists shows that the authors of the hybrid texts were quite familiar with some Prakrits and Apabhramáa which were quite different from Pali, and which, as Asoka and Khāravela's inscriptions, Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya, Bharata's Nāṭya-sāstra, Aivaghoṣa, Bhāsa and others' dramas, and similar other records of early date amply indicate, were very closely associated with popular life in those days,

is not metrical. There are many prose passages in some of its chapters, such as chaps. 9, 17, 33, 36, 77 and 116, and especially chaps. 55-56 and 109-110. The frequent occurrence of grammatical irregularities in these prose parts points to the general integrity of the work.

Tracts, claiming to be parts of the Devi-p., are very small in number. In the Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣat collection there are two Mss of the 'Devipurāṇokta-durgāpūjā-paddhati' and 'Devipurāṇe Virāṣṭami-vrata-kathā' and in the Dacca University collection there is a Bengali Ms of a Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa claiming to be a part of the Devi-p. This Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa, which is quite different from the 'Caṇḍikā-khaṇḍa' drawn upon in the Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa (p. 82) claiming to be a part of Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, is a unique Purāṇic work dealing, in sixteen chapters, with the story of Maṅgala-caṇḍi as found in the Caṇḍi-maṅgala-kāvyas of Bengal. The Bengali script of its Ms and its story and other contents show that it was written in Bengal at a comparatively late date.

Before we finish our study of the Devi-p, we should say something about its contents as known from the references to and quotations from this work made in the Nibandhas.

In course of our attempt at tracing the verses ascribed to it by the Smṛti-writers of different parts of India we have found that hundreds of these verses do not occur in our present text of this Purāṇa. Although some of these untraceable verses are undoubtedly local additions, they deal, often in details, with various topics mostly of religious interest, as will be evident from the following list of their contents.

 Worship of Devi (Durgă) in images of different articles such as gold, silver, earth, etc., or in a sword or a trident³⁶³.

aus Chakravarti, Vangiya Sähitya Pacisat Cat., p. 72.

Ms No. 1617A (consisting of 78 folios and containing a fly leaf bearing the date 1729 Saka).

²⁴² Durgū-bhakti-tarangiņi, p. 7.

Characteristic features of an image of Devi having eight, ten or twenty hands³⁰¹.

Names of leaves and flowers to be used in Deviworship³⁶⁷. Praise of offer of Bilva-leaves to Devi³⁶⁸. Proper time and method of Devi-bodhana, Bilvābhimantraṇa, Patrikā-praveśa, Devi-pratimā-sthāpana, Devi-visarjana, etc.³⁶⁹ Bathing of Devi with ghee, milk, curd, honey etc. and with the waters into which gold, gems, camphor and Aguru have been put³⁷⁰. Performance of Devi's ghṛtābhiṣeka (holy bath with ghee) in the month of Āśvina³⁷¹. Deviworship on the Aṣṭamī Tithi connected with Nayamī³⁷². Lustration of Devi (devi-nīrājana)³⁷³.

Names of sixteen Devis; performance of Mudrās; and offer of weapons²⁷⁴.

Worship of Mātṛṣara.

Worship of virgin girls (kumārī-pūjā) with flowers etc.; feasts to be given to them on Suklāṣṭamī, Navamī and Caturdaśī Tithis; and the virgin girls' placing of akṣata (thrashed and winnowed rice dried in the sun) on the head of the giver of the feast³⁷⁸.

Worship of horses during Devi-worship277.

Characteristics of persons fit for consecrating an image of Devi³⁷⁸.

see 16id., pp. 14, 93 (12 lines).

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 23. Also Varşa-kaumudi, p. 170, Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 640-641, Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 85.

³⁴⁶ Durga-bhakti-tarangini, p. 155.

Sülapāni's Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 4, 7, 8, 11 etc.; Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fols. 60a-b, 62b, 64b; Vara-kaumudi, p. 346; Śrāddha-kaumudi, p. 248; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 3, 44; Kālasāra, pp. 88, 103, 105, 112 etc.; and so on.

²⁷⁰ Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, pp. 142-7 (37 lines).

³⁷¹ Krtya-ratnākara, p. 308.

³⁷¹ Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņi, p. 50.

⁵⁷³ Śūlapāņi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 25; Durgā-pūjā-tattva, pp. 37-38; Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 102.

Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, p. 71, Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 25.

¹⁷¹ Durgā-bhakti-taranginI, p. 91.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 100-101 (20 lines), Varsa-kaumudi, pp. 376, 447.

²⁷⁷ Caturvarya-cintâmani, II. i, p. 906.

³⁷⁵ Aparārka's com. (p. 16) on Yāj. 1, 7, Nityācāra-paddhati, pp. 509-510, Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 1180.

Accurding to the verses of the Devi-p, as quoted by Aparārka, a consecrator of an image of Devi is required to be 'vāma-dakṣiṇa-vettā', 'mātṛ-vedārtha-pāraga', 'pāñ-

Construction of images of Hara and Gauri according to Agama, and detailed description of the method of celebrating their marriage379.

Construction of an image of the Sun with his retinucano. Performance of santi (pacificatory rite) in Aśvina-kṛṣṇapañcami for the good of horses ant.

II. Performance of various Vratas, Pūjās etc., such as Kunda-caturthi-vrata343, Kṛṣṇāṣṭami-vrata393, Nava-rātravrata³⁸⁴, Pusvārka-dvādašī-vrata³⁸⁵, Samkrānti-vrata³⁰⁸, Manasā-pūjā357, and detailed description of the method of Mrtyunjaya-pūjāsan.

Elaborate treatment of 'dvari-bandha-vidhi'280.

Statement of reasons for the name 'Aksayā Trtīyā'ano.

Hoisting of flags on Bhadra-śuklastami or Aśvinaśuklāstamī391.

Observances on the Caturthi Tithis of different months for the pleasure of Ganesans.

Worship of different deities under different Naksatras (beginning with Aśvini) for the fulfilment of different desires333

Detailed description of the method of performing Laksa-homa 334.

carătrărtha-kusala', and 'māty-mantra-visărada'; according to those quoted in the Haribhakti-vilāsa, he is to be 'pañcarātrārtha-kuiala' and 'mmtra-tour-āvadhāraka'; and according to the verse quoted in the Nityācāra-pradīpa, he is to be 'pañcarātrārthakuiala' and 'mdty-cokra-viiārada'.

119 Kṛṭya-ratnākara, pp. 108-110 (45 lines).

Apararka's com. (p. 570) on Yaj. 1-296 (the quotation consisting of 16 lines).

301 Kalasara, p. 80.

oss Kriya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 83-84; Caturvarga-cintămani, II. i, pp. 525-6. 243 Caturvarga-cıntâmani, II. i, pp. 823-6.

and Tithi-nirmaya (of Candelvara), fol. 8a (many lines).

108 Kriya-kalpataru, VI, p. 351.

201 Caturvarga-cintămani, II. ii, pp. 728-730 (34 lines).

mr Varya-kaumudl, p. 437.

catutvarga-cintămani, I, pp. 216-7 (14 lines).

200 Ibid., 1, pp. 1007-1014 (149 lines).

вы Крtya-гаtnākara, р. 156.

111 Ibid., p. 285.

wa Varya-kaumudi, pp. 30-31 (20 lines).

201 Caturvarga-cintămani, III. u, pp. 878-9 (34 lines), 880-1 (15 lines).

vidhāna-pārijāta, 1, pp. 589-592 (51 lines

III. Gifts of artificial cows made of molasses, water and ghee in the months of Māgha, Āṣāḍha and Bhādra 200.

Gift of an image of Ganapatisee, of horsesser, of food, cows, milk, curd etc. 396, of shelter 300, and of dwelling houses 400.

IV. Instructions on the feeding of Brahmins, offering of pindas to the deceased ancestors, and performance of Śrāddha in holy places¹⁰¹.

Praise of the Ganges 102. Rubbing of the body in the Ganges with Nāgakeśara, camphor etc. 402 Offer of lamp and incense to herses. Performance of Siva-worship, feeding of Brahmins, taking of food at night (nakta-bhojana), and similar other acts on the Caturdasi Tithi and Paurnamasi in Māgha and Vaiśākha on the bank of this river 100,

V. Performance of Śrāddha of persons meeting death in war or by throwing themselves into water or fire or from a high place.

Prohibition of Maghā-trayodaśī-śrāddha during Samkrānti and eclipses407.

VI. Measurements of wells (with or without stairs) and tanks 104.

and Kriya-ramākara, p. 513; Samaya-pradipa, fols. 5a, 36a.

¹⁰⁴ Dāna-vākyāvalī, fol. 27b.

ast Aparārka's com. (p. 372) on Yāj. 1, 210.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 386.

^{***} Caturvarga-cintămani, I, p. 668 (13 line).

^{**} Ibid., I, pp. 673-4 (19 lines).

¹⁰¹ Pitr-bhakti, fol. 25b, Śrātkiha-viveka (of Śūlapāṇi), p. 99, Gangā-vākyāvali, pp. 129 and 245-6, Śrāddha-viveka (of Rudradhara), pp. 14-15, Śrāddha-cintāmani, p. 130, Tirtha-cintămacii, pp. 10, 11, Śrāddha-kaumudi, pp. 268-9, Kālasāra, p. 479, Smrti-tattva, I, pp. 324-5.

⁴⁰⁰ Gungā-vākyāvalī, p. 123. Also Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms, fol. 47b, where there are three metrical lines which do not occur in the printed edition.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., Calcutta Samicrit College Ms, Joh. 49b-50a (containing one verse not occurring in the printed edition). 461 Ibid., p. 205.

⁷⁷rtha-cintămani, pp. 247-250 (60 lines).

¹⁴⁴ Ścāddha-cintāmaņi, p. 23,

er Krtya-cintămani, p. 25.

Danda-viveka, p. 314.

Elaborate description of the methods of consecrating wells and gardens and of planting trees 110.

VII. A literate and highly placed Śūdra's attainment of the sin of a Mahāpātaka by speaking immodestly...

Results of a Brahmin or a similar person's dining in the house of a harlot or a similar woman, a Yati's intercourse with harlots etc., and a Siva-yogin's association with wine etc.⁴¹³

A king's enforcing of Siddhānta-śāstras and Veda-śāstras on his people¹¹³.

Unfavourable results of giving no smoke to cow-pens for removing mosquitos and of milking a cow whose calf has died.

Signs of a bull (viz., its exceptionally strong back and neck) capable of carrying a heavy burden us.

Punishment of those who hate the Śiva-śāstras or decry the Vedas; unassailable authority of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata¹¹⁸.

Detailed description of the method of purifying the site for a house 417.

Elaborate account of 'bhrgu-patana'418.

Besides the untraceable verses with the contents mentioned above, there are numerous others which have been quoted individually or in small groups in the Smṛṭinibandhas. As they deal with miscellaneous topics of minor interest, they have been overlooked here. It is to be noted that all the verses referred to above were not known to and quoted by all the Nibandha-writers, but some of them

Caturvarga-cintăniani, I, pp. 1003 6 lines , 1004 16 lines .

¹¹⁰ Ibid., I, pp. 1044-47 (54 lines). 111 Krtya-kalpataru, I, p. 194.

¹¹³⁻² Danda-viveka, pp. 270, 271; Vivāda-ratnākara, p. 631 9 lines including the following two: tasmād rājā samādaram dharmādharme vyavasthitab i uddhānta-veda-tāstrānām pālanāya niyojayet //)

⁴¹⁴ Krtyn-kalpataru, III, p. 462.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. 197; Grhastha-rath kara, p. 433.
418 Aparārka's com. (pp. 10-11) on Yāj. 1.7.

⁴¹⁷ Smrti-tattva, 11, pp. 415, 417, 419.

Caturvarga-cintăma i, 11. u, pp. 964-9 [101 lines].

were current in some particular part or parts of India, while others were known in other parts. This shows that the text of the Devi-p. was not the same everywhere but differed considerably in different provinces. It is true that some of these untraceable verses simply went under the name of the Devi-p. but did not form actual parts of its text, while some others, actually belonging to other Purāṇas, must have been ascribed wrongly to the Devi-p.

We have already indicated that in spite of its Tantric elements the Devi-p. attained great prominence as an authoritative work. Its popularity became so much that some enthusiastic Śāktas gave it out to be the original 'Bhāgavata' Purāṇa on account of its dealing with the glory, exploits, and method of worship of 'Bhagavati' (Durgā). As a matter of fact, on p. 349 of his Kṛtya-ratnākara Caṇḍeśvara takes the word 'bhāgavatān', occurring in a verse of the 'Bhaviṣya-p.', to mean 'bhagavatī-bhaktān', and on pp. 357-8 he quotes Devī-p., chap. 21, by naming the work as 'Devī-purāṇa' at the beginning and as 'Bhāgavata-p.' at the end and by giving the number of the chapter as 'forty-eight' 110. It is hardly necessary to say that this claim failed to earn general support⁴⁻¹⁰.

2. The Kālikā-Purāna.

The present Kālikā-p.,121 which is also sometimes called

do 'bhāgavata-purāņe devy-avatāre navami-kriyā-sūcanam asta-catvārimšo 'dhyāyab'.—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 358.

can Cf. the verse

^{&#}x27;bhagavatvās ca durgāyai caritam yatra variate / tat tu bhāgavatam proktam na tu deci-parānakam //

occurring in chap, 23 of the Uttara-khanda of the Bengal Siva-p, and quoted by Saiva Nilakantha in his commentary on the Devi-bhagavata. (For further information on this verse see footnote 194 above).

on The Venkat, ed., though consisting of 93 chapters, is practically the same as the Vanga, ed. (of 90 chapters) published with a Bengali translation in Calcutta, 1316 B.S. The corresponding chapters in the two editions are the following:—

Venkat. ed. Vanga. ed. Venkat. ed. Vanga. ed. Chaps. 1-23 Chaps. 1-23 respectively. Chaps. 61-65 Chap. 62. ... 66-67 ... 63.

^{., 24-25 =} Chap. 24. ... 66-67 ... 63. ... 63-79 ... 64-75 respectively. ... 63-44 = Chap. 42 ... Chap. 80 ... Chaps. 76-77,

^{., 45-63 =} Chaps. 43-61 respectively. Chaps. 81-93 - ., 78-90 respectively-

'Kāli-purāṇa'422 and is regarded as one of the most authoritative works by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers especially as regards Śakti-worship, is begun, like the Devi-p.,

Besides the two edinon mentioned above, there is another by Hrishikesh Shastri Calcutta, 1910. The Bombay ed. of 1891 mentioned by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1191, is the same as the first cil. of this Purana published by the Venkat. Press in Saka 1813.

For Mis of the present Kālikā-p. see:

11 Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1189-92 [No. 3339.—This is a complete Ma (No. 2943) of 91 chapters, written in Bengali characters and 'presenting on the whole the most correct text'. Eggeling's description of this Ms shows that it is practically the same as the printed editions raeutioned above.] and p. 1192 [Nos. 3340-3343,-All these four Mas Nos. 952, 919, 1515 and 2563 respectively are written in Devanagari. No. 3343 is incomplete and reaches as far as chap. 45 of No. 3339 mentioned above.]

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 78, No. 132 (written in Devanagari).

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V., p. 748 [No. 4088.—This is an old Nagara Ms (No. 980), dated 1668 Saka and complete in 90 chapters.], and VIII (revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti), p. 70 [No. 5874.—This is an incomplete Nagara Ms (No. 8733). dated Samvat 1929 and calling uself 'Kall-puraua' and claiming to belong to the Mahakāla-samhitā of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in the colophon, which runs as follows: iti rudra-yāmale tantre umā-mahesvara samvāde mahākāla-samlntāyām iri-kāli-purāno 'yam samāptam]

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans, College Cat., IV, pp. 10-11, Nos. 13-14. [No. 13 is a very old, worm-out, worm-eaten, complete Newart Ms. dated 202 Nepalt era and calling itself 'Kāli-purāna' in the final colophon. No. 14 is an old, undated, complete Me written in Bengali characters,]

[5] Mitra, Notices, I, p. 80, No. 149. A complete Nagara Ms deponted in the library of the Asiatic Society Calcutta

All the above-mentioned Mss are generally the same as our printed editions

For other Mss of the present Kälikä-p. see (1) Keith, Ind. Off, Cat., 11, i, pp. 907-8. his contents being generally the same at those of Eggeling, No. 33391; (2) Chakravarti, Vanglya Sāhītya Parisat Cat., pp. 69-70 (two complete Bengali Mis of 90 chapters each) and p. 70 (No. 1241 -a very old Bengali Ms), (3) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 337 (two complete Nagara Mai); (4) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 187, [5] Hiralal, Cat. of Sans and Pkt. Me in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 81; 16; Roth, Tübingen Cat., p. 13; (7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7163-64, No. 10563 (memplete); (8) Dacca Univ. Mss Nov 56 (dated 1684 Saka and complete in 90 chapters), 583B (dated 1672 Saka and complete in 96 chapters), 633 (dated 1767 Saka and complete in 95 chapters, 877 (incomplete), 943 (consisting of 90 chapters but missing foli 1-5), 2671 (incomplete), 2890 (complete in 90 chapters), 3268 (dated 1716 Saka and complete in 90 chapters), and 4235 [incomplete]; (9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, pp. 1608-1610, Nos. 2342-43 Telagu Mss, the first of which is complete in 90 chapters); (10) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, p. 127, No. 447 (complete and written in Bengali script); and so on.

In the Preface, p. boxxix to his translation of the Visita-p. William mentions a Ms of the Kälika-p. of 98 chapters.

see Durga-pull-tativa, pp. 14, 18 and 20, wherein there are some error from the "Kali-p," which are found in the present Kalika p. See also Dur stava-viseta (of Sûlapâni, p. 17 and Vîramitrodava, Rûjanîtî-prakâia, p. 39. În the final colophons of two Mas of the Kälikä-p. preserved in the Calcutta Sam. Collegand the Assatte

by an unknown reporter with a salutation to Purusottama Hari and his illusive Māyā. This reporter informs us that once some sages, Kamatha and others, approached Mārkandeya who lived near the Himalayas, and requested him to speak on the following topics: How Kali, as Sati, fascinated Siva, the foremost of those who subdued their organs of senses; how Sati was born to Daksa; how Siva was inclined to accept her as his wife; how Sati immolated herself through rage against Daksa and was reborn as the daughter of Himālaya; and how she occupied half of the body of Siva, 'the enemy of Smara', 423 Consequently, Märkandeya mentioned how he inherited these Purana topics from Brahmā successively through the sages Nārada, Bālakhilyas, Yavakrīta and Asita, 124 and began with a salutation to Cakra-pāni (Visnu), by worshipping whom, he said, Brahmā became the creator. 125 Mārkaņdeya then went on narrating the above-mentioned topics with relevant digressions which are no less important and interesting than the main topics. Thus, the contents of the present Kālikā-p.426 are as follows:

Chap. 1.—Brahmā's creation of Dakṣa and other Prajāpatis as well as of the ten sages named Marīci, Atri etc.; and the birth of a beautiful damsel (named Saṃdhyā) and of a flower-missiled male of unparalleled beauty from Brahmā's mind. Brahmā assigned to this person the duty of helping the eternal process of creation by influencing all, male and female, by means of his flowery shafts of love.

Chap. 2.—The sages gave this person the names Manmatha, Kāma, Manobhava, Madana, Darpaka and Kandarpa, and to the first-born woman the name of Samdhyā.

Society (Caicutta) the work is called "Kāil-purāna" (see the immediately preceding foomote). In his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1192 (No. 3340) Engeling describes a Ma (of the extant Kāilikā-p.) which calls itself "Brhat-kāilpurāna" on fol. Ia; a "Kāil-p." is drawn upon in the Kāil-tatīva-prakāsikā of Raghunāthemdra-šivayogi (Shastri, Notices, I, pp. 59-61, No. 65).

^{***} Kālikā-p. 1, 9-13.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1. 16-18.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1, 19-24,

Assummary of the contents of this work was published by V. Raghavan in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, pp. 338-360.

Brahmā's boon to Madana to be all-overpowering. Madana's standing in the ālīḍha pose and testing of the power of his arrows on Brahmā, Saṃdhyā, Daksa and the ten sages; and the consequent origin of 49 Bhāvas, the Hāvas such as 'vivvoka etc.,' and the 64 Arts from the bodies of those who were influenced by Madana. Siva's appearance at the spot, and his censure on Brahmā and others, with the result that the Agniṣvātta and Barhiṣad Pitṛs were born of the perspiration of the abashed Brahmā, a beautiful young girl was born from Dakṣa's sweat, and the Somapa, Sukālin, Ājyapa and Haviṣmanta (or Havirbhuj) Pitṛs were born from the sweat of Kratu, Vasiṣṭha, Pulastya and Aṅgiras respectively.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā's curse on Madana to be burnt to ashes by Śiva, but his assurance, on Madana's entreaty, that he would regain his body through Śiva's favour. Dakṣa's offer to Madana of the girl born from his own sweat and named by him Rati; and Madana's acceptance of that girl as his wife.

Chap. 4.—Brahmā's request to Madana to bring Śiva under the influence of love. Birth of Vasanta from the sigh of Brahmā, when the latter was thinking of a female who could captivate Śiva's mind. Brahmā's assurance that Madana would be helped in his attempt by Vasanta, Śṛṅgāra, Bhāvas, Hāvas, and the sixty-four Arts.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa's penance, and Brahmā's culogy¹²⁷ of Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Viṣṇu's Yoga-nidrā), in order to induce her to fascinate Siva and become his wife; Viṣṇu-māyā's appearance in a beautiful and elevated form having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, and dishevelled hair, carrying a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and mounted on a lion.

Chap. 6.—Visṇu-māyā's consent to be born as a daughter of Daksa and fascinate Siva. Brahmā informed Madana of Viṣṇu-māyā's consent and encouraged him to

th hithis culogy Vir u-māyā iscalled vid ávidyātmikā', 'jagad-dhātrī', 'paramātmaivarūj ul', 'trayīmayī', 'parāparātmikā', 'kālī', 'māyā', 'mahāmāyā', 'prakţu' etc., and the Saku of Brahmā, Visuu, Siva and othera.

influence Siva, but Madana hesitated and wanted to hear the glory of Viṣṇu-māyā. Brahmā felt discouraged at the words of Madana and began to sigh. Birth of Gaṇas of different forms and miens from Brahmā's sighs; and the naming of these Gaṇas as Māras, because they shouted "Kill, kill" (māraya, māraya) as soon as they were born. Brahmā's appointment of these Māras as Madana's assistants; and his description of the glory of Yoga-nidrā who is called Viṣṇu-māyā and Mahāmāyā and is described as the cause of creation, preservation and destruction.

Chap. 7.—Being requested by Brahmā to induce Śiva to accept Viṣṇu-māyā (reborn as the daughter of Dakṣa) as his wife, Madana narrated how he followed Śiva to the Himavat, Meru, Nāṭakeśvara and Kailāsa with Madhu (i.e. Vasanta), Rati and others in his train, and excited amorous sentiment even in the birds, animals and plants of these places but failed to influence Śiva and his bull. Madana, however, added that he would make a fresh attempt with the help of the Māras, after Viṣṇu-māyā was reborn to become the wife of Śiva.

Chap. 8.—Madana went with his retinue to Siva's place. In the meantime Viṣṇu-māyā (also called Yoganidrā), being pleased with Dakṣa's penance, appeared before him as Kālikā who was mounted on a lion, had a dark complexion, heaving breasts, four hands, a beautiful face, dishevelled hair, and red eyes, and held a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands and assured boon and safety with the other two.⁴²⁸ Dakṣa's eulogy of Kālikā; and the latter's consent to be born as Dakṣa's daughter and become the wife of Siva. Kālikā's warning to Dakṣa that she would forsake her body the moment the latter would neglect her. Dakṣa then repaired to his own house and created many mindborn sons. Next, with a view to creating children by sexual intercourse Dakṣa married Vīraṇa's daughter named

⁴m Kālikā-p. 8. 9-10-

airphauhām kālikām krunām pinottunga-payodharām / caturbhujām cāru-vaktrām nilotpaladharām subhām // varadābhayadām khadga-hautām sarva-guṇānvitam ārakta-nayanām cāru-mukta-kciīm manoharām //

Vîranî and Asaknî. Vişnu-mâyā was born to Vîranî as a daughter and was named Satî. Satî's devotion to Siva from her infancy. Nārada's blessing on Satî that she would be married to Siva.

Chap. 9.—Sati attained youth and, with her mother's consent, worshipped Siva with the offer of particular articles on particular days of different months (viz., on the Nandakā Tithi of Āśvina, and on the Kārttika-caturdaśī, Mārgaśīrṣakṛṣṇāṣṭamī, Pauṣa-kṛṣṇa-saptamī, Māgha-paurṇamāsī, Phālguna-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśi, Caitra-śukla-caturdaśi, śukła-trtîyā, Jyaistha-pūrņimā, Āsāḍha-śukla-caturdaśī, Śrāvaņa-śuklāstamī, Śrāvaņa-śukla-caturdaśī, and Bhādrakṛṣṇa-trayodaśi). As soon as Sati began this Vrata, Brahmā and Visnu went to Siva with their wives, spoke on their unity and mutual relationship, and requested him to marry for the good of the world. Siva agreed, and wanted to know whether there was any woman who might suit his nature. Brahmā named Satī. Madana was glad to hear this conversation and waited with Vasanta for the opportune moment.

Chap. 10.—Satī again performed the Nandā-vrata on the Āśvina-śuklāṣṭamī. Śiva appeared before Satī and, under the influence first of Madana's arrows named Harṣaṇa and Mohana and then of Māyā, granted her a boon that she would become his wife. Satī was glad, and with her collyrium-dark complexion shone before Śiva like the stain in the moon. She advised Śiva to make to her father Dakṣa a proposal of marriage, and went to her mother. Śiva also repaired to his own place in the Himālaya. Being anxious to have Satī, Śiva asked Brahmā to arrange the marriage. Brahmā met Dakṣa, had his consent, and returned to Śiva. Nārada, Marīci and other sages also arrived there.

Chap. 11.—With Brahmā, Nārada and others as well as with the Gaṇas in his train Siva arrived at Dakṣa's house. Dakṣa gave Satī in marriage to Siva at an auspicious moment. Viṣṇu then arrived there, praised Siva's union with the dark-complexioned Satī, and asked Siva to kill the 'dasyus' as well as that person who would look passionately at Satī.

Brahmā became enamoured of Satī, so much so that his energy (tejas) fell on the ground and gave birth to the thundering clouds named Saṃvarta, Āvarta, Puṣkara and Droṇa. Siva got enraged and was about to kill Brahmā with his trident. Dakṣa, Nārada and others tried to appease him, but Siva persisted. Viṣṇu, however, pacified Siva by pointing out that Brahmā, himself and Siva were identical and not different from one another.

Chaps. 12-13.—Mārkaṇḍeya's elaborate reproduction of Viṣṇu's speech on the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, which is based on an explanation of the principles of the origin of the universe from Supreme Brahma (paraṃ brahma) which appears as Prakṛti (also called Māyā), Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Siva became absorbed in meditation; and Viṣṇu entered his body and made him realise Supreme Brahma, the whole process of creation, and the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 14.—Śiva sent away Viṣṇu and others, and went to the Himālaya and thence to Kailāsa with Satī and the Gaṇas. Being asked to live in a different place and to present themselves before Śiva whenever required, the Gaṇas went to Mahākoṣī-prapāta in the Himālaya.

Description of Siva's love-sports with Satī in the caves and bowers of Kailāsa.

Šiva and Satī then went to the Mahākoṣī-prapāta. Madana also followed them there with Vasanta and Rati.

Description of the beauty of the spring created by Vasanta.

In this beautiful place Siva lived with Sati for twentyfour divine years.

Chaps. 15-16.—At the advent of the rainy season (which is beautifully described in a few verses) Siva went with Satī to Kailāsa and lived there for ten thousand (divine) years.

In the meantime Dakşa made arrangements for the performance of a great sacrifice, in which all, except Siva and Sati, were invited. Sati was enraged at this insult and gave up her life with the intention of being reborn as the daughter of Himālaya.

Chap. 17.—Siva determined to destroy Dakşa's sacrifice, and arrived at the latter's house. The sacrifice assumed the form of a deer and tried to escape. As Siva pursued the Sacrifice even to Brahmā's region, it entered Satī's corpse, at the sight of which Siva forgot the Sacrifice and began to weep for Satī.

Chap. 18.—When Siva was thus weeping, Makara-dhvaja struck him with his shafts. Siva became mad with grief and lamented severely by mentioning Sati's name. Tears rolled down and threatened to burn the earth. So the gods eulogised Sanaiscara and engaged him to hold up Siva's tears. The gods protected Sanaiscara by infatuating Siva through Yogamāyā, but Sanaiscara was unable to hold Siva's tears for a long time. He deposited these in the 'great mountain' Jaladhāraka which was situated in Puskara-dvīpa on the west of the ocean of water. These tears rent the mountain also and finally reached Yama's region, where these tears assumed the form of the river Vaitaraṇī and flowed into the eastern sea.

With Sati's body on his shoulder Siva went to the eastern provinces and roamed about like a mad man. In order to relieve Siva of the corpse, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Sanaiścara entered it, cut it into pieces, and made these pieces fall at certain places on earth.

At Devikūța fell Sati's feet first of all;

at Uddiyāna sell Sati's thighs;

on the Kāma-giri in Kāmarūpa (kāmarūpe kāma-girau) fell Satī's female organ;

towards the east on the plane in Kāmarūpa fell Satī's navel (tatraiva nyapatad bhūmau pūrvato nābhi-maṇḍalam);

at Jālandhara fell Satī's breasts adorned with a golden necklace; and

on the Pūrṇagiri beyond Kāmarūpa fell Satī's shoulders and neck (and head?).

That part of the earth, which Siva traversed with Sati's

body on his shoulder, became known as the sacrificial country in the east (prācyeṣu yājūiko deśaḥ). The other limbs of Satī were cut by the gods into small pieces and blown by the wind into the heavenly Ganges. Siva resorted, in the forms of lingas, to those places where Satī's feet and other limbs fell; and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śanī and other gods worshipped these limbs at these places. The great goddess Yoga-nidrā was called

Mahābhāgā at Devikūţa, Kātyāyanī at Uḍḍiyāna, Kāmākhyā at Kāmarūpa, Pūrņeśvarī on the Pūrṇagiri,

Caṇḍi on the Jālandhara mountain, and

Dikkaravāsinī and Lalitakāntā at the eastern border of Kāmarūpa.

Siva sat down at the place where Sati's head fell, and began to lament. Brahmā and others came to console Siva, but the latter turned himself into a linga out of shame and grief. The gods eulogised the linga; and Siva came out of it. Brahmā requested Siva to overcome grief and assured him that Satī would be born again to become his wife. Siva and Brahmā went to Kailāsa and thence to Oṣadhiprastha, where Himavat received them with due honour. Siva met Vijayā, and the latter began to weep for Satī.

Chaps. 19-23.—Brahmā's consolation to Śiva, and his taking of the latter to the solitude of the lake Śipra, which was situated on the west of Himavat's capital and from which

the river Siprā came out.

[Digressions:-

(1) Story of the origin of the river Siprā from the waters with which Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahādeva sprinkled Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī on the Mānasācala at the time of their marriage and which flowed into the lake Sipra on the Himālaya. This extremely sacred river rushed out of that lake and fell into the southern ocean after going round the Mahendra mountain (parivṛtya mahendram). Praise of bath in the river Siprā in the month of Kārttika.

- (2) Story of Vasistha's marriage with Arundhati.-Brahmā's mind-born daughter Saindhyā deemed herself polluted by the influence of Kāma as well as by the amorous glances of Brahmā and his mind-born sons and determined to expiate her sin. She went to the Candrabhaga mountain, took her residence at the side of a beautiful lake named Brhallohita, and practised penance there for four jugas according to the instructions of Vasistha (who advised her to worship Visuu and mutter the mantra 'om namo väsudevaya om'). She threw her body (which was converted into a cake) into the fire of the sacrifice instituted by Medhatithi and was reborn as the daughter of the latter. After she had received instructions from Sāvitrī, Gāvatrī, Sarasvatī, Drupadā and Bahulā on chastity, she fell in love with Vasistha and was duly married to him. From the nuptial waters of Vasistha and Arundhatī arose seven rivers-Siprā, Kausiki, Kaveri, Gomati, Devika, Sarayū and Iravati, which flowed into the southern ocean.
- (3) Märkandeva accounted for the name of the mountain Candrabhaga and explained the origin of the river Candrabhāgā by narrating the story of Dakşa's curse on the Moon. According to this story, the Moon neglected all his wives except Rohini and cursed them to be known as 'ugra', 'tīksna' and 'ayātrika' (inauspicious for start). Being unable to correct him by repeated warnings, Daksa cursed him to be attacked with the worst type of Phthisis. As a result of this curse the Moon began to wane. But Brahma cured him of the disease by bathing him in the holy waters of the lake Brhallohita. Brahmā then divided the Moon into sixteen parts for the benefit of the gods and the Pitrs. A stream named Sitā originated at the place where the gods met for saving the Moon. This stream first fell into the lake Brhallohita. It then came out of this lake under the name of Chandrabhaga and flowed into the southern ocean by piereing the western side of the Himalayas.]

Chap. 24.—Finding that Siva was trying to get composed, Brahmā and other gods culogised Yoga-māvā and

prayed to her to withdraw herself from Siva's heart. Yogamāyā abided by the prayer. Viṣṇu then entered Siva's heart and gave him insight into the intricacies of creation, preservation and destruction as well as into all the incidents concerning Satī. Siva got composed and remained absorbed in meditation for one thousand divine years.

[Chaps. 25-41.—Digressions:—

Description of ādi-sarga (primary creation).—Division of time into nimeṣa, kāṣṭhā, kalā, kṣaṇa, muhūrta etc. according to divine and human standards; duration of the different yugas; description of pralaya (called prākṛta laya) preceding creation; account of primary creation (including Viṣṇu's assumption of the forms of Yajña-varāha and Ananta for raising and supporting the earth respectively, origin of Rudra and Virāṭ, Brahmā's creation of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu, Dakṣa and the ten mind-born sons, and Varāha's furnishing the earth with seven oceans and seven continents).—Chaps. 25-26.

Description of secondary creation (pratisarga) by Rudra, Virāt, Manu, Daksa, and Marici and other mind-born sons

of Brahmä.—Chap. 27.

Definition of 'Manvantara'; and description of pralaya occurring at the end of a Manvantara. Viṣṇu's sleep on the serpent-bed. Brahmā's desire for creation, and his consequent eulogy of Yoga-nidrā to rouse Viṣṇu. Beginning of creation by Brahmā.—Chap. 28.

Worthlessness of everything except Brahmā. Praise of nivartaka dharma, by practising which one can attain the

Permanent (nitya).—Chap. 29.

Viṣṇu's continued amorous sports with the Earth by assuming the form of a Boar; and the birth of three powerful sons named Suvṛṭta, Kanaka and Ghora. Trouble created by these sons as well as by the Boar himself to the whole creation. Siva and others' prayer to Viṣṇu to give up his Boar-form. Viṣṇu's instruction to Siva to kill the Boar by assuming the form of a Sarabha. The Sarabha's unsuccessful fight with the Boar and his sons, and its killing

of the Narasimha, after Viṣṇu had infused his own energy into it. Origin of the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa from the two parts of the body of the Narasiṇha. The Boar's request to the Śarabha to construct im lements of sacrifice with his limbs, and to protect the son conceived by the Earth during the period of her menstruation and to kill him when he would become a burden to the Earth. The Śarabha's killing of the Boar and his sons, after the latter had transferred their own energy to Viṣṇu's body. Origin of innumerable pramathas of varied forms from the Śarabha's breaths. Classification of these pramathas; and description of their conduct.—Chaps. 30-31.

Origin of 1008 kinds of sacrifices (including Mahāmedha, Naramedha, Gomedha etc.) 400 as well as of the sacrificial implements from the different parts of the body of Yajña-varāha severed by Viṣṇu. Origin of Dakṣiṇāgui, Gārhapatyāgui and Āhavaniyāgui from the bodies of Suvrtta, Kanaka and Ghora respectively.—Chap. 32.

Description of ākālika pralaya (untimely deluge) which followed the Vārāha Kalpa and which was invited by sage Kapila by way of cursing Manu who had refused to grant to the sage a piece of land fit for the practice of penance. Story of the Fish incarnation, which saved Manu and the seeds of creation during the deluge.—Chaps. 33-34.

Story of the Tortoise incarnation, which supported the earth and levelled its surface at the end of the ākālika pralaya. Svāyambhuva Manu's saving of the seeds of creation. Creation by Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Descendants of Dakṣa,

Marici and others.-Chap. 35.

Siva's discarding his Sarabha-form. Origin of Kapālibhairava from the middle part of the body of the Sarabha. Mention of the rites and practices of the Kāpālikas (kapālavrata-dhāriṇaḥ):—They offer, into the fire, meat besmeared with brain and fat and placed in the skull of a Brahmin; they worship their deity with wine and offer to him human flesh; they always drink blood; after performing sacrifices

in For the names of these sacrifices see chap. 32, verses 13-27.

they break their fast with wine; and they hold skulls in their hands, wear unclean tiger-skins, and have Kapāli-bhairava as their deity. Kapāli-bhairava, who is also called Śmaśāna-bhairava and Mahābhairava, is as red as the morning sun, has eighteen hands and red eyes, sports always with Kālī, Pracaṇḍā and other nāyikās, takes fresh-burnt human flesh, drinks blood, wears garlands of severed hands, and has a massive face (sthūla-vaktraḥ), dangling lips (lamboṣṭhaḥ) and short but swelled legs. He is cheerful, laughs out boisterously, and makes queer sounds with his mouth. He is seated on a human corpse and is worshipped by men on the Caitra-śukla-caturdaśī with the offer of wine, meat, fish, blood, honey, fruits etc.—Chap. 36.

Story of the demon (asura) Naraka.—The Boar begot an extremely powerful son on the Earth during the period of her impurity, but the birth of the son was very much delayed by Brahmā and others for the good of the world. The Earth, therefore, went to Viṣṇu and sought his protection. Viṣṇu requested the Earth to bear the son in her womb until the entire Satya-yuga and the first half of the Tretā-yuga expired. He assured her that she would deliver the son after Rāma killed Rāvaṇa in the middle of the Tretā-yuga. The Earth, therefore, had to wait for the time of delivery.

In the meantime Janaka, the highly qualified but sonless king of Videha, felt a strong desire for a male child. Hearing from Nărada that Daśaratha got sons through a sacrifice, he instituted one with Gautama and his son Śatānanda as priests. As a result of this sacrifice, two sons and a daughter were born to him at the sacrificial ground (yajňa-bhūmau).

^{***} Kālikā-p. 36. 11-15a—

muzihyam tu tārahimp kāyam tatukarasya mahātmanaly/
kapāli bhairavo hhūmi canda-rūpi durāsadaly//
mastirka-medasā yuktam māmana juhvani ye tucau/
brahma-kapāla-pātrastham autābhir desa-pūjanans//
balir manusya-māmsena pānam tu rudhiram sadā/
aurayā pāraman yajāc kapālodbhata-dhāramam//
vyāghra-carma-paridhānam samalam trivali-vytam/
cvam kurvanti satatam kapālavrata-dhārimah//
kapāli bhairavas tesām devah pāiyaa tu nityaiah//

As the daughter remained inside the earth, Janaka had to plough the sacrificial ground according to Narada's advice. As soon as the daughter came out of a furrow (sītā), the Earth appeared before Janaka and told him that she would give birth to a son at the sacrificial ground, after she was relieved of her burden through the destruction of Răvana and other Rāksasas for the sake of Sītā. She requested Janaka to bring up this son until he attained youth. She then handed over Sita to Janaka and vanished. In course of time Visnu assumed a human form and killed Răvana. The Earth then went to the sacrificial ground (yajña-bhūmi) of Janaka and gave birth to a heroic son at the place where Sītā was born. Being thought of by the Earth Visnu appeared before her and said that her son would prosper so long as he would possess human feelings and sentiments (mānusa-bhāva), but as soon as he would cease to behave like a human being, he would cease to exist, and that he would become a king at the age of sixteen and rule over a concealed (nibhṛta) kingdom comprising the city named Pragjyotişa.431 Vişnu disappeared; and the Earth informed Janaka of the son born at dead of night (madhya-ratre). Janaka went at once to the place of sacrifice (yajña-văța) and found there an extremely brilliant child 'that possessed the splendour of the petals of a blue lotus' (nilotpala-dala-cchavi) and was crying and throwing its hands and feet to and fro. It rolled beyond the boundary of the sacrificial ground, lay on its back by placing its head on the skull of a human being, and continued to cry.432 Janaka picked up the child and informed Gautama of the skull found under its head. Gautama consequently named it Naraka and performed its sacraments according to the

⁶⁰ Kālikā-n. 38. 44b-45a-

ctasya niblijtani rājyam yat prāgjyotija-sappilakam! puram tatra ciram šāstā rājyam eja sutas tava!!

¹⁰⁸ Kālikā-p. 38, 51b-53a udgacchan sa rudan bālo yajāa-bhāmini vyatītya ca/ kiyad-dāram jagāmāiūttānaiāyi mahādyutih// manusyasya tiras tatra mutasya prāpya būlakab/ avasiras catra vinyasya rudam tamban kanam tadā//

method followed in the case of a Kşatriya. Janaka brought up Naraka for sixteen years and trained him up as a human being. The Earth also looked after Naraka in the guise of a nurse named Kātyāyani. When Naraka was about to complete his sixteenth year, the Earth took him to the Ganges and narrated to him the story of his birth. Being eulogised by the Earth Vîsnu appeared before her and took Naraka as well as the Earth to the city of Pragjyotisa through the waters of the Ganges. This city was 'situated in the middle of Kāmarūpa', which had Kāmākhyā as the principal deity and 'was protected by Sambhu (Siva) so that it might form his own kingdom.' The inhabitants of Kamarupa were the Kirātas, 'who looked like golden pillars, were devoid of knowledge, had shaved heads, and were solely bent on taking wine and meat'.431 Being ordered by Visnu Naraka waged war against Ghāṭaka,488 king of the Kirātas, and killed him. Naraka then rode Ghāṭaka's white elephant, killed some of those unruly Kirātas who did not sumbit to him, and chased the rest beyond the place of goddess Dikkaravāsinī in the east. Those Kirātas who were thus driven out, resorted to the eastern sea-coast. Visnu then performed Naraka's coronation and assigned to him the city which was named Prāgjyotisa because Brahmā created the castern star by residing in it.438 This city extended from the eastern side of the river Karatoyā to the place of Lalitakāntā; in it Mahāmāyā Yoga-nidrā remained always present in the form of Kāmākhyā, and there was the Lauhitya, 'the chief of all

⁴²⁵ Kālikā-p. 59, 103-105--

nimajya kama-mātrena prāgjyetisa-peram gatah/ madhyagam kāmarūpasya kāmākhyā yatra nāyīkā// sa ca delah svarājyārthe pūrvam guptaš ca lambhunā/ kirāmir balibhih krūrair ajūair api ca vāsimh// rukma-stambha-mibhāms tatra kirātān jūāna-varjitān/ anattha-munditān madya-mānuāšanaikn-tatparān//

to For the relevant verse of the Kälikä-p, see the immediately preceding foomote.

The Vanga, ed. and many of the Ma of the Kalika-p, give the name of the Kirara chief as 'Chataka.'

⁴²⁰ Kalikā-p. 39, 126b-127a---

asya madhye suhito brahmā prāń-nakṣatram sasarja ha/ tataḥ prāgjyotijākhyeyam purī šakra-purī-samā//

rivers' (nada-rājaḥ) and the son of Brahmā; and it was resorted to permanently, for sport, by Brahmā, Mahādeva, Vișnu, the ten quarter-guardians, Śrī (under the name of Bhadra), the Sun and the Moon. With Siva's consent, Vișnu settled all the Kirātas in the east on the sea-coast lying between the eastern side of the place of Lalitakanta and the sea. Having thus purged the Kirātas out of the tract of land which extended from the west of the place of Lalitakanta to the river Karatoyā and which was the dwelling place of Kāmākhyā, Visnu settled many Veda-knowing Brahmins as well as the sages and the members of the four castes and made this tract of land fit for constant Vedic study and donations, and the result was that this part of the land (desa) soon came to be known as Kāmarūpa. Viṣṇu then married Naraka to Māyā, daughter of the king of Vidarbha, appointed him ruler of Kāmarūpa, made all arrangements for the proper fortification of his capital, and gave him a weapon named Sakti. He enjoined on Naraka the following prohibitions: - The latter was not to use this weapon on anybody, especially on men, until and unless his life was in danger; he was not to quarrel with gods, Brahmins and sages; and he was not to worship any deity other than Kāmākhyā. Vişņu warned Naraka saying that he would breathe his last when he would violate any of these prohibitions. With proper attention to Visnu's instructions Naraka ruled his kingdom for long with justice and worshipped Kāmākhyā on the 'great mountain' Nilakūta. Hearing of Naraka's prosperity Janaka payed a visit to 'the city of Pragjyotisa, which was situated in the heart of Kāmarūpa'.437 Now, towards the end of the Dyāpara age Naraka (alias Vajradhvaja or Vajraketu) 436 acquired friendship with Bāṇāsura, son of Bali and lord of Sonitapura. Bana used to worship Mahadeva and had a demoniacal nature (asura bhava). His influence on Naraka was so great that the latter began to disrespect not only

en prāgjy tisapuram gatvā kāmarūpāntara-sthitam.—Kālikā-p. 39. 164b.

named on several occasions as 'Vajradhvaja' and once as 'Vajraketu' in chap. 40. See vines 24, 45, 68, 82 and 86, and verse 33.

the Brahmins but also Viṣṇu and Kāmākhyā and had no attraction for sacrifices and donations. Once Vasistha came to Prāgjyotiṣa to visit Kāmākhyā residing in the fort on the Nilakûţa mountain, but Naraka refused to admit him. Vasistha became angry and cursed Naraka saying that his progenitor (Viṣṇu) would soon bring about his death by assuming a human form and that Kāmākhyā would disappear with her retinue and would not be found there so long as Naraka lived. When the sage left the place, Naraka went to the temple of Kāmākhyā and found it completely vacant. He thought of Visnu and the Earth, but neither of them appeared before him. On the other hand, his city lost its splendour, knew no Vedic study and sacrificial rites and ceremonies, and had a very small number of pious householders left in it; and there were many calamities, numerous deaths, and extreme scarcity of water even in the great river Lauhitya. 438 So, finding no other way of escape from death, Naraka informed Bana of the situation through a messenger. Bāṇa at once came to Prāgjyotişa, denounced Indra and his best helper Vișnu, and advised Naraka to worship Siva and Brahmā for remedy. As Siva was staying secretly in Prāgjyotisa, Naraka decided to worship Brahmā.410 He went to the Brahmācala on the bank of the Lauhitya and practised severe austerities for one hundred human years. Brahmā was pleased to appear before Naraka and grant him all the boons he asked for, but he advised Naraka not to have any physical connection with Tilottama and other heavenly damsels, reborn on earth, before Nărada went to Vajradhvajapura (i.e. Prāgjyotiṣa). Although the boons received from Brahmā did not make any real improvement in Naraka's position, the latter felt secure through infatuation and returned to his capital with complete satisfaction.

¹³⁸ Kālikā-p. 40.28--

ītayo bahavo jārā nutās ca balravo janāh/ laubitya-nada-rājo pi hīna-toyas tadābhavas//

Bāna heard from Naraka all about his austerities but did not feel encouraged in the least. He advised Naraka to attack Indra with the help of heroic Asuras and to procreate sons. Consequently, Naraka begot on his wife four sons named Bhagadatta, Mahāšīrsa, Madavat and Sumālin. He secured the service of Hayagriva, Muru and other powerful demons and began to oppress the gods, sages and others by assuming a demoniacal nature (āsura bhāva). He robbed Aditi of her ear-rings and perpetrated various atrocities in earth and heaven, so much so that the Earth was compelled to pray to the gods for relief. As a result of this prayer, Visnu incarnated himself as Krsna, and Tilottama and others were born as mortals. Naraka abducted these damsels and waited for Nārada's arrival. In the meantime Kṛṣṇa went to Pragjyotisa and attacked Naraka. Though alarmed at the sight of Kālikā (or Kāmākhyā) at the side of Kṛṣṇa, 411 Naraka gave a tough fight, which resulted in his death, Krsna installed Bhagadatta on the throne and gave him the weapon named Śakii. With Aditi's ear-rings as well as with the mani-parvata and Varuna's umbrella Krsna repaired to Dvārakā. - Chaps. 37-41.1

Chaps. 42-46.—Menakā, wife of Himavat, wanted to have offspring. She worshipped Mahāmāyā Yoga-nidrā for twenty-seven days from the Aṣṭamī Tithi of the month of Caitra. This worship was repeated for twenty-seven years, and at the end of this period Kālikā appeared before Menakā and granted her a boon which resulted in the birth of one hundred sons including Maināka. Kālikā, who, in her birth as Satī, had already contemplated to become Menakā's daughter, was born to the latter in the spring. As this new-born daughter had a dark-blue complexion and 'resem-

^{***} Kalika-p. 41.1046-105-

sa yudhyat-kṛṇṇa-nikate kālikām kālikopamām// raktāsya-nayanām dirghām khadga-iaknidharām tadā/ apaiyaj jagatām dhātrīm kāmākhyām api mobinim// sta Kālikā-n. 42. 410-42a—

vasanta-tamaye devi navamyām (ksa-yogatab) ardha-rātre samutpannā gatīgeva iaši-mandalāt//

bled the petals of a blue lotus', she was named 'Kālī' by Himavat and 'Pārvatī' by the other relatives. Kālī (i.e. Pārvatī) began to grow up in Himavat's house to the delight of all. Once Nārada came to Himavat, explained to him how Satī was reborn as Kālī, and advised him to give Kālī in marriage to Hara. He further assured Himavat that by dint of her penance Kālī would be able to occupy half of Hara's body and that she would have a golden complexion and be known as Gaurī.

At this time Siva went with his retinue to the place of Gangā's descent (gangāvatāra) and intimated to Himavat his intention of practising penance there. Himavat received him with due honour and appointed Kālī to serve him during the period of his penance. In the meantime the demon Tāraka became the lord of the three worlds and began to tyrannise all. As none but the son born of Siva's energy could kill this demon, Indra requested Madana to manage to unite Siva with Kālī. Madana remembered Brahmā's curse and agreed, though with fear, to comply with Indra's request.

[The remaining part of this story closely follows that of

Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava.

According to the Kālikā-p. Šiva besmeared his body with Kāma's ashes, Brahmā created Vaḍavāgni out of Siva's wrath and threw it into the sea, and Kālī practised penance for three thousand years and muttered the six-syllabled mantra 'om namaḥ śivāya' according to Nārada's instruction.]

[In chaps, 47-91 Mārkaņdeya reproduces the interlocu-

tion between Aurva and Sagara.]

Chap. 47.—Further stories about Kāli.—

Being addressed as 'bhinnāñjana-śyāmā' (black like powdered collyrium) before Urvaśī and other Apsarases, Kālī became highly offended with Siva and set herself to the practice of severe austerities. Siva, therefore, furnished her with a golden complexion by bathing her in the waters of the celestial Ganges (ākāśa-gaṅgā).

Once Kālī saw her own image reflected on Siva's chest and took it to be that of another woman. She became angry; and Siva had to please her by allowing her to occupy half of his body.

(For description of Ardhanārīśvara see verses 159-181). Chaps. 48-53.—Story of the birth of Bhṛṅgī and Mahā-kāla, their appointment as Śiva's Gaṇas, their rebirth as monkey-faced human beings named Vetāla and Bhairava, and their worship of Śiva and Pārvatī.—

From Siva's energy, which was meant for procreating Skanda, two small particles fell on the Himālaya. From these particles originated two sons of Saṃkara named Bhṛṅgī and Mahākāla. They were appointed by Siva as heads of Gaṇas and were posted at the gate when Siva was enjoying the company of Pārvatī after Skanda's birth.

(-Chap. 48).

Once Bhrigi and Mahākāla chanced to see Pārvati in slipt garment. They were consequently cursed by her to be born as monkey-faced human beings. As they insisted upon having Siva and Pārvatī as their parents even in their birth as mortals. Siva was born on earth as Candrasekhara, son of king Pausya, and Pārvatī as Tārāvatī, daughter of king Kakutstha. Candrasekhara, being born of three mothers, was also named Tryambaka. In course of time Candrasekhara attained youth, married Tārāvatī, and became king of Karavirapura in Brahmāvarta, (-Chaps. 49-50). Once a sage named Kāpota saw Tārāvatī bathing in the waters of the Drsadvati and wanted to enjoy her person. As Kāpota could not be dissuaded, Tārāvatī saved herself by sending her unmarried sister Citrangada, who was born of Uryasi and accompanied Tārāvati as a maid-servant due to Astāvakra's curse. After two sons named Tumburu and Suvarcas had been born to Citrangadā, Kāpota saw through the deceit and cursed Tārāvatī that two monkey-faced sons would be begotten on her by an old and ugly skull-bearing (kapālī) person. As a result of this curse Bhringi and Mahākāla were born to Tārāvati as Vetāla and Bhairava. Tārāvatī had three more sons

named Uparicara, Damana and Alarka by Candrasekhara. (-Chaps. 51-52). As neither Candrasekhara himself nor his three legitimate (aurasa) sons had much affection for Vetāla and Bhairava, the latter left their paternal home and wandered about in melancholy. Once they met Kapota and learnt from him the story of their birth. As they were bent on worshipping Siva, Kāpota first spoke of Vārāņasî as a sacred Siva-ksetra where Siva alone resides. He then distinguished between a 'kṣetra' and a 'piṭha', 443 and praised the extremely secret mahāpītha named Kāmarūpa, where both Samkara and Pārvatī are always present. He described Kāmarūpa as a triangular and hilly tract of land extending from the Karatoyā to the place of Dikkaravāsinī and measuring 100 yojanas in length and 30 yojanas in breadth, 444 and spoke of a number of sacred places, hills and rivers including the following:-

(a) Six sacred places (in and around Kāmarūpa) where

Siva lives with Pārvatī.

(b) Nilaparvata, where Pārvatī resides with Śamkara.

(c) Nāṭaka-śaila, where Śamkara lives permanently with Pārvatī.

As Vetāla and Bhairava preferred to go to the Nāṭakācala to worship Śiva, Kāpota advised them to see Vasiṣṭha on the Saṃdhyācala (in Kāmarūpa) and learn from him the mantras and procedure of Śiva-worship. Vetāla and Bhairava went to Kāmarūpa, bathed in the rivers Karatoyā and Jaṭodbhavā as well as in the Nandikuṇḍa, payed homage to the deity named Jalpīśa, bowed down to Śiva (Vṛṣabha-dhvaja) on the Nāṭakācala, and thence went to the south to the Saṃdhyācala, which was situated on the

⁴⁰ Kālikā-p 53. 72b-74a

tapasā cātitīvrena cirād bhavati moksadam //
nacirāt kāmadam punyam ksetram pitham nigadvate /
cirāt tu kāmado devo nacirād yatra jāānadah //
tat ksetram iti lokesu gadyate pūrva-bandībhih /

^{***} Kālikā-p. 53. 77b-79a

karatoyā nadī pūrvam yāvad dikkaravāsmim //
trimiad-yejana-vistīrmam yojanaika-satāvatam //
trikonam kraua-varnam ca prabhūtācala-pūritam //
nadl-iata-samāyuktam kāmarūpam prakirtitam /

bank of the river Kanta brought down by Vasistha and which was so called because Vasistha used to perform his evening prayers on this mountain. Being requested by Vetāla and Bhairava to tell them the mantras and procedure of Siva-worship Vasistha declared meditation and worship as equally necessary for the pleasure of Siva and spoke on the following topics:- Description of the 'five mantras' (pañca-mantrah), viz., Sammada, Samdoha, Nada, Gauraya and Prāsāda; dhyāna of Siva having five faces, ten hands, fifteen eyes, and a snake as a necklace; description of Siva's five faces, viz., Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusa and Isana; performance of bhūta-suddhi and mudras: worship of Bālā, Jvesthā, Raudri, Kāli, Kalavikarini. Balapramathini, Damani and Manonmathani; and so on, In accordance with Vasistha's advice Vetāla and Bhairava went to the Nātaka-śaila, which had the form of an umbrella and which was so called because Siva constantly danced on it in joy. They praised and worshipped Siva there with devotion, and the latter was pleased to confer on them immortality and divinity. Siva further advised them to worship Pārvatī and told them that without Pārvatī he alone was not able to fulfil their desire for the attainment of the status of Ganas. (Chap. 53).

Chaps. 54-58.—At the request of Vetāla and Bhairava, Siva described to them the mantras and procedures of the worship of Mahāmāyā Pārvatī; and these, Aurva said, were later condified by Bhairava into a work called Śivāmṛta consisting of 18 Paṭalas and dealing with nirṇaya-vidhi and kalpa.442

As Sagara wanted to know what Siva had said to Vetāla and Bhairava, Aurva agreed to describe 'in brief the contents of the 18 Paṭalas' and spoke on the eight-syllabled mantra of Mahāmāyā Vaisņavī and the method of her worship in a mandala with this as well as other Tantric mantras.

[The method of Mahāmāyā-worship, as described by

⁴⁴ Kälikä-p. 54 3-

yad a tādasabhih pašešt patalaš ca m bhairavah / sanīrnaya-vidlim kalpam nili bandha šivāmrte //

Aurva in chaps. 54-58, is called Vaisnavi-tantra. It consists of the following operations:— Drawing of a mandala with the figure of a padma in it; performance of bhūtāpasāraņa, dig-baudhana and śarira-śuddhi; worship of Mahāmāyā's porters (dvārapāla), viz., Nandī, Bhṛṅgī, Mahākāla and Ganesa, as well as of other attendant deities; offer of different articles (upacāra) including various kinds of incense, viz., yakşa-dhūpa, pratīvāha, pinda-dhūpa, goloka, aguru and sindhuvāra; worship of Kāmeśvari, Gupta-durgā, Vindhya-kandaravāsinī, Koteśvarī, Dīrghikā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Kāmākhyā, Dikkaravāsinī, Mātangī, Lalitā and other deities as well as of eight Yoginis named Saila-putri, Canda-ghanta, Skandamatr etc.; sacrifice of animals (such as birds, tortoises, crocodiles, he-goats, boars, buffaloes, godhikās, deer, horses, elephants, sarabhas etc.) as well as of men to the goddess; muttering of the mantra with the use of a japa-mālā; and performance of voni-mudrā.

Description of the aigi-mantra and of the method of effecting self-protection with it (vaiṣṇavi-tantra-kavaca).

Chap. 54 has the following colophon:— iti śrī-kālikāpurāņe mahāmāyā-kalpe astādaśa-paṭale catuḥpañcāśattamo

'dhyāyaḥ.

Verses 24b-36 of chap. 55 deal with Mahāmāyā-dhyāna and describe Mahāmāyā as 'śoṇa-padına-pratīkāśā', 'caturbhujā', 'vivasanā', 'baddha-paryańka-saṃkalpa-niviḍāsana-rājitā' etc. and as having her body supported by a pillar of jewels (gātreṇa ratna-stambhain ca samyag ālambya saṃsthitām).

Chap. 59.—On uttara-tantra.—Dissertation on the angamantras, mudrās, mediums of worship (viz., sthandila, agni, toya, sūrya-marici, pratimā, śālagrāma-śilā and śiva-linga), and

so on.

Chaps. 60-63.—On devi-tantra.—Procedure of the special worship of Devi. Worship of Devi on the Astami and Navami Tithis in any of the mediums linga, pustaka, sthandila, pādukā, pratimā etc. with the offer of one's own blood (nija-śonitaih).

Praise of Devi-worship at Vārānasī, Purusottama,

Dvāravatī, Vindhya etc., especially in the different rivers, places etc. in Kāmarūpa. 410

Praise of Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala. (Chap. 60).

Origin and description of the popular form of Mahiṣāsura-mardini of ten hands; and the method of worshipping this form in different parts of the year.

Making of different kinds of pavitras (viz., Ratnamālā, Nāgahāra, Vanamālā etc.); and the method of pavitrāropaņa (with the offer of fish, meat etc. and the performance of music and dance at night by bands of actors and dancers as well

as by prostitutes). (Chap. 61).

Description of the methods of the autumnal worship of eighteen-handed, sixteen-handed and ten-handed Mahiṣā-sura-mardini known respectively as Ugracaṇḍā, Bhadrakāli and Durgā. (In this connection mention has been made of Durgā-worship during the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa and of the following operations:—Feeding of virgin girls; bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree; performance of patrikā-pūjā; offer of wine and meat and of one's own blood; and performance of Śāvarotsava and bala-nīrājana).

Description of sixteen-handed Durgā (called Bhadrakālī); and the story of her appearance in a ten-handed form at the hermitage of sage Kātyāyana in order to bring about the destruction of Mahiṣāsura who was cursed by Kātyāyana to be killed by a female.

Story of Devi's assumption of a terrible form for destroying Dakşa's sacrifice.

Stories about Mātangi, Ugratārā, Kālikā and others.

Description of Šiva-dūtī; and the names of the Yoginis. (Chaps. 62-63).

Chaps. 64-65.—Praise of Kāmākhyā residing on the Nīlakūta mountain.

Story of Madhu and Kaitabha.

Names and glorification of the different mountains

W Viz., in the water of the Karntoyā and the Laubirya; in the Nandi-kunda; in the neighbourhood of Jalpipeivara; or the Siddhefvari-yoni; on the peak of the Nilakūta; and at the different places at Kāmarūpa (i.e. Prījyotiyapural, especially a) the Kāmākityā-yoni-mandala.—Kālikā-p. 60. 37ff.

(viz., Šveta, Nīla, Citra, Maṇikarṇa, Maṇiparvata, Gandhamādana, Pāṇḍunātha and Bhasmācala) in Kāmarūpa. In all these mountains Šiva lives constantly with Devī.

Chaps. 66-67.—On tripurā-tantra.—Description of the method of worshipping Tripurā, with whom the sixty-four Yoginis, Kṣetrapāla, Heruka, Lauhitya⁴⁴⁷ and others also are to be worshipped.

Description of the different forms of Tripura. 110

Chap. 68.—On kāmeśvari-tantra.—Procedure of the worship of Kāmeśvarī. Method of drawing a maṇḍala, in the north-western, southern and eastern parts of which Jālandhara-pīṭha, Oḍra-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa are respectively to be painted. Description of the form of Kāmeśvarī. Directions regarding Devī-worship in different pīṭhas (viz., Oḍra-piṭha, Jālaśailaka, Pūrṇa-pīṭha and Kāmarūpa) by the inhabitants of these places as well as by strangers; the position of these pīṭhas; and the names of the deities (including Jagannātha of Oḍra—jagannātham oḍreśam) to be worshipped at these places.

Chap. 69.—On śāradā-tantra.—Dissertation on the mantras and the method of the autumnal worship of Śāradā who has ten hands and mounts a lion.

Chap. 70.—Description of different kinds of namaskāra

⁴¹⁷ Kālikā-p. 67. 41-42-

lauhityam rakta-gaurāngam nīla-vastra-vibhūsitam / ratna-mālā-samāyuktam caturbāhu-samanvitam // pustakam aveta-padmam ca lubhratam daksiuc kare/ vāme sakti-dhvajam caiva niumāra-sthitam dubham //

see especially chap. 67, verses 55-68.

⁴⁴⁹ Kālikā-p. 68, 16-27.

⁴⁰ Kālikā-p. 68, 33-37-

daiškah pūjayed devim pithe nādaiškah kvacit tavaiva hi kara-sparšād devi nodvijate tivā // yadi desāntarād yārab pitham desāntaram prati tad-daisīkopadešena tadā pūjām samārabhet // yady anyatah samāvātā kāmarūpād tte narab // tad-desajopadešena sampūjya phalam āpnuyāt // yasmin deše tu yah pitha odra-pāñcālakādīņu // tad-desajopadešena pūjyah pithe ruro naraih // ito 'nyathā pūjane na samyak phalam avāpnuyāt // mahāvibhava-sampūmair vihitenaiva bhairava //

⁶⁶¹ Kālikā-p. 68. 421T.

(bowing down to the deity), viz., trikona, şatkona, ardha-candra, pradakṣiṇa, daṇḍa, aṣṭānga and ugra, of which the last (i.e. ugra) is said to please Viṣṇu (viṣṇu-tuṣṭida) and to be the best of all.

Names and description of fifty-five kinds of mudrās which are to be performed in worship. Mention of the remaining fifty-three kinds of mudrās which are to be employed in dravyānayana, saṃketa, naṭana etc. Praise of performance of mudrās.

Chap, 71 (styled 'rudhirādhyāya').-On bali-dāna (sacrifice of animals to the deity).-Animals to be sacrificed to the goddess include the following:- Tortoise, crocodile, fish, buffalo, godhikā, cow, boar, rhinoceros, śarabha, ruru deer, lion, and tiger. Praise of human sacrifice (nara-bali) and of offering one's own blood to the deity. Offer of a Kuşmanda, a sugarcane and different kinds of wine. Method and praise of bali-dana. A Brahmin is not to sacrifice lions, tigers and men to the goddess, nor is he to offer wine or his own blood; and a Ksatriya must not sacrifice an antelope. 452 A Brahmin, who is to sacrifice a lion, a tiger or a man, should adopt the following process: - A figure of the animal to be sacrificed should be made with ghee, cake or barley-powder. It should then be consecrated with relevant mantras and severed with a sabre called candrahāsa. 402 Directions regarding human sacrifice to be made by kings. 164 Rules about the offer of wine456 and one's own blood. The worshipper's good or evil as indicated by the animals sacri-

⁴⁶⁵ Қайка-р. 71. 485-52а.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 71, 526-54a-

yatra simhasya vyšghranya narasya vihito vadbah / brahmanoktā ni halyādan tatrāyam vihitah kramah // kṛtvā ghṛtamayam vyāghrani naram simham ca bhairava / athavā pūpa-vikṛtam yava-kṣodamayam ca vā // ghātayee candrahāsena tena manterna sanukṛtam //

⁴⁴ Katika-p. 71, 73ff. 44 Bid., 71, 112-114a-

madirām prothato dadyād atyat pānam to vāmatah / avasyam vibitam vatra madyam tatra dvijah punab // nārikela-jalam kāmaye tāmte vā vistjen madhu / nāpady api dvijo madyam kadācid vurjed api // tte puspāsavād uktād grājanād vā videjatah //

ficed. Method of satru-bali on the Mahanavami Tithi during the autumn season. 454

Chaps. 72-75.—Offer of 16 upacaras (viz., āsana, pādya,

arghya etc.) to the deity.-

Preparation of seats (asana) with flowers, wood, cloth, skin and silk (kośa). Selection of wood for making seats. Different kinds of cloth (viz., vālkala, kośaja, śāṇa and romaja) with which seats may be made. Animals (including nine kinds of deer) whose skins may be used as seats. Seats made of metals (except iron, lead and bell-metal). Description of seats meant for different deities and their worshippers.

Method of offering pādya, arghya, ācamanīya, madhu-

parka and snaniva. (-Chap. 72).

Offer of clothes (made of cotton, wool, bark and silk), stitched and unstitched dress of five kinds each, forty kinds of ornaments, 457 and various kinds of perfumes (gandha) and incense (dhupa). Selection of flowers for the worship of the different forms of Devi. Preparation of various kinds of lamps. Different kinds of incense which please Devi in her different forms. Preparation of various kinds of collyrium for the deity. (-Chap. 73). Fruits and other materials for naivedya. (-Chap. 74). Methods of pradaksina and namaskāra. (-Chap. 75).

Chap. 76.—Glorification of Kāmākhyā (residing on the Nilakūta mountain). Story of Kāmākhyā's causing Visnu and Garuda to worship herself. Description of

Kāmākhyā-kavaca.

Chap. 77.—Method of performance of mātrkā-nyāsa.

Chap. 78.—Performance of mudras, mantra-suddhi and nyāsa. Various kinds of yantras, and their efficacy. Worship of the particular forms of Devi, Brahmā, Visnu, Bāla-gopāla, Lakṣmi, Sarasvati and others according to the right-hand (daksina) and left-hand (vāma) methods.

⁴³⁴ Kälikä-p. 71.177ff

mahānavamyām saradi rātrau skanda- isākhayoh yava-cürnamayam krivā ripum mrumayam eva vā // sirai chittva balun dadyat krtva tasya tu mantratah ric. 117 For the names of these ornaments see Kälikä-p 73, 16-22.

Chap. 79.—Method of mantra-purascaraņa. Description of Tripurā-kavaca.

Chap. 80 .- Dissertation on the four kinds of muntras,

viz., siddha, susiddha, sādhya and śātrava.

Being duly instructed by Siva on the method of the worship of Mahāmāyā, Vetāla and Bhairava left Nāṇakācala and saw Vasistha on the Samdhyācala. In accordance with Vasistha's instructions they went to the 'great mountain Nîla' and worshipped Kāmākhyā, Tripurā and other forms of Mahāmāyā in the linga called Bhairava. Mahāmāyā appeared before Vetāla and Bhairava and conferred on them immortality and leadership of Ganas by making them drink the milk of her breasts. Siva also appeared and showed Vetāla and Bhairava all the holy places and rivers in Kāmarūpa, viz., Kāmākhyā-guhā, Kāma-guhā (of Śiva), Chāyācchatra (?), Siva's own residence, the place where Siva's five forms are situated (svakiyam pañca-mūrtīnām samsthānam), the river Karatoyā (which is called 'satya-gangā' -the real Ganges), Jaipiśa-linga (situated in the north-west of Kāmarūpa), Nandi-kunda, Siddheśvari Yoni (which is adjacent to the Jalpisa-linga), and the rivers Suvarnamānasa, Jatodbhavā, Trisrotā, Sitaprabhā, Navatoyā, Agada and Yogada (all of which flow from the Himālaya and lie in the north-western part of Kāmarūpa).

Regarding the Jalpiśa-linga it is said that in ancient times the Kṣatriyas, being afraid of Jāmadagnya, disguised themselves as Mlecchas and sought the shelter of Jalpiśa. They gave up the Aryan tongue, always spoke in the language of the Mlecchas, and kept Jalpiśa concealed. As they worshipped Jalpiśa with devotion, they were made Śiva's Ganas.⁴³⁸

Chap. 81.—The names, position and praise of the holy

Kālikā-p. 80, 155-157 jāmadagoya-bhayād bhirāh kṣatriyāh pūrvam eva ye ! mleccha-cchadmāny upādāya jalpišam faranam gatah !! te mleccha-vācah satatam ārya-vācai ca sarvadā ! jalpišam arvamānās te gopāyanti ca tam haram !! ra eva tu ginās (? ganās) tarya mahārāja manoharāh ! tosayitvā mahā sarvān jalpišam pūjayen narab !!

rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa which Siva showed to

Vetāla and Bhairava.—

(1) Those lying in its south-western part.—(a) Rivers flowing towards the north:-Bahurokā (rising from the mountain Surasa), Candrikā (rising from the mountain Kṛttivāsa), Phenilā, Sitā, and Sumadanā (rising from the mountain Sutikṣṇa). (b) Rivers rising from the Himālaya and flowing towards the south: - Bhadrā, Subhadrā, Mānasā, Bhairavi and Varnāsā. (c) Rivers rising from other mountains and flowing towards the south: - Kusumamālini, Kṣirodā, Lilā and Caṇḍikā. (d) The mountains named Surasa (in the proximity of which there is a Siva-linga called Mahāvṛṣa), Kṛttivāsa (on which Siva lived with Sati in ancient times), Sutīkṣṇa, Vibhrāṭa (where Śiva always remains present in the form of Bhairava), and Dhavala (on which there are two Siva-hingas called Goloka and Śringa). (e) The Vasisthakunda (where Vasistha cursed Naraka for not allowing him to go to the Nîlakûța mountain). (f) Ravi-kșetra (the region of the Sun), which lies on the east of the river Sumadanā and the west of Brahma-ksetra and has the river Trisrota flowing on the east and where there are a mountain called Tattva, two sacred pools called Kapota-kunda and Karanakunda, and a Sun-temple.

(2) Mountains etc. lying in the north-east of Kamarupa: (a) Mountains named Gandhamadana (on which there are a Siva-linga called Bhriga and a kunda called Antaralaka), Maņikūta (on which Viṣṇu killed the demon of fever -Jvarāsura-by assuming the form of Hayagrīva), Bhadrakāma (on which there are a Siva-linga named Kālahaya, a kuṇda called Apunarbhava, a lake known as Apunarbhū, and a piece of stone called Haravithi, and Madana. (b) The sea (sāgara) called Lauhitya (lying on the south of the river

Varņāśā). (c) The city called Bhogavatī.

Verses 75ff. deal with the praise of the worship of

Hayagrīva on the Manikūta mountain.

Chap. 82.—Names, position and praise of a few more mountains, rivers, pools (kunda) etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) mountains named Darpana, Agnimāla, Kamsakara, Vāyukūţa, Candrakūţa, Nandana, Bhasmakūţa, Sukānta, Rakṣaḥkūṭa, Pāṇḍunātha, Brahmagiri (on the east of which Ugratārā¹⁵⁹ is to be worshipped), Karpaṭa, Kajjalācala, Durjaya, Kṣobhaka and Bhagavat; (2) rivers named Darpaṇa (flowing from the Himālaya), Sumaṅgalā, Śāśvatī, Kapilagaṅgā, Damanikā, Vṛddhā, Bhairava-gaṅgā, Kāntā, Saṃdhyā and Lalitā; (3) Vāruṇa-kuṇḍa, Soma-kuṇḍa, Vāsava-kuṇḍa and Urvaśī-kuṇḍa; (4) lakes Kāma-saraḥ, Brahmakūṭa-saraḥ, and Bhairava-saraḥ; and (5) 'the city named Varāsana on the east of (the mountain) named Durjaya' (durjayākhyasya pūrvasyāṇ puraṃ nāma varāsanam—verse 159b).

This chapter contains description of Ganesa, Agnivetala, and the nine Planets.

Chap. 83.—Names, position and praise of a few other sacred rivers, mountains etc. of Kāmarūpa, viz., (1) rivers Šāśvatī, Dīpavatī, Vṛddhavedikā, Bhaṭṭārikā, Dikkarikā, Suvarṇasrāviṇī, Kāmā, Somāśanā, Vṛṣodakā, and Sitagaṅgā (flowing by the side of the place of Dikkaravāsinī), and (2) the mountain Śṛṅgāṭa (on which there is a Śiva-liṅga).

Description of the deities Lalitakāntā (also called Mangalacaņḍikā), Tīkṣṇakāntā (also called Ugratārā), Brahmā, and Viṣṇu; and the methods of their worship.

Offer of wine and sacrifice of human beings are said to please Tiksnakāntā.

After showing the entire Kāmarūpa-pitha to Vetāla and Bhairava, Šiva went to Kailāsa, and all became free from the curses.

Chap. 84.—Praise of Kāmarūpa which is said to be protected by the Gaṇas of Śiva and to confer immortality and divinity on its inhabitants.

Story of the spread of Vāmācāra Tantricism in Kāmarūpa as a result of Vasistha's curse.—Once Vasistha requested Siva to bring Kāmarūpa under the influence of Yama who had lost his control over the inhabitants of that place. Consequently Siva asked Ugratārā and his own Ganas to

us For description of Ugratără see verses 78-81.

remove immediately from Kāmarūpa all beings including the members of the four castes. When, in course of their operations, Ugratārā and the Ganas laid hands on Vasistha on the Samdhyācala mountain with the intention of driving him out of Kamarupa, the latter cursed the former saying that being perverse (vāma) in nature Ugratārā and other female deities as well as Siva himself would be worshipped in Kāmarūpa according to the left-hand method (vāmabhavena), that by faring like Mlecchas the foolish Ganas of Siva would turn Mlecchas in Kāmarūpa, that as Siva behaved like a Mleccha in expelling from there an austere sage and a self-controlled master of the Vedas like himself, he would be fond of Mlecchas and hold bones and ashes on his person, that after Vasistha's departure Kāmarūpa would be guarded (guptam) by Mlecchas until Vișnu himself came again (punah) to this place, that the (Vaisuava) Agamas (of Kāmarūpa) would become rare (viralāh), and that the person who would study these rare (virala) Agamas of Kāmarūpa would get in due time the complete result (of studying the entire Agama literature of Kamarupa praising Vișnu). After pronouncing this curse Vasistha disappeared; and the Gaņas became Mlecchas in 'Kāmarūpa, the abode of gods', Ugratārā became 'vāmā' (a deity worshipped according to the left-hand method), Sambhu gave himself up to the Mlecchas (mleccha-ratah), the Agamas praising Vișnu became rare and being bereft of (the pronunciation of) Vedic Mantras and the existence of the four castes, Kāmarūpa became in a moment such as could be ruled by Yama. In order that gods and men might not feel encouraged to live in that effective holy place (pitha) even after it had become free from Vasistha's curse with Hari's re-appearance there, Brahma thought out a plan by which he could hide out (guptave) all the pools (including Apunarbhava-kunda, Soma-kunda, Brahma-kunda and Urvasi-kunda) 400 and all

¹⁰⁰ See Kälikä-p. 84. 28b-31-

ägate'pi harau mukte iäpät pithe phala-prade // yathä na samyak sthäsyanti tat-pithe deva-mänusäh / guptaye sarva-kupdänäm bealimopäyam tathäkarot //

the rivers of Kāmarūpa (including those which have not been mentioned in the Kālikā-p.) and create a situation in which these pools and rivers could not be distinguished from one another but would be considered to yield the same effect. In Santanu's wife Amogha he procreated a son having the form of water (jala-rūpam tanayam) and made Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) bring him down through Kāmarupa which was quite at ease. That steady (dhira) son of Brahmā flooded Kāmarūpa, covering all its pools and holy places and hiding them out. After this, those people who could distinguish the Laubitya and take their bath in it, certainly attained the results of such bath, but it was impossible for them to find out the pools and the holy places, 'which had begun to be hidden out as a result of Vasistha's curse.'441 After thus completely flooding all the rivers and holy places throughout Kāmarūpa the Lauhitya, son of Brahmā, flowed into the southern sea.

Chaps. 85-86.—Story of the birth of Lauhitya (i.e. the river Brahmaputra) from Amoghā, wife of the sage Śāntanu, who lived by the side of a lake named Lohita on the mountain Gandhamādana lying at the outskirt of Kailāsa and who transferred Brahmā's energy into his wife after drinking it himself. Amoghā conceived, and at due time delivered through her nose a mass of water containing a son, who has been described as follows:

". nîla-vāsāḥ kirīṭa-dhṛk /
ratna-mālā-samāyukto rakta-gauras ca brahmavat //
catur-bhujaḥ padma-vidyā-dhvaja-sakti-dharas tathā /
sisumāra-sirasthas ca tulya-kāyo jalotkaraiḥ //"

".....wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a garland of gems, being red-and-white like Brahmā, having four hands carrying a lotus, a book, a banner and [the missile]

apunarbhava-kundasya soma-kundasya cobbayoh / brahm-oryasi-kundayos tu nadinām api bbūriiab // nadinām pūrvam uktānām anuktānām ca guptaye / sarvasy-aika-phala-jūline brahmopāyam unthākarot //

⁶⁰² Kälikä-p. 84, 35a vasitha-föpåd etat tu pravrttam tirtha-gopanam.
⁶⁰³ Kälikä-p. 85, 33-34,

Sakti, taking his stand on the head of a porpoise, and having a body resembling a mass of water rushing up." After birth, Santanu placed the son in that very condition in the middle of four mountains, viz., Kailasa on the north, Gandhamādana on the south, Jārudhi on the west, and Samvartaka etc. on the east. Here, the son of Brahmā created a kunda for himself and began to grow in volume until, after a long period, he covered five yojanas with his waters and looked like 'a second sea'.

In course of time Rāma Jāmadagnya, who had killed his mother at his father's order, came to that Kuṇḍa, named after Brahmā, for a holy bath and brought the son of Brahmā down to the earth by digging a channel with his axe.

Being requested by Sagara as to why Rāma Jāmadagnya killed his mother, who his mother was, and how, being the son of a sage, he could become so cruel and warlike, Aurva

narrated the story of his birth as follows.

Bhrgu's son Rcīka married Satyavatī, daughter of the sonless king Gādhi of Kānyakubja, by presenting to him, as nuptial fee, one thousand moon-white horses of a particular description, which he had procured by pleasing Varuṇa for the purpose. Sometime after the marriage, Bhrgu came to see his daughter-in-law and expressed his desire to grant a boon to the latter. Satyavatī wanted for herself a highly austere master of the Vedas as a son and for her mother a male issue of unparalleled heroism. Hearing Satyavatī's prayer Bhrgu gave out a sigh, from which came out two kinds of Caru, one of which was white and the other red. Bhrgu handed these over to Satyavatī with the instruction that after taking bath at the expiry of a period of menstruation her mother was to embrace an Aśvattha tree and then take the red Caru, while she herself was to take the white Caru

ekura kpiņa-varnānim aivānām candra-varcasām ! sahasram ekam yo dadyāt tasmai putri pradiyate //

Kālikā-p. 85.54 (=Vaoga, ed. 82.53).

This vene is based on Mhh III. 115.23—

ekaralı iyilma-karıjânâtp pütylarâŋâm tarasvinâm / sahasram vājinām julkam iti viddhi dvijottama //

⁽⁼Poons critical ed. III. 115.12, which reads 'panduranam' in the first half).

after embracing an Udumbara tree. But unfortunately Satyavatī and her mother did the opposite through mistake. Coming to know of this reversal, Bhṛgu saw Satyavatī again and told her about the unfortunate mistake, as a result of which, he said, she would deliver a son who would be a Brahmin by birth but a Kṣatriya by activities, and her mother would have one who would be a Ksatriya by birth but a Brahmin by activities. As Satyavatī wanted her grandson to be of that nature, Bhṛgu assured her of the fulfilment of her wish and went away. Now, in course of time, Satyavatī and her mother gave birth to Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra respectively, both of whom became the masters of the Vedas and the science of archery from their very birth. (—Chap. 85).

Jamadagni grew up and married Renukā, a Vidarbha princess, by whom he had four sons Rusanvat, 4820 Susena, Vasu and Viśvāvasu, and also a fifth named Rāma, who was the same as almighty Madhusudana (Vișnu) born with an axe for killing Kārtavīrya. As a result of his grandmother's mistake in taking the Caru Rāma, though a Brahmin by birth, had the nature of a Ksatriya and became the performer of cruel acts. Once his mother Renukā went to the river Ganges for a bath and chanced to see king Citraratha, who had come there with his wives for water-sports. Renukā felt a strong desire for the king and came back with an agitated mind. Jamadagni understood her mental condition and ordered his sons, one by one, to cut off her head. Rusanvat and the three others felt extremely confused and stood motionless like stone without carrying out the cruel order of their father, who, consequently, cursed them to turn dullards. When the turn of Rama came, he took up his axe and cut off his mother's head. Jamadagni was pleased, and wanted to grant boons to Rama for his obedience. The latter prayed for his mother's return to life, her forgetfulness of the incident of death, his brothers' release from the curse, the removal of his sin arising from matricide,

the Vanga, ed. (83.3 and 13) of the Kälikä-p., whereas the Venkat, ed. (86.3 and 13) gives it as 'Marurvat'. In the Mahābhārata (Vanga, ed. and Poona critical ed., III, 110.10) it has been given as 'Rumanyat'.

and his victory in every war. Jamadagni granted all the boons and advised Rāma to go to the Brahma-kunda and take his bath in it after washing his axe with its waters. Rāma did so and got rid of his sin. Being convinced of the efficacy of the Tirtha Rama dug out a channel with his axe and brought down the Brahmaputra. Thus issuing from the Brahma-kunda the Brahma-putra first fell into the lake Lohita on the Kailasa mountain. It then rushed towards the east, broke through a peak of the Himālaya, and flowed through the heart of Kamarupa. It flooded the entire pitha of Kāmarūpa and fell into the southern ocean. Brahmā named it Lohita-gangā, and as it came out of the lake Lohita, it was named Lauhitya also. This river became separated from the 'divine Yamuna' and then met it at a distance of twelve yojanas 168 (?).

[The above story (beginning from Reika's marriage with Satyavati and extending up to Jamadagni's granting of boons to Rāma Jāmadagnya) has been taken, with some changes here and there, from chaps. 115-116 of the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, which makes no mention of the colour of the Caru and ascribes the reversal in taking

it to Satyavati's mother's cunning.1

Chap. 87.—Siva's naming of the demons Andhaka and

Bāṇa as Bhrigī and Mahākāla respectively.

Aurva's discourse on raja-niti.—Indriya-jaya most essential for kings; qualities which a king should possess; appliention of the four expedients sama, dana, bheda and danda; winning of the six enemies kāma, kradha, etc.; avoiding of the seven vices mrgaya, dyata etc.; proper time and occasion for the sudgunas; engagement of spies; qualifications of spies; protection of the harem; application of upadhās; method of deliberation in a well-formed council; construction of various kinds of forts-jala-durga, bhūmi-durga, vrksa-durga, aranyadurga, maru-durga, śaila-durga, and parikhā-durga; the king's duty towards his harem.

м Kālikā-р. 86. 34b-35aprāg eva divya-yamunām m tyaktvā brahmaņah sutab / punah patati lauhitye garea deadata-yojanam //

Chap. 88.—Aurva's discourse on sadācāra to be observed by the king:—Definition of sadācāra. The duties which a king should perform as a householder. Establishment of varņāśrama-dharma. Observance of the following religious rites:—Worship of Durgā on Śāradīyā Mahāṣṭamī, and bala-nīrājana on the Daśamī Tithi; Puṣyābhiṣeka on Pauṣa-tṛūyā; worship of Śrī on Śrī-pañeamī; Viṣṇu-worship during Daśaharā in Jyaiṣṭha; and Śakra-pūjā on Bhādra-śukla-dvādašī.

For detailed description of the ceremony of hala-nīrājana see verses 15-77. Towards the end of this ceremony satru-hali was performed.444

Chap. 89.—Detailed description of the method of Pusya-snāna which is meant for warding off various kinds

of evil,

Chap. 90.—Method of performance, on Bhādra-śukladvādašī, of Śakra-dhvaj-otsava, said to have been introduced

first of all by king Vasu Uparicara.

Chap, 91.—Procedures of Viṣṇu-worship during Daŝaharā in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, and of Lakṣmī-pūjā on Śrīpañcamī with Kunda flowers and with presents made to Vāsava (Indra) mounted on his elephant.

Twelve kinds of sons (aurasa, kṣetraja etc.), and their legal position. Of these, the last one, viz., dāsa, born of a 'dāsi' purchased with money, does not deserve the throne.

Position of Śūdras, who are not entitled to study or teach Purāņa, Dharma-śāstras and Samhitās, nor are they to be

appointed for looking into legal disputes.

Acts which a king should do, and those he should not. Among the prohibitions there is one against his riding a camel, and the directions include one for his drinking water kept in a vessel made of copper, iron, gold or lead.

Chaps. 92-93.—Necessity of sons. Bhairava and Vetāla's desire for having sons, and their consequent union with Urvasi and Kāmadhenu respectively. Descendants of

¹⁶³ Кайка-р. 88. 51—

ngumayanı ili ravam krtvi cübbicürika-manırakaib / brdi ilikna viddhvä tam tirah khadgena chedayet //

Bhairava and Vetāla. Story of burning the Khāṇḍava forest which was created by king Vijaya, a descendant of Bhairava.

Praise of the Kālikā-p.

An examination of the contents of the present Kālikā-p. shows that this Purana deals with the exploits and worship of Kālī or Kālikā who is primarily the yoga-nidrā and māyā of Visnuss but who later became the wife of Siva as the darkcomplexioned Dākṣāyaṇī (Satī) and Kālī (or Kālikā, daughter of Menaka) 400 for the good of the world. This Yoganidrā or Māyā (or rather primordial Kālikā) is described as follows:-She is graceful and has four hands, a dark complexion, and dishevelled hair; and she mounts a lion, carries a sword and a blue lotus in two of her hands, and assures boon and safety with the other two.467 She is the Sakti (Energy) and Prakṛti (Original Source) of the universe and has many forms, viz., Mahāmāyā or Kāmākhyā, 488 Durgā, 489 Bhadrakāli, 470 Ugracandā, 471 Umā 472 etc. The glory and worship of all these forms, especially of Kāmākhyā, have been described elaborately in the Kālikā-p.; and in connection with these topics there have been introduced in this work many myths and legends which are of great importance especially from the point of view of the history of Sāktism. This work also contains valuable materials for the study of many other sects such as those of Visnu, Siva, Sūrya, Gaņeša, Brahmā and others, 473 topics relating to the glory and worship

⁴⁸⁶ Kālikā-p. 5. 3-4, 14, 47-48, 51-52, 59-61; 6. 8-9, 61-63; and so on.

According to the Kälikä-p. (42, 45-48) Sati, reborn as Menakä's daughter, had a dark complexion. So, she was named Käli or Kälikä by her fasher, but her other relatives called her Pārvait. She was also named Umā (because she could not be dissuaded from the practice of penance which was meant for the attainment of Siva's favour—Kālikā-p. 45, 22-23) and Aparnā (as the did not take even leaves during her austerities—Kālikā-p. 45, 37). After her marriage she got rid of her dark complexion by worshipping Siva and was called Gauri (Kālikā-p. 47, 30ff.).

⁴⁴⁷ Kalika-p. 5, 51-53; 8, 8-11.

Mahlanāyā, who is said to be identical with Kāmākhyā, is called the mūla-mūrti (original form) of Yoga-nidrā, and from her the other forms are derived.—Kālikā-p. 60, 48-52; 39, 123. For description of the form of Mahlanāyā see Kālikā-p. 55, 24-36.

[·] Kalikā-p. 61, 10-22; 62, 9ff.

on-un Poid., 62.5502; 62.11816; and 63. 4117. respectively.

wa Ibid., chaps. 81-83; 78. 204ff., and so on.

of these deities being introduced in connection with those of one or other of the various forms of Kālikā.

In spite of the fact that the Kālikā-p. speaks of many Śākta deities as well as holy places, mountains and rivers of different parts of India, especially of the region of the Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, its partiality for the cast¹¹¹ and more definitely for 'Kāmarūpa', ¹¹⁵ is specially remarkable. It speaks of Devi's bodhana by Brahmā and worship by the gods during the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, and mentions the following rites in connection with Devi-worship in the month of Āśvina:— (i) The untying of Devi's hair on the Śukla-caturthī Tithi, (ii) bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi, (iii) patrikā-praveša and nova-patrikā-pūjā, (iv) Śāvarotsava, and (v) lustration of the army

The According to Kālikā-p. 18. 28-34 the river Vaitarani originated from Siva's trars, came ultimately to the east, and flowed into the 'pārva-sāgara'; in Kālikā-p. 18.37 Siva is taid to have gone to the eastern countries with Sati's dead body on his shoulder; in Kālikā-p. 18. 40% different hoty places are said to have originated in the east from parts of Sati's body which was cot to pieces by Brahmā, Vinou and Sanakeara; Kālikā-p. 18. 44-45 say that those regions in the east which were traversed by Siva with Sati's body on his shoulder, were known as 'yājātka deša'; and so on.

on The name 'Kāmarūpa' for Progjyotisa is of comparatively late origin. Going to account for the origin of this name (Kāmarūpa) the Kālikā-p. (53, 79b-90a) says: "As, after being thoroughly burnt by the fire (issuing) from Samblin's eye, Kama regained a form there through Sambhu's favour, it became (known as) Kamarupa". The Kälikä-p. (18.42; 60.546; and 39.46.) further states that after Sati's body had been cut to pieces by Brahmā, Visqu and Sanaiččara, her female organ fell at Kāmākhyā (in Kāmartīpa), that Devi resided in Kāmartīpa for satisfying her kāma (desire for sexual enjoyment), and that Kamarupa was inhabited by Kiratas before Nuraka's arrival there. The Muhābhārata also testifies to the fact that Kāmarūpa was originally inhabited by Kirātas and other 'Micecha' tribes (see Mith I, 67, 9; II, 26.7; II, 30.26-27; II. 34. 9h-10n; II. 51. 14-15; V. 130. 45; and so on). From the Dain-kumāra-carita and the present Kälika-p, we understand that Kämaruna became famous as a seat of Vantricism from early times; and Devisp. 39. 142 (..... pulinda-iavarādisu / lokāntuvus mārgena vāmācārena siddhidā /// tells us that Vāmācāra Tantricism was prevalent among the aboriginal tribes. (See also the verse 'surà-mărpsădy-upahārair japa-yajňair vinā tu tā / vinā mantrais tāmasl sā kirātūnārp tu sammatā // ascribed to the 'Bhavişya' and the 'Skanda-p.' in Sülapäņi's Durgonava-viveka, p. 3, Raghunandana's Smrti-ranva, 1, p. 68 and Durgā-pūjā-muva, p. 30, Gadādhara's Kālasāra. p. 111, and so on). So, it seems that Pragjyotisa was, from very early times, a seat of Vamacara Tantricism and was consequently given the Samkrit name 'Kamarapa' on the basis of the popular one, viz., 'Kamru-t' (or 'Kamru-d' mentioned by Albertini and others) derived from the Austric word 'Kamru' or 'Kambru' which is the name of a leaser divinity worshipped by the Santals. (For further information on this point see B.K. Kakati, Assamese, his Formation and Development, pp. 53-54).

by the king (bala-nirājana).476 It deals elaborately with the different deities as well as the holy places, rivers and mountains of Kāmarūpa exhaustively and with special fervour, so much so that Kāmākhyā, the most prominent Śākta deity in Kāmarūpa, has been given the highest place as the chief form (mūla-mūrti) of Mahāmāyā, and the holy places there have been glorified even over Vārānasi, Purusottama-kṣetra, Dvāravatī, Brahmāvarta, Prayāga etc., Kūmākhyā being called the most sacred place of all. 477 Moreover, in Kālikā-p, 93.30-32 it is said that Vasistha, who had read and heard the 'Kālikā-p.' from Mārkandeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, 'the abode of gods', until it was revealed to the sages by Mārkandeya. In his Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, pp. 30-31 Vidyāpati ascribes to the 'Kālikā-p.' a few verses containing the names of fruits to be offered to Devi. These verses, which are all found in the present Kālikā-p., chap. 74, include the name of a fruit called 'Karuna', which, Vidyapati says, 'was famous in Gauda' (karunam gaude prasiddham). On the other hand, this work was utilised first of all by Sulapani of Bengal and then by Vidyapati of Mithila in his Durgā-bhakti-tarangini. Other non-Bengal Smrtiwriters referred to or drew upon this Purana from about the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Hence there can be little doubt regarding the fact that the present Kālikā-p. was composed either in Kamarapa (in Assam) or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it.

An examination of the story of Naraka (of Prāgjyotiṣa) as occurring in the Mahābhārata (V. 48 and 130), Harivaṃśa (H. 63-64), Viṣṇu-p. (V. 29), Bhāgavata-p. (X. 59) etc., as well as a study of the present Kālikā-p., shows that it was the Purāṇic Vaiṣṇavas who first tried, towards the very close of the epic period, 478 to bring the non-Aryan inhabitants

ere See Kälikä-p. 62, 1-53, and 63, 18-23,

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 60. 34-48.

²⁰⁸ In the Mahāhhārata Naraka is called 'Bhauma' but not Varāha's son. It is in the Harivamia, Vignu-p., Bhāgavara-p. and other comparatively late works that Naraka is said to have been born of Bhūmi (Earth) by Vigns.

In the Mahābhārata, the word 'Bhauma' might have been used in the sense of 'native', 'aboriginal', or 'local'.

of Pragiyotisa into their fold by giving it out to be originally a place of Visnu-worship and Vaisnava Agamas and also by fabricating a story that Naraka was born of the Earth by Visnu in his Boar incarnation. But in spite of this attempt of the Purănic Vaisnavas the Śaiva (Kāpālika?) cult (which was most probably already popular in Kāmarūpa) had a firm footing there, so much so that it influenced very greatly the more popular cult of Sakti (i.e. Devi). 179 Hence those Śākta-vaisņavas of Kāmarūpa who looked upon Visnu as Brahma or Purusa and Devī as his Šakti (or Māvā or Prakrti) wrote the present Kālikā-p, with a view to convincing the people that Kāmākhyā is none but Viṣṇu's Yoga-māyā embodied, that Visnu is superior to Siva, and that every one must be a Vaisnava before he sets himself to Devi-worship. Such Vaisnava influence on Sāktism is also found in the Brhaddharma-p, which says that one should not follow the course of a Sakta unless one has devotion to Visnu and performs the duties of the Vaisnavas. (See Brhaddh, II. 6. 144-6).

The inclusion of the title 'Kālikā' or 'Kālî-p.' in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāņas which we have been able to collect from different sources, 400 and the numerous quotations made from a 'Kālikā-p.' by many of the early Nibandhawriters, would certainly appear to show that the present Kālikā-p. is a work of considerable antiquity; 401 but an

on We shall see hereafter that there was an earlier Kālikā-p, which, unlike the present one, allowed a prominent place to Siva. Even the present Kālikā-p, states that the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Sāktiam was due to Satl's female organ which fell at Kāmākhyā, that 'Samkara, with Pārvati, sentains always present at Kāmākhyā, the great and most secret holy place', and that there was already a number of Salva temples and thrines at different places in Kāmarūpa (see Kālikā-p. 18, 42; 53, 74b-75a and 820).

tes For these lists see Vol. I, Chap. L.

As a matter of fact, P. K. Gode finds fault with the date (14th century) assigned to the present Kāfikā-p. by Mr. Payne in his work (The Sāktas), and places it before 1000 A.D. without trying to ascertain whether the 'Kāfikā-p.' drawn open by Nānyarieva, Aparārka, Laksmidhara and other early commentators and Nihandha-writers in the tame at the present one. See Gode in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. N. 1936, pp. 269-294. Also Gode, Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. I, pp. 203-8.

For a similar view held by Dines Chandra Sircar see JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12 (cotnote 5.

attempt to trace the quoted verses in the present Kālikā-p. creates grave doubts regarding the early origin of this Purana by bringing to our notice the facts that not a single of the numerous quotations made in Nănyadeva's Bharata-bhāṣya, 482 Laksmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's Samayapradīpa and Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra), Caṇḍeśvara's Krtya-ratnākara and Grhastha-ratnākara, Madanapāla's Madana-pārijāta, Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nirņaya and commentary on the Paräsara-smrti, Vidyāpati's Gangāvākvāvali, Vācaspati-miśra's Dvaita-nirņaya, Kṛtya-cintāmani and Śuddhi-cintāmani, Madanasimha-deva's Madanaratna-pradipa, Rudradhara's Śuddhi-viveka, Allādanātha's Nirnayāmṛta, and Narasimha Vājapeyin's Nityācārapradipa488 is found in the present Kālikā-p., that none of the interlocutors, viz. (i) Trnabindu and

Marasimha Vājapeyin, who is one of the most noted Smṛṭi-writers of Orima, mentions 'Vidyākara Vājapeyin' us well as 'Vidyākara-paddhati' in his Nityācāra-pradīpa. So, the Nityācāra-pradīpa must be later than the Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.

⁴⁰ Nănyadeva's quotation from a 'Kālikākhya-purāņa' in his Bharata-bhātṣya was pointed out by V. Raghayan in his article on 'The Kālikā (Upa) purāṇa' in Journal of Oriental Research, Mastras, Vol. XII, 1939, pp. 231-360.

Now, as Raghusandana mentions Vidyākara Vājapeyin as an authority several times in his Smrti-tativa (I, pp. 355, 744, etc.; II, pp. 68, 75, 312, 505, etc.), the latter cannot be later than 1500 A.D.; and as Vidyākara himself mentions the Kṛtya-cintāṇani, which is apparently the older work of that name by Candeivara and not the later one by Vācaspari-miira whose literary activity tay between 1450 and 1480 A.D., he cannot be earlier thus 1350 A.D. The Krama-dipikā informs us that Vidyākara's father declined a grant of land from Nraimba, king of Origo, left the country with family and settled at Benares. (For the extract of the Krama-dipikā see Nicyācāra-paddhati, Preface, p. 2, footnote 2). Now, the only Nrimba, whose reign falls within this period, is the fourth king of that name, one of whose land-grants was made in (395 A.D. in the 22nd othe or 18th year of his reign (see JASB, 1895, pp. 132f. and R.D. Banerji, History of Orissa, I, pp. 283-4). So, this Nesimha must have ascended the throne in 1377 A.D. Hence it is sure that Vidyākara's father migrated to Benares after 1377 A.D. Aqain, Vidyākara says in one of the introductory verses of his Nityācāra-paddhati that he lived at Benares for 30 years and then wrote the Nityārāra-paddhati (cf. trimfadvartam sa kāiyām krta-vasatir abhād dharma-ilistrasya kartā paddhatyākhyasya....). So, the Nityacara-paddhati mint have been composed in the first half of the lifteenth century

Hence the Nityācāra-pradīpa of Narasimba Vājapeyin cannot be earlier than 1425 A.D. (According to Kane, Narasimba Vājapeyin was 'later than 1400 A.D.' See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmašārtra 1, pp. 572 and 706).

Anilāda, **** (ii) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūṭa*** (?), and (iii) Sūrya and his devotec, **** mentioned in connection with some of the verses quoted from a 'Kālikā-p.' in the above-mentioned works, is found in the extant Kālikā-p., and that the present Kālikā-p., which is drawn upon by Śūlapāṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya (in his Durgā-bhaktitaraṅgiṇi), Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, Gadādhara, *** Mitra-miśra, Anantabhaṭṭa, Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, *** Nandapaṇḍita and others, first began to be used by the Bengal Smṛti-writers and by Vidyāpati of Mithilā from the fourteenth century A.D. *** but by other non-Bengal authors, from about

48 Mentioned in Krtya-kaipamru, Santi-kanda.—See Raghavan, op. cit., p. 333.

** See Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 634-5.

Though the interlocation between Sûrya and his devotee is mentioned in the Smṛti-tatīva (1, p. 36) also, it need not be taken to have occurred in the present Kālikā-p., because those Nihandhakāras who have drawn upon the extant Kālikā-p, are sometimes found to eite verses which belonged to the earlier Kālikā-p, and which they derived, as in the cases of many other Purānas, either direct from the earlier Kālikā or from the authoritative commentaries and Nibandhas which drew upon this earlier Purāna. See

footuotes 494, 495 and 497 below.

with his Khlasāra Gadādhara mentions not only the following works and authors, viz., Mādhavācārya, Kāla-mādhaviya, Kāladaria, Kṛṭya-kaumudi, Kṛṭya-mahāroava, Gauda-saṇwatsara-pradīpa, Madana-pārijāta, Śūlapāṇi, Śrāddha-viveka etc., but aho 'Tithinatvakāra' (sometimes distinguished with the adjective 'Gauda',—see Kālasāra, pp. 421, 463, etc.—gzudais tithicatvakāraih) and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa in severai places. That by the word 'Tithitattvakāra' Gadādhara means none but Raghusandana is shown by the fact that the references made by Gadādhara to the opinions of the 'Tithitattvakāra' are all found in the Smṛṭi-tattva of Raghusandana. (For instance, Kālasāra, pp. 105, 106-7 and 117-8 refer to Smṛṭi-tattva, I, pp. 67-68, 67 and 60 respectively). The references to the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa also are all found in the present Hari-bhakti-vilāsa ascribed to Gopālahhaṭṭa. (For instance, Kālasāra, p. 118 refers to Hari-bh., p. 905; Kālasāra, p. 140 to Hari-bh., p. 794; Kālasāra, p. 165 to Hari-bh., pp. 895 and 897-8; and so on.) Hence the Kālasāra must be dated not earlier than 1600 A.D. Haraprasad Shastri also includes Gadādhara among those Smṛṭi-wtiters who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., 111, Preface, p. xxxvii.)

The date (1450-1500 A.D.), assigned to Gadlidhara by P. V. Kane in his History of

Dharmakletra, Vol. 1, pp. 530 and 692, requires modification.

not direct from their source but from the Nibandhas of Bengal, Cf. Niruaya-sindha, pp. 20, 63, 129 and so on.

on The Sarpvattara-pradipa (Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4632) does not draw upon any

Kālikā-p. even in in section on Durgā-pūjā.

na See Caturvarga-cintămani, II. I, pp. 439-444, 829-831, 831-832; II. ii, pp. 179-100, 376, 377-381, 992-4. Krtya-ratoākara, pp. 452-5. Madana-ratma-pradipa, fola 66b-68a. (Trnabindu and Anilâda appear to have been the principal interlocutors in the Kālikā-p. drawn upon by Nanyadeva and others).

the beginning of the seventeenth century. These facts create the impression that the present Kālikā-p., which certainly came to Bengal from Kāmarūpa either in the thirteenth or in the fourteenth century A.D., is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p, mentioned in the lists of eighteen Upapurāņas and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Laksmīdhara and others. This impression is finally established as true by an extract of ten verses which is quoted in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 8-9) with the words "dusprāpakālikā-purān-āntare'pi" but is not found in the present Kālikā-p. and in which Devī (or Kālikā) speaks to one, addressed as 'putra', on her own annual worship in the month of Āśvina. The expression "dusprāpa-kālikā-purāņantare'pi" shows definitely that Raghunandana knew another Kālikā-p, which was different from the present one profusely drawn upon by him in his Tattvas, and that Mss of this older Kālikā-p. already became extremely rare in his time,

Before we try to determine the date of composition of the present Kālikā-p, we should like to say a few words on the contents, character and date of the earlier Kālikā-p. (which also was often called 'Kāli-purāṇa' and sometimes 'Kāla-kaṇṭha') on the basis of the quotations made from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. These quotations and references show that the earlier Kālikā-p, contained, among others, the following interlocutors, viz., (i) Tṛṇa-bindu and Anilāda, (ii) Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvya-kūṭa (?), and (iii) Sūrya and his devotee, and was a rich store of Smṛti materials. The multifarious Smṛti topics, dealt with in this Purāṇa, included the following: (a) donations (of gold, well furnished houses, a thousand cows, canopy, kṛṣṇājina, ghṛṭa-kambala, Narasiṃha, etc.), ****

According to Vallálasena, this Kālikā-p. dealt prominently with donations (uktāny upapurāņāni vyakta-dāna-vidhīni ca/ ādyam purāņam tāmbam ca kālikāhvayam eva

ca // etc.-Dinasigara, p. 3, verses 13ff.

⁴⁰⁰ See the lists of Upapuranas in Vol. I, Chap. I.

⁴⁸⁷ Kṛṭya-kalpasaru, Hf, pp. 366-7, and V, pp. 113-6, 185-6, 195-6, 311-2; Aparārka's com. on the Vāj., pp. 337-8; Dānaulgass, pp. 313, 417-8, 441-2, 527-8; Kṛṭya-ratnākara, pp. 493-4; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 34, 156, 258-251, 560, 575-6, 589, etc; Vidhāna-pārijāta, HI, 359-360, 389, 394; and so on.

(b) duties of castes and āśramas, 400 (c) worship of Kālikā 400 and Śiva, 401 (d) Vratas (vîz., Aviyoga-vrata, Bhāskara-vrata, Soma-vrata, Śaṃkarārka-vrata, Iśāna-vrata, Kāla-rātri-vrata, Māhāvrata, etc.), 405 (c) Saura-dharmas, 400 (f) iṣṭā-pūrta, 402 (g) vyavahāra, 400 (h) śrāddha, 400 (i) tīrtha (such as bhṛgu-prapatana), 400 (j) settling of Brahmins, 401 (k) praise of bath and other pious acts done in the Ganges, 500 (l) demerits of not worshipping the five deities Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, Keśava and Kauśikī, 500 and (m) purification. 501 Besides these, the earlier Kālikā-p. also might have contained, among other topics, a song (gīta) called Rovindaka. 500

A careful examination of these quotations further shows

²³ Kriya-kaipataru, II, pp. 257-8, 270, 296; Madana-pārijāta, p. 288; Mādha-vācārya's com on the Parājara-smṛni, I. ii, p. 178; Gṛlianha-ratuākara, pp. 479, 501.

⁴⁰ Aparárka's com, on the Yāja, p. 15; Durgā-pūjā-tatīva, pp. 8-9. (One of the ten verses quoted in Durgā-pūjā-tatīva, pp. 3-9 is found in Durgō-sava-viveka, p. 17).

^{***} Claurvarga-ciatāmani, 11. i, pp. 237-9; Krtya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7; Nūyā-cāra-pradīpa, p. 694; Viramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāńa, pp. 226-232. (These verses, dealing with umhāmāna, ghrtābhiyeka, ghrta-dhārā and Šiva-jāgara in Šiva-worship, are the same as three-given in the Pūjā-kāṇḍa of Laksmidhara's Krtya-kalpataru. See also Kṛtya-kalpataru. See also Kṛtya-kalpataru. Santi-kāṇḍa for 'rudra-japa-vidhi').

⁶⁴ Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. i. pp. 439-444, 788, 829-831, 831-2, and II. il. pp. 149-151,179-180, 326-332, 376, 377-381; Kṛṭya-rainākara, pp. 452-5; Madama-

ratun-praclipa, Iols. 563-58a.

***Nityācāra-praclipa, pp. 584-5. (This extract is also found in Vicamicrodays,

Pājā-prakāta, ρp. 308-9. See also Smṛti-mttva, I, p. 26 for two of its tines).
⁴⁰ Κṛṭya-kalpataru, I, p. 3; Κṛṭya-ramākara, p. 10; Viramitrodaya, Paribhāsā-

prakiša, p. 44.
*** Kriya-kalputaro, XII, pp. 79, 205, 210-211, 221, 231, 236 (on different kinds of

ordenis); Dipa-kalikā, p. 5 (on ordeni).

*** Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, Vol III, Parts i-ii (containing numerous verses on irādilus and allied topica).

Krtya-kalpataro, VIII, pp. 263-4.

mt Ibid., V. pp. 254-6, Vidhāns-pārijāta, III, pp. 221-2.

Gangā-vākyāvalt, pp. 202, 202-9, 204-5, 310; Suddhi-cintāmani, p. 81; Gangā-bhakti-tarangini, fols. 41- ia.

Acaradarsa, p. 32a; Ganga-vakyavall, fol. 47b.

¹⁰⁴ Kraya-kalpataru, X., p. 130; Ācārāduria, p. 11a; Gangā-vākyāvalī, p. 219; Suddhl-viveira (of Rudradhara), p. 28a.

By ascribing the song 'sandam landam jagapati etc.' to both the 'Bhagavati'sp.' and the 'Kalikakhya-p.' Nanyadeva makes a confusion between these two Puranic works, which, as we shall see afterwards, are quite different, and not identical, as Nanyadeva took them to be. This confusion may be due to the fact that, like the Bhagavad-p., the Kalika-p. also dealt with the exploits of 'Bhagavati' (cf..., bhagavatya idam bhagavatant iti tālikā-puranam bhagavata-padenoktam iti ye varianti te mrasah.—Nityachta-piradipa, p. 18), or that due to its treatment of the exploits of Bhagavati the Kalika-p. was wrongly designated as 'Bhagavati-p.' by Nanyadeva.

that the earlier Kālikā-p., unlike the present one, had scarcely any Tantric element in its rituals. The long quotations given in the Krtya-kalpataru, Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, Krtyaratnākara, Madana-ratna-pradīpa and other works on the details of the different devotional vows and worships are totally free from Tantric influence. The procedure is purely Purănic and the mantras to be used are very often Purănic and sometimes Vedic. A quotation made by Apararka (com., p. 15) on the method of painting magic collyrium on the eyes for vasikarana, however, shows that though the earlier Kālikā-p, rendered its rituals free from Tantric elements, it could not overcome the temptation for describing the method of attaining magic power, of which the Sāktas are so fond. That the earlier Kālikā-p, had little or no Tantric element can be further proved by another piece of evidence adduced by Vallalasena who was not at all favourably disposed towards the Tantriks and their scriptures and practices. By way of explaining why he rejected some of the Puranas and Upapuranas partly or wholly in his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that the Devi-p, which was excluded from the lists of Puranas and Upapuranas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character, 507 and that the Bhavisya-p. was utilised by him up to the chapters dealing with the Saptami (-kalpa), while those on the Astami and Navami (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence; 508 but he expresses no such opinion regarding the 'Kālikā-p.' known to him. On the other hand, he quotes 40 verses on gifts

See Kṛṭya-kalpataru, 111, pp. 236-7, and V, pp. 113-6; Caturvaga-cintārnaui.

 pp. 738-9, 928-930, 11. i, pp. 237-9, 439-444, etc., 11. ii, pp. 149-151, 179-180, 326-332, etc.; Kṛṭya-ratnākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7, 452-5 and 493-4; Madana-ratna-pradipa, fola. 66b-68a; and so on.

par Dánaságara, p.7 (verse 67)-

rattat-purāņ-opapurāņa-samkhyā-bahiskruan kaimala-karma-yogāt / pāṣaṇḍa-śāstr-āsumatam nirūpya devi-purāṇam na nibuddham atra //

sio Dănasăgara, p.7 (verse 59)—

saptamy-madhi purāmum bhavisyam api santgihitam atiyatstāt /

For the trasons for our accepting the readings in italics in the above verse see footnote 314 above.

from the 'Kālikā-p.' So, it is sure that the 'Kālikā-p.' known to Vallālasena must have been free from Tantric elements. Although Vallālasena names a set of spurious Purāṇas, viz., Tārkṣya (i.e. Gāruda), Brāhma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava of 23000 ślokas, and Laiṅga of 6000 ślokas, which were influenced by Tantricism, on his silence regarding the existence of any second Kālikā-p. in his time, is remarkable and shows that the present Kālikā-p., which is full of Tantric elements, was unknown in his days.

The quoted verses further show that, unlike the present Kālikā-p, wherein Viṣṇu has been given a superior position by an identification of the primordial Kālikā with his Yoga-nidrā and Māyā, the earlier Kālikā-p, allowed Siva a prominent place. It is for this reason that in one of the quoted verses Siva is called the highest deity, and the worship of Siva or his *linga* is ordained in many of the vows and worships.

The earlier Kālikā-p. was written most probably in Bengal. Among the ten verses (on Durgā-pūjā) ascribed to the 'dusprāpa-kālikāpurāņ-āntara' in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tatīva, pp. 8-9 there are three lines which run

as follows:

aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhau tṛtīyā khalu kathyate/ tatra pūjyā tv ahaṃ putra yoginī-gaṇa-saṃyutā/ manoharais ca balibhir upahāraiḥ pṛthag-vidhaiḥ//;

tārkayam purānato aparam brāhmam āgneyam eva ca /
trayoviminiti-sāhasram purānam api vaimavam //
taj-sahasra-mitam laingam purānam aparam sathā /
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣoṇḍa-yukd-rama-parīkṣaṇaib //
taṇṣā-vaṇṭānucariṭoib koṣa-vyākaranādibhih //
asaṃgata-kathā-bandhoib paraspara-ciodhibhih //
tan-mina-ketanādinām bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-litoginām /
loka-vaūcanam ālokya tarvam evāvadhīritam //

For the reasons for our emendations in the sixth line see footnote 316 above,

10 It is to be noted that nowhere in his Danasagara does Validiasena give the slightest
indication of his knowledge of a Kalika-p, different from that drawn upon by him.

³¹¹ šamkarāt paramam nānyat...—Kṛṭya-kalpataru, V, p. 311 and Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 665.

40 See Caturvargu-cintāmaņi, 1, pp. 568, 575-6, cic.; Kṛṭya-kaipataru, III. pp. 368-7, V, pp. 113-6, 193-6, 254-6, 311-2, VIII. pp. 263-4; Kṛṭya-ramākara, pp. 175-8, 434-7, 452-5, 493-4; Niṭyācāra-pradīpa, p. 694, and so on.

Dānasāgara, p.7 (verses 63-66)—

and on the basis of these lines Raghunandana prescribes that at the astami-navami-samdhi Devi (i.e. Durgā) should be worshipped, along with the Yoginis, with the offer of different articles and the sacrifice of animals. Now, Govindānanda informs us that it was a local custom (deśācāra) with the Gaudīyas to worship Devi as well as the Yoginis at the aṣṭamī-navamī-saṃdhi and to offer different articles and animals to Devi on this occasion. So, by recording this local custom in the above-mentioned lines the earlier Kālikā-p. seems to point to Bengal as the place of its origin.

Let us now discuss the date of the earlier Kālikā-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaņi Hemādri quotes from the 'Kālikā-p.' five lines which give a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the 'Kālikā' which is called the 'original Bhāga-vata'. So, the earlier Kālikā-p., which thus laid claim to the position of the Bhāgavata-p., must have been written at a time when the position of the latter had already become enviable. As the Bhāgavata-p. is to be assigned to the sixth century A.D. and most probably to the former half of that century, the earlier Kālikā-p. could not have been written earlier than 600 A.D. Again, the numerous quotations made from the 'Kālikā-p.' by Nānyadeva, Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and others, who flourished in different parts of India, show that the earlier Kālikā-p. must have been written not later than 900 A.D. In his

124 Varua-kaumudī, p. 373—gandīvās tu astamī-navamī-samdhau cāmundārūpam dhylitvā upacārair abbyartya bali-dānam kurvaniti desācārah-

no See Stoppi-tattra, I, p. 86 (wherein the first two lines only have been quoted) and Donga-pājā-tattva, p. 36 (which quotes all the three lines).

Also Varşa-kannucii, p. 447—gaudiyüs in aştaml-navaml-sanıdhi-kâle bhütasuddhy-salikam krya câmundă-rûpam cinmyitvă sodatopacăraib sampuijya saşti-yoginü ca püjayitvă baliqi dadati.

tis tairam yad väyund proktum vairideim vaimavam taihā /
yad idam kālikākhyam ca mūlam hhāgavatam umrtam //
tauram ca nārādilyam ca mārkatēļiyam ca valmijam /
vātmanam haurmam māmyam ca mpudalam ca gārudam /
brahmāndam apādalam pikeyam purāpam ca na samiayah //
Camrvarga-cintāmuni, 1, p. 531.

The first two lines are also found quoted in Caturvarga-ciotămani, H. i, p. 22 (with v. l. 'sauram eva ca' for 'vangavam tathâ' and 'yat' for 'ca').

¹¹ See Hazra, Purănie Records, p. 55.

Durgotsava-viveka Śūlapāṇi quotes two verses, viz., 'upavāsam mahāstamyām' and 'upavāsam tu tasyām vai', and points out that the second verse was known to Śrikara. 417 Of these two verses the first is the same as verse 16b-17a of chap, 63 of the present Kālikā-p., but the second, which is not found in the present Kālikā, is one of the ten verses quoted by Raghunandana in his Durgă-pūjā-tattva (pp. 8-9) from a 'dusprāpa-kālikāpurān-āntara'. Hence Śrikara,411 who knew the second verse, must have been acquainted with the earlier Kālikā-p., which, therefore, must be dated not later than 800 A.D. We have already said that the group of eighteen Upapuranas was formed approximately between 650 and 800 A.D., 510 and as all the lists of eighteen Upapurāņas contain the name of a 'Kālikā', or 'Kāli-p.,' the earlier Kälikä-p, should be dated not later than 700 A.D., because the Purāṇic works generally take a fairly long time to attain a state of authority. It is highly probable that this work was composed sometime during the seventh century A.D.

This fairly early origin and the non-Tantric character of the earlier Kālikā-p. show that it was certainly composed by the Smarta Brahmin sectaries, and most probably by the Smārta Śāktas, with its rituals rendered free from Tantric elements. 220 But in course of time serious changes came

un Durgottava-viveka, p. 17-

yasmin dine mahāṣṭaṇi-pūjā tasmin diņa evopavāso na tu samdhi-pūjā-tine, astamitven-opavārs-vidhānāt / jyeştha-putravato grhasihasya tannijedhato āha kālikāpurapaut-

upavāsasp mahāstamyāto putravān na samācaret / yathā tathaiya pūtātmā vratī deviņt prapūjayet // putravān jyenha-putravān / tatraiva-

upavāsaņi tu tasyām vai mahāpātaka-nāšanam! grhină na tu kartavyanı jyeştha-putravată sadă //

^{....} atra kāli-purāņīya-vacanottarārdhe putravata upavāsetara-havisyānnādinā pūjā-vidhānāt tasya pūjūnga-maltāstamī-nimittak-opavāsasya misciho na tu pratimāsakartavy-astami-nimittak-opavasa-nisedha izi irikarah (v. 1. Widattah) for 'irikarah'; Dacen Univ. Mis have 'prikarah').

¹¹³ According to P. V. Kane, Scikara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably flourished in the ninth century'. Kane, History of Dharmafastra, I, p. 268.

¹⁴⁵ See Vol. I, Chap. 1 (p. 15).

¹³⁰ For a discussion on the Puranas in the second stage of their development, see Hazra, Purănic Records, pp. 215-222.

over the Hindu society with the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, in spite of its great authority in the eyes of the comparatively early authors who had no regard for Tantricism, it could not hold ground very long among the people as it failed to satisfy their fresh needs, especially ritualistic, created by the spread of Tantricism. Consequently, it was replaced by the present Kālikā-p. which abounds in Tantric elements; and Bengal, which is adjacent to Assam, being a hot bed of Tantricism from fairly early days, the present Kālikā-p. had been accepted here first of all⁵²¹ before it came to be regarded as authoritative by the Smṛti-writers of other provinces where the hold of the Brahmanical religion, at least upon the Smṛti-writers, did not become loose as early as in Bengal.

Though, as we have seen above, the earlier Kālikā-p. laid claim to the position of a 'Purāṇa', and more, to the status of the 'original Bhāgavata', 522 and this claim was also supported by a section of people, 523 it has not only been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas but has been classed among the secondary Purāṇas or expressly called an 'Upapurāṇa' by such noted Smṛti-writers as Lakṣmidhara (author of the Kṛṭya-kalpataru), 524 Vallāla-

It is to be noted that of the Maithila Smpti-writers down to the end of the fifteenth century A.D., if not later, it is only Vidyāpani who is found to have known the present Kālikā-p, and to have used it only in his Durgā-bhakti-tarangini and not in any other work. We have already stated that in writing this Nibandha Vidyāpati was influenced by the Smuti-writers of Bengal.

¹²² See footnote 515 above.

on Cf. the verse

^{&#}x27;idagavatyāi ca durgāyāi caritam yatra vartate /

occurring in the Uttaca-khanda (chap. 23) which claims to belong to the Bengal Siva-p'. (For further information on this years see foomotes 194 and 420 above.)

That the above verse points to the Kälikā-p. is shown by the line '... bhagavatyā idam bhāga-vatam iti kālikā-purāmm bhāga-vata-padenoktam iti ye vadanti...' occurring in Nityācāra-pradipa, p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ See Kraya-kalpataru, I, p. 30-

aitādalabhyas in prihak purāņam yat in dršyate /

vijanldhvarn muni-iresthär tad etchhyo vinirgatam / /

viningatum udbhütam / yathā kālikāpurānādi /

This passage has been quoted, under the name of 'Laksmidhara', in Narasindra Vājapeyin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 10.

sena, 506 Caṇḍeśvara 506 and Narasimha Vājapeyin. 507 Saiva Nīlakaṇṭha also calls it an 'Upapurāṇa'. 500

From what has been said above it is clear that the present Kālikā-p, is a work quite different from the earlier Kālikā-p., ⁵²⁹ that it was unknown in Bengal in Vallālasena's time, and that in the western and southern parts of India it became known only from the end of the sixteenth century A.D.

We shall now try to determine the date of the present Kālikā-p.

The extant Kālikā not only knows the rāśis and week-days and the 'ten forms' of Viṣṇu, of which the 'Matsya', 'Kūrma' and 'Varāha' have been dealt with elaborately in chaps. 25-35, but is remarkably indebted, for many of its ideas and expressions, to Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava and Māgha's Šiśupāla-vadha⁵³³ and most probably to the Devi-p, also.⁵³⁴ Hence the date of the present Kālikā-p.

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Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 130)—

uktāny upapurānāni vyakta-dāna-vidhlnī ca /

ādyam purānam šābam ca kālikāhvayam eva ca //

etc.

sa Kṛṭyn-ramākara, pp. 31-2—

mataya-purāne—

aajādšābhyas tu pṛṭhak purānam yat tu dṛṣyate /

vijānādhvam dvija-ireghās tad etchhyo vlnirgatam //

vinirgatam udbhūtam yathā kālikā-purānādi /

ta Nītyācāra-pradīpa, p. 18.
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See Šaiva Nilakautha's com, on the Devi-hhāgavata, p. 3a— . . . devīpurāņakālikāpurāņasor upapurānatvasya nileitatvāt /

As none of the verses quoted by Nanyadeva, Lakimbiliara, Apararka, Vallalasena and others from the earlier Kālikā-p. is found in our present Kālikā, it is extremely hazardous to say that the present Kālikā has retained chapters or verses from the earlier one, or that the present Kālikā is the result of a revision to which the earlier one was subjected.

100 K5lika-p. 20, 130; 51, 25; 62, 6; 63,2 and 7; and 10 on.

115 Ibid., 90, 47 and 49.

161 fbid., 34. 30 (yasya te daiadhā mūrtih ...).

¹⁰⁸ See V. Raghavan's article entitled 'The Kālikā-purāṇa, Kālidāsa and Māgha' in Woodner Commemoration Volume (edited by Mohammad Shafi and published by Mehar Chand Lachiman Das, Lahore, 1940), pp. 191-5. See also Raghavan in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, 1938, pp. 332 and 337.

For instance,

Devi-p. Katika-p. 22, 7-84 = 62, 50-6. which, as we have already seen, was composed either in Kāmarūpa or in that part of Bengal which was very near to it, cannot be placed before 750 A.D.

Again, by his mention that the 'Kālikā-p.' contained the story of Kālikā's manifestation in Kātvāvana's hermitage as a result of the latter's curse on Mahisa who fascinated a disciple of Kātyāyana by taking the form of a female,535 Saiva Nīlakantha, the commentator of the Devi-bhagavata, points definitely to Kālikā-p. 62. 95f.; Anantabhatta quotes verses from chap. 91 in his Vidhāna-pārijāta (Vol. I), Kamalākara-bhatta from chaps, 57, 60, 62, 63, 69, 71, 73, 86 and 91 in his Nirnaya-sindhu, Mitra-miśra from chaps. 57, 59, 80, 91 and 92 in his Viramitrodaya, Gadadhara from chap, 69 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps, 54, 57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69, 71-74, 83, 86, 90 and 91 in his Smrtitattva and from chaps, 54, 57, 60-63, 69, 71-74 and 91 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Krspānanda Āgamavāgīša from chaps. 57 and 71 in his Tantra-sāra, Govindānanda from chaps. 57 and 73 in his Dāna-kaumudī, from chaps. 57, 60, 62 and 73 in his Suddhi-kaumudī, from chaps. 57, 71 and 73 in his Śrāddha-kaumudī, and from chaps. 55-57, 59-63, 66, 67, 69-75, 77, 83, 84, 86 and 89 in his Varsa-kaumudī, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaņi from chaps. 57, 60, 63 and 71 in his Kṛtya-tattvārṇava and from chaps, 60 and 63 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Vidyāpati from chaps. 57, 59-63, 69, 71, 73 and 74 in his Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, and Šūlapāni from chaps. 61-63, 69, 71 and 73 in his Durgotsava-viveka and from chap. 91 in his Rāsa-yātrā-viveka; and the Brhaddharma-p., by

> Devi-p. Kälikä-p. 65, 65f. = 89, 48f. 66, 13f. = 89, 60f. Chap. 67 = 89, 73f. 93, 1046-105 = 60, 31-32a. April so on.

See Saiva Nilakannha's com. on Devi-bhāgavata V. B. 34-37—ayam cāvatārah purāuāntara-prasiddhe kātyāyanāirame kāryāyana-figyam atri-rūpena muhayantam dratvā kāryāyanah atri tvām haniyyathi sapuavān ni tad-āirame eva rūpa-dhārauam id kālikā-purāne spantam.

For information about this Saiva Nilakantha, who was quite different from Nilakantha, the Brahmin scholar of Mahārāṣṭra, who wrote his cour, on the Mahābhāṛata at Benares in the last quarter of the 17th century, see footnote 779 below.

its mention of the 'Kāli-p.' as dealing elaborately with the greatest holy place created on the bank of the Brahma-nada by the fall of the female organ of Satī, and refers definitely to the present Kālikā-p. Hence the present Kālikā-p. must be dated earlier than 1200 A.D. are If a period of at least one hundred years be allowed for its attaining the position of a genuine and authoritative Purāṇa so that it could be recognised as such by Vidyāpati, Śūlapāṇi and the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. even without a shade of doubt, then the present Kālikā-p. must be dated not later than 1100 A.D. The large proportion of Tantric elements in its rituals, as compared with those contained in the other Purāṇas, tends to show that the present Kālikā-p. is a work of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.D. as

K. L. Barua felt inclined to 'tentatively assign this work to the eleventh century' 'when the capital was in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgjyotiṣapura and the shrine of Kāmākshyā and when Tantrikism was the prevailing tenet.' In the name 'Dharmapāla' given to the sword in the mantra

"asir viśasanaḥ khadgas tīkṣṇa-dhāro durāsadaḥ/ śrīgarvo (?śrīgarbho) vijayaś caiva dharmapāla namo' stu te/" in Kālikā-p. 57.17, he discovered a possible 'reference to king Dharmapāla of the Brahmapāla dynasty' and found reason

Bibl. Ind. ed., Madhya-kh., chap. 40, venes 37-38)—

tîrtha-cûdâmanîs tatra yatra yonîh papâta ha / tîre brahma-nadâkhyaya mabûyoga-sthalam hi tat // kâli-purâne vijîeyam mune vivaranam tatah /

mahatmyam tasya deimya vianur janati naparah //
According to Jogesh Chandra Roy the Brhaddharmu-p, was composed sometime after the 13th century A.D. [See J. C. Roy in Bharatavarja (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677]. But it is highly probable that this Puranic work was composed in the latter hulf of the thirteenth century A.D. (See Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, VI, 1955, pp. 245-263; also the section on 'Brhaddharma-p.' in Chap. II below).

¹³⁷ Famultar's view that the present Kālikā-p, 'probably comes from a date near the beginning of the period' 1350-1800 A.D., it obviously wrong. See J. N. Famultar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 354.

¹²⁸ Jogesh Chandra Roy also assigns thin Kälikä-p, to the tenth century A.D. See Bhāratavarsa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part II, p. 677.

¹⁸ K. L. Barua, Early History of Kamarupa, p. 163.

'to suppose that the Kālikā-purāṇa was compiled during his reign and perhaps under his auspices'. This view of Barua was followed by Tirthanath Sarma who tried to strengthen it with 'certain internal evidences of the Purāṇa itself' and was definitely of opinion that this work was compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. As it has not been possible for us to agree with Barua and Sarma as regards the period of composition of this work, we examine critically in the following pages the evidences adduced by these two scholars in support of their views.

According to Barua, the position of the capital of Kāmarūpa in the neighbourhood of the old city of Prāgiyotisapura and the shrine of Kāmākhyā and the prevalence of Tantricism there, as known from the Kālikā-p., point to the 'eleventh century' as the period of composition of this work. But these arguments are indecisive, because Barua himself says, on the authority of inscriptional evidence, that 'about the end of the tenth century' 'the capital was transferred to Śrīdurjayā by Brahmapāla' who reigned approximately between 985 and 1000 A.D. and because the mention of king Indrapāla's erudition in the various branches of learning including 'Tantra's does not prove that Tantricism was unknown in Kāmarūpa before Indrapāla's time, which falls between eirea 1030 and 1055 A.D. On the other hand, the mention of 'Tantra' in both the inscriptions of Indrapāla shows that Tantricism attained popularity in Kāmarūpa to such an extent that even the king himself came to be influenced by it. So, the spread of Tantricism in Kamarupa must have begun much earlier than Indrapala's time.

The verse 'asîr viśasanalı khadgalı etc.', in which both Barua and Sarma found a covert allusion to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa, has an earlier history which goes very

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 164.

⁴⁴¹ IHQ, XXIII, 1947, pp. 322-6.

¹⁴² See verse 16 of the Gauhati and Guakuchi copper-plate inscriptions of Indrapalia-varma-deva. This verse runs as follows:

novistytänäm pada-väkya-tarkka-tantra-praväli-kiitarasvininäm / yah sarvva-vidyä-saritäm agädham astat-naimagusi ta gatsi ta päram // Padmanätha Bhattatärya, Kāmarūpa-tāsanāvali, pp. 121 and 136.

seriously against the views of these two scholars. Going to speak on dauda which forms the basis of royal power, Bhişma mentions, in Mahābhārata XII. 121, its different forms and names (including 'asi' and 'dharmapāla') in a number of verses including the following:

"asir višasano dharmas tīkṣṇa-varmā durādharaḥ / śrīgarbho vijayaḥ śāstā vyavahāraḥ sanātanaḥ // śāstraṃ brāhmaṇa-mantrāś ca śāstā prāgvadatāṃ varaḥ/ dharmapālo 'kṣaro devaḥ satyago nityago 'grajaḥ // asaṅgo rudra-tanayo manur jyeṣṭhaḥ śivaṃkaraḥ / nāmāny etāni daṇḍasya kirtitāni yudhiṣṭhira //"²⁴⁰

In his Kṛtya-ratnākara Caṇḍeśvara quotes from an 'Āgamāntara' a large number of verses including the following four on the worship of a sword (khaḍga-pūjā) in human sacrifice:

''asir višasanah khadgas tiksna-dhāro durāsadah / šrīgarbho vijayaš caiva dharmādhāras (v.l. 'dharmapālas' in one Ms^{att}) tathaiva ca //

ity astau tava nămăni svayam uktăni vedhasă /
naksatram krttikă tubhyam gurur devo maheśvarah //
hiranyam ca śariram te daivatam tu janărdanah /
pitā pitāmaho devas tvam mām pālaya sarvadā //
iyam yena dhṛtā kṣauṇi hataś ca mahiṣāsuraḥ /

ha Mbh XII. 121. 20-22 (—Posna critical ed., venes 19-21 with v.l. 'tikana-vartma' for 'tikana-vartma', 'prajagarah' for 'sanatanah', '-mantral ca sasta prag-vacanam gasah' for '-mantral ca etc.', 'nityago grabah' for 'manur jyenhah', and 'manu-jyenhah' for 'manur jyenhah').

¹⁴ See Kriva-ratnākara, p. 353, footnote 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 353.

and This work has been printed at the Uttara-parvan of the Verikat, ed. of the

¹⁰⁷ Hazra, Purânic Records, pp. 134-140, and S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, I. pp. 162-4. See also De in JRAS, 1923, pp. 537-549; and P. V. Kane, History of Diarmasilatra, I. p. 172, and History of Sanskin Poetics, pp. 11-V.

derived from the Visnudharmottara a large number of chapters including the three verses mentioned above but reads 'dharmapāla-1948 for 'dharmācāra-'. In his Krtyatattva²¹⁸ Raghunandana anonymously quotes five verses including the above-mentioned four quoted by Candesvara from an 'Agamantara' but reads 'dharmapāla namo 'stu te' for 'dharmādhāras tathaiva ca' (or 'dharmapālas tathaiva ca2). That neither Candesvara nor Raghunandana derived the said verses from the Kālikā-p, is shown by the facts that neither Candeśvara nor Raghunandana names the Kälikä-p. as the source of these verses and that only the first of these verses is found to occur in this Purana. So, it is sure that Candeśvara and Raghunandana derived these verses from some famous 'Agama', which must have been utilised in the Kālikā-p. also. Now, the occurrence of the reading 'dharmapāla-' in the Mahābhārata, Agni-p. and other works shows that the verse 'asir visasanah khadgah etc.', now found in the Kālikā-p., came to have this reading much earlier than the eleventh century A.D. It is highly probable that the Visnudharmottara also had this reading in some of its manuscripts and that both the Agni-p. and the Kālikā-p. derived it from the Visnudharmottara, which, as we have already said, was sufficiently known to these two works. So, this reading can by no means be said to contain a reference to king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa. It should be mentioned here that the part of the Santi-parvan of the Mahabharata in which the said verses containing the reading 'dharmapālah' occur, can by no means be dated later than the fourth century A.D., and that the Visnudharmottara, which preceded the Agni-p. by a fairly long time, was composed in Kashmir between 400 and 500 A.D. 556 So, the mention of the name of this work in the Kālikā-p, cannot be utilised to place the date of the latter work after the ninth century A.D.

It is true that in the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa there is no mention of the goddess Kāmākhyā or her shrine on

^{***} See Agni-p. 269, 30b-31. Also Anand\(\) Anand\(\) Arand\(\) Arand\(

⁵⁰⁰ See Smrti-tattva (ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), 11, pp. 467-8.

the Nilakūta hill; but this silence cannot be taken to indicate that the Kâlikā-p., which deals mainly with this goddess and her shrine on the said hill, was compiled at a date posterior to those of the inscriptions. The Devi-p., which, as we have already seen, cannot be dated later than the seventh century A.D., once says that 'the son of Bhauma worshipped Devi in the cave of the Kāmākhya [hill];'381 at another place this Purana speaks of the prevalence of the eight Vidyās at different places including Varendra, Rāḍhā, Bhotta-deśa, and the Kāmākhva hillsas; and on a third occasion it names the different places, including 'Kāmarūpa', in which Devi always remains in different forms. 684 These statements about the worship of Devi on the 'Kāmākhya' hill in 'Kamarupa' are perhaps sufficient to show that the worship of Kāmākhyā became prevalent in Kāmarūpa much earlier than the seventh century A.D. So, the absence of mention of this deity in the two copper-plate grants which Dharmpāla had inscribed in circa 1092 and 1110 A.D., cannot be made the basis of the statement that the Kālika-p. was compiled, after these inscriptions, during the reign of Dharmapāla, who ruled approximately between 1090 and 1115 A.D.

According to both the inscriptions of Indrapāla (who ruled approximately between 1030 and 1055 A.D.), the river Lauhitya was so named because its waters were coloured red by the thick blood washed off from (Jāmadagnya) Rāma's battle-axe which severed the heads of kings⁵⁵¹; and

*** See Vol. I, pp. 205-216.

*** Thid., 39, 144

mahodare varendre ca rādhāyām košale pure / bhotta-dele sa-kāmākhyr kiskindhye ca nagotiame / /

10 Ibid., 42. 86-9a-

kāmarūpe tathā kāneyām campāyām atha vaidiše / varendre coņķijyāne tā manākṣe līkhāre tathā //

yad väri räma-paraior nppa-kantha-kändalävesya dhaum-ghana-lohim-parikam äalt / lauhitya ity adhipatih saritäm sa esa

brahmänga-bhür onudasu vah kali-kalmaşüni //

Padmanātha Bhottācārya, Kāmarūga-tāmnāvali, pp. 117 und 133. For the enery of Rāma Jāmadagnya's washing of his blood-stained battle-axe in a

su See Devi-p. 39. 6b-yajed bhaumārmajo devim kāmākhye giri-kandare.

this explanation differs remarkably from that given in the Kālikā-p, which derives the name of the river from the lake 'Lohita' through which it is said to have passed on its way from the Brahma-kunda.600 But this difference between the inscriptions and the Kālikā-p, cannot be used to place the date of the latter after the time of Indrapala, because the entire portion of the Kālikā-p. from 84.28b to 86.39a, which begins with the description of a devastating flood in Kāmarūpa caused by the river Lauhitya, is undoubtedly spurious.538 Moreover, the Kālikā-p. itself says that it was kept concealed in Kāmarūpa until it was known to the sages.657 As a matter of fact, not a single Purāņa has been found to attain a state of authority immediately after its compilation. So, if the Kālikā-p. preceded the inscriptions by fifty years or so, it was very natural for the composers of these inscriptions to be ignorant of the Purana or to overlook its story.

In Kālikā-p., chap. 82 there is 'a passing notice of a city near a hill called Durjaya with a shrine of Bhairava' on it. In the same chapter there is also the mention that this shrine had an image of 'Bhairava sprung from the middle

body pool (kunda) lying 'inside a cave in the east' and the rushing out of the water of this pool after 'gathering management' in course of time and in flowing into the salt-ocean as the river Laubitya through a channel created by bodf, see Padma-p., Supi-khanda, 52. 176-56. In the earlier part of this story is is mated that Laubitya was born of Santanu's wife Amoghā as a result of Santanu's drinking of Brahmā's energy discharged on a seat in Santanu's cottage at the right of Amoghā and that Laubitya was delivered by his mother in Yugamathara (mountain) as a shining mass of pure water having inside it an effulgent male wearing blue clothes, a crown, and a string of gents. There can be little doubt about the fact that this story is made up of that given in the Kalikā-p. and another referred to in Indrapāla's inscription mentioned above.

It should be mentiourd here that the part of the Padma-p., Sṛṣṇi-khaṇḍa, from chap. 43, verse 100 to chap. 82, verse 45 (with which the Sṛṣṇi-khaṇḍa ends) is constituted of the Dharma-p., an independent Purāṇic work composed in Kāmarūpa sometime between 1250 and 1325 A.D. (This Purāṇa will be examined in details in unother Volume of the present work).

на Кайка-р. 86, 295-33а,

For the reasons for our taking this part of the Kälikä-p, as spurious see below.
*** Kälikä-p. 93. 30b-32a—

adhitato ca śrutan matto vanighena mahātmanā / idam purāņam amījam kālikāhvayam uitamam // tena guptam idam sarvan kāmarūpe surālaye / tad idānīm samākhyātam vyakilkītya maharasyaḥ //

part of the body of Sarabha, a form assumed by Siva', and that the image was to be worshipped with the rites enjoined for the worship of Kāmeśvara558. Another image of Mahābhairava has been mentioned in chap. 64 as situated in the temple of Bhuyaneśvari (also called Mahāgauri) on the top of the Kāmākhyā hill and sprung from the middle part of the body of Mahadeva in his Sarabha formsso. Tirthanath Sarma takes the former image of Bhairava to be the same as, or at least a prototype of, the latter and says: "It may be that when Durjaya was abandoned for some reason or other by Dharmāpāla, Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara were brought to the top of the Kamakhya hill and installed there, or the pīțha and the Bhairava installed there had their prototype at Durjayā. In any case Durjayā and her presiding deity lost their former glory during the time when the Kālikāpurana was compiled. 13600 Against this conclusion of Sarma it may be said that the city to the east of the Durjaya hill has been expressly named in the Kālikā-p. as 'Varāsana' (and not as Durjayā).541 If the Kālikā-p. was written after the capital of Kāmarūpa had been transferred from the city of Durjaya, there is no reason why this city should not be called by its popular name 'Durjaya' which is found to occur as late as in the Gauhati inscription of Indrapala, the greatgrandson of Brahmapāla. These is also no evidence to show that with the shifting of the capital from the city of Durjaya its name also was changed. It is, therefore, more probable that the Kālikā-p, had been written before the city of Durjayā was established by Brahmapāla or at least before Brahmapāla's new capital was named as such by his son Ratnapāla. It may be that when Brahmapala transferred his capital to the new city near the Durjaya hill, he named it as 'Varāsana', which literally means 'the best seat (of the government).' It is also not impossible that near the Durjaya hill

⁴¹ Ibid., 62, 155-158a.

In Ibid., 64, 115-120.

¹¹¹Q, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.

¹⁴¹ See Kälika-p. 82, 159b-

durjayākhyasya pērvasyām puram nāma varāsanam.

there was already a city named Varāsana, to which Brahmapāla transferred his capital for its advantageous position.

Sarma refers to a tradition, current among the Basatta-riya Brahmin families of lower Assam, 'that their ancestors were settled by Dharmapāla with land grants' for conducting the worship of Kāmākhyā. But this tradition, which merely testifies to the establishment of a few Brahmin families for a definite purpose, does not prove that it was Dharmapāla who first introduced the worship of the goddess Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa and established her temple and image on the Kāmākhyā hill. 'The statements of the Devi-p. that 'the son of Bhauma worshipped Devi in the cave of the Kāmākhya [hill]', that the eight Vidyās prevailed at different places including this hill, and that Devī always remains at Kāmarūpa and several other places in particular forms, show that the worship of Devī on the Kāmākhya hill had begun much earlier than the time of Dharmapāla.

Chap. 29 of the Kālikā-p. is devoted to the praise of . 'Dharma' (sacred law), and in this chapter Tirthanath Sarma not only detects 'frequent slesa on the word Dharma' but finds out a number of passages which, in his opinion, 'bear a close comparison with a few in the inscriptions of Dharmapāla'.642 As to the praise of 'Dharma' in chap. 29 it may be said that it is nothing new with the Kālikā-p. The inscriptions and the comparatively early works of Kāmarūpa show that preservation of 'Dharma' (i.e., varņāśrama-dharma) there became a matter of great concern with the kings at least from the time of Bhaskara-varman. In the Nidhanpur inscription of this king there are mention and praise of 'Dharma' on several occasions, and there is no doubt that the word 'dharma' has been used in this inscription to mean 'varṇāśrama-dharma', which also has been mentioned expressly on one occasion; in the Tejpur inscription of Vanamåla-varma-deva, Harjara-varman has been said to be 'Yudhisthira' (and not the 'Buddha') in discourses on Dharma (dharmma-pravadesu yudhisthiro

¹¹¹Q, XXIII, 1947, p. 324.

¹⁰⁰ Roll, XXIII, 1947, p. 325.

yah)364; according to his Gauhati inscription Indrapalavarma-deva rendered the Earth 'samyag-vibhakta-caturāsrama-varnna-dharmma' (such as had the duties of the four castes and stages of life properly divided);565 in the Guakuchi inscription of Indrapāla-varma-deva a village of Brahmins in Săvathi has been compared to a fort in which Dharma, being afraid of Adharma, took shelter in the Kali age 1641; in the same inscription Indrapāla has been given thirty-two names including the two, namely, 'Kalikāla-jaladhi-nimajjadvasundhar-ādivarāha' and 'Dharmma-virodhi-vartmabhiru'667; in his Śubhańkara-pāṭaka inscription Dharmapāla has been called 'dharmma-para'588; and in his Puspabhadra inscription this king has been said to be 'dharmmaika-dattahrdaya' (one who has given his heart solely to dharma) and an appeal has been made by him to future kings not to be led astray by the freak of royal fortune and forsake 'Dharma' which yields permanent pleasure (tyajyah kadacid api nitya-sukho na dharmmah), 589 In the latter half of the thirteenth or the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. a minor Purana, called Dharma-p., was composed in Kāmarūpa to popularise the varņāśrama-dharma which suffered a serious set back under the rule of the Mieccha dynasty, and this work inspired the composition of the Brhad-dharma-p, in Bengal for the same purpose. So, by praising 'Dharma' in chap, 29 the Kālikā-p. did nothing new nor did it culogise king Dharmapāla in a covert way, but it simply followed the old tradition which began perhaps much earlier than Bhāskara-varman. As a matter of fact, the local population of Kāmarūpa and its surroundings consisted much of non-Aryan tribesmen following Kāpālika Saivism and other faiths which discouraged the practice of varņāśrama-dharma. So, the preservation of Dharma could not but be a hard task for the kings of Kāmarūpa.

Mi Padmunātka Bhapācārya, Kāmarūpa-iāmnāvalī, p. 60, verse 12.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 121, vene 18, ²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 137, vene 20.

ser feid., pp. 139-140 (lines 64-65 and 69).

¹⁰⁰ feet p. 153, verse 12.

ton Ibid., p. 173, verses 6-7.

As regards the passages which Sarma found parallel between the Kālikā-p, and the inscriptions of Dharmapāla it may be said that the parallelism is very often negligible and points almost unmistakably to the independent character of the Kālikā-p.

From our examination of the evidences adduced by Barua and Sarma in support of their views we see that there is practically no reason for taking the Kālikā-p. to be a work compiled during the reign of Dharmapāla. On the other hand, as we have already seen, there are evidences which indicate that it was composed earlier, during the tenth, or at least not later than the first half of the eleventh century A.D. According to Jogesh Chandra Roy it is a work of the tenth century. 570

On the basis of the claim made in the colophon of a Ms of a 'Kālī-purāņa'571 that it belongs to the Mahākālasamhită of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, D. C. Sircar says: "The Kālikā Purāņa, quoted by Nānyadea (c. 1097-1133 A. D.) in his Bharatabhāsya and by Aparārka (c. 1115-40 A. D.) and Ballalasena (c. 1159-85 A. D.), seems to have been originally incorporated in the Rudrayamala Tantra;..... Some sections may, however, have been later added to the original Purāna.17272 Thus, Sircar feels inclined to believe that the Kālikā-p. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka and Vallālasena originally belonged to the Rudrayāmala-tantra, and that the present Kālikā-p. (to which he refers for the names of the Sakta Pithas) is the same as the earlier one with some additional sections of later dates. As 'the Rudrayāmala is mentioned in the Brahmayāmala, a manuscript of which was copied in 1052 A.D.' 579 Sirear agrees with P. K. Gode in placing the date of the present Kălikā-p. earlier than 1000 A. D. 874 It is hardly necessary to say that these views of Sircar do not stand scrutiny. There are a

Pi See Bhāratavarsa (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677.

No. 3753). See also footnote 421 above.

²⁷³ See JASB, XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 12, footnote 5, 274 [bid., XIV, 1948, Letters No. 1, p. 17, footnote 4.

ars Hid., XIV, 1946, Letters No. 1, p. 17, footnote 5,

number of facts which go very seriously against them. These facts are as follows:

(i) Many Mss of the present Kālikā-p. have been discovered in different parts of India up to the present time, but we know of no second Ms which contains a colophon in which this Purāṇa has been attached to the Rudra-yāmala or any other Tantric or non-tantric work; nor is there any Ms of the Rudra-yāmala which comprises the text of the present Kālikā-p. partly or wholly. There is also no indication anywhere in the text of the present Kālikā-p. (as found in the printed editions and the Mss hitherto discovered) that this Purāṇa belonged to the Rudra-yāmala-tantra or any other work. So, the above-mentioned claim, made only in the final colophon (and not in the chapter-colophons or the body of the text) of the said single Ms is perfectly unreliable and had clearly its origin at a later date from some individual's personal view.

(ii) All the available Mss of the Rudra-yāmala show that this work is divided into Paṭalas and not into Samhitās. It does not say anywhere that it consisted of Samhitās at any time. So, the Mahākāla-samhitā, to which the 'Kālī-p.' is attached, must have been an independent work of comparatively late origin deriving authority from the Rudra-yāmala.

(iii) By claiming to belong to the Rudra-yâmala-tantra the said 'Kālī-p.' gives itself out to be a Tantric work, and this character of this Purāṇa is quite evident from the fact that its incomplete text is practically the same as that of the present Kālīkā-p. extending from a part of verse 10 of chap. 4 to verse 79 of chap. 62, which is full of Tantricism. On the other hand, as we have already seen, the earlier Kālīkā-p., known to and drawn upon by Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallā-lasena and many others, had little or no Tantric element.

(iv) The earlier Kālikā-p., as we have already seen, had several groups of interlocutors including Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda, Sanaka, Sanatkumāra and Kāvyakūta (?), and Sūrya and his devotee, of whom the first two appear to have been the most important. But the present Kālikā-p. makes no mention of any of these persons. Moreover, none of

the numerous references to or quotations from the 'Kālikā-p.' in the works of Nānyadeva, Aparārka, Vallālascna, Hemādri, and several others (mentioned above) is traceable in the present Kālikā-p.

(v) From an examination of the verses ascribed to the 'Kālikā-p.' by Nānyadeva and others we have seen that in the earlier Kālikā-p. Kālikā was associated with Śiva who was given a prominent place and called the highest deity; but in the present Kālikā-p. this goodess has been connected with Viṣṇu by identifying her with the latter's yoga-nidrā or māyā.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Kālikā-p. known to and utilised by Nānyadeva, Aparārka and others was perfectly different from the present Kālikā and had nothing common with the latter, that neither the earlier Kālikā-p. (which had little or nothing to do with Tantricism) nor the present one ever formed a part of the Rudra-yāmala-tantra, and that Nānyadeva and others' quotations from the 'Kālikā-p.' and the association of the present Kālikā with the Rudra-yāmala-tantra in only the final colophon of a single Ms, cannot be used to push up the date of the present Kālikā-p.

In spite of the numerous digressions which often create serious interruptions in the main topics, the present Kālikā-p. is generally a unified work. The general integrity of its contents is established not only by their close interrelation but also by the absence of any irrelevance or incongruity in the stories, by the frequent cross-references to different topics dealt with in this Purāṇa, and by the use of the word 'nacira' (for 'acira') throughout the whole work. Hence the above date of the Purāṇa can be taken to be that of the entire work, especially except the verses from 84.28b to 86.39a, which must be taken as spurious for the following reasons:

^{46.)-28; 30.1} refers to 27.28ff.; 32.1-4 refers to chaps. 2; 25. 2-3 refer to chaps. 25 (verses 46.)-28; 30.1 refers to 27.28ff.; 32.1-4 refers to chaps. 32 (verses 5ff.)-36; 35.44 refers to 26.54-55; and so on.

ars See Kalika-p. 33, 30; 39, 134; 59, 61, 73, 75, etc.; 57, 104.

The word 'nation', which is used in the form 'nationa' or 'nation', access to have been a very favourite one to the author of the present Kālikā-p.

(i) Nowhere in the Kālikā-p., except in the part referred to above, there is any mention of any flood in Kāmarūpa or of any difficulty in finding out the sacred pools and rivers of that place.

(ii) Kālikā-p. 86.39b-41a, which mention the stories already narrated, totally ignore the highly interesting stories of the river Lauhitya and Rāma Jāmadagnya, although these two verses come immediately after these stories.

Besides the verses mentioned above, there may be some others here and there which were interpolated later, but

these are not many and important.

Though the present Kālikā-p. is a late work, attempts have been made in it for giving it a garb of antiquity. It is said that the topics dealt with in this Purana were handed down from Brahmā through Nārada, Bālakhilyas, Yavakrīta and Asita successively until these reached Markandeya, the narrator of this Purāṇa,577 and that Vasiṣṭha, who had read and heard this 'Kālikā-p.' from Mārkandeya, concealed it in Kāmarūpa, 'the land of gods', until it was revealed by Markandeya to the sages. 578

In spite of the fact that the present Kālikā-p. very often calls itself 'Purāna'639 but never 'Upapurāņa', it contains very little of 'vamsanucarita's and nothing of 'vamsa' and 'manvantara'. On the other hand, it not only contains various interesting myths and legends, and important materials for the study of Sakta iconography, the names and position of mountains, rivers and holy places chiefly of Kāmarūpa, and the like, but gives us valuable information regarding the literature known to it. It has already been said that the Kālikā-p. has utilised Kālidāsa's Kumāra-saṃbhava, Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha, and most probably the Devi-p. It has derived verses from other earlier works also. For

ит Кайка-р. 1, 16-16.

на Клика-р. 99. 30-32. 178 See Kalika-p. 1, 3; 91, 72; 93, 28, 31, 34 and 35; and so on. Sec also the chapter-

⁴⁴⁴ It gives only the account of Noraka and his descendants.

³¹¹ Such as those of the hirth and exploits of Karna and the Maras, of the birth of Arundhati and her marriage with Vasistha, of the birth and exploits of Naraka, and so on,

instance, in chap, 61 this work has a large number of verses which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 260; the verses 'antya-pādo divā-bhāge', 'bhaga-ling-ābhidhānais ça', 'parair nāksipyate yas tu', and 'antya-pādo niśā-bhāge', which are ascribed to Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 514-5, are the same as Kālikā-p. 63. 18b-19a, 21b-23a, and 24b-25a; the verses 'saptamyam patrikā-pūjā' and 'sampresaņam dašamyām ca', which have been ascribed to the 'Linga-p.' in Kālaviveka, p. 512 and Śrīnātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Kṛtya-tattvārṇava, fol. 60a, are the same as Kālikā-p. 62.19-20; the verse 'kanyāyām kṛṣṇa-pakṣe tu', which is ascribed to the Bhagavati-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511, to the Devi-p. in Śrinātha's Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 43-44, and to the 'Linga-p.' in Śūlapāni's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 5 and Raghunandana's Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 74 and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 4, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62.17; the verse 'sukla-pakse caturthyām tu', which is ascribed to the Bhagavatī-p. in Kālaviveka, p. 511 and to the 'Linga-p.' in Śrinātha's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 43 and Krtya-tattvārņava, fol. 60a, is the same as Kālikā-p. 62. 18; and so on. The present Kālikā-p, recognises the Agamas, Purāņas and Samhitās as sources of sadācāra500 and mentions a Nīti-śāstra ascribed to Brahmā, 585 Dharmaśāstras ascribed to Dakṣassa and Svayambhū, sas Rājanītiśāstras of Uśanas and Brhaspati, *** the Nārada-pañcarātra*** (?), the Visuudharmottara spoken out by Markandeya, sea and a work called Sivamrta, of 18 Patalas, which Bhairava compiled on the basis of the instructions he had received from Siva and which dealt with the procedure of the worship

am Kālikā-p. 88. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 20, 42-43,

^{***} Ibid., 20. 51. 346 Ibid., 1. 8.

²⁰⁰ Rid., 87, 99 and 130,

ter Ibid., 83, 141-

pañcacătrodite bhāge năradena yathoduāli / mantrāš cakra-gadādīnām grāhyāh sarvatra pūjane //

tes Hid., 91.70, and 92.1-2. Cf. also Kalika-p. 1.4-9.

The 'Visuadharmottara', mentioned in the Kālikā-p., is undoubtedly the same at the extant Vinnudharmottara which also deals with raja-niti, sathcara etc. and is declared by Markandeya.

of Mahāmāyā. *** In the chapters on Devi-worship there is mention of kāmeśvari-tantra, tripurā-tantra, umā-tantra, kāmākhyā-tantra, vaiṣṇavī-tantra, devi-tantra, durgā-tantra, ugracaṇḍā-tantra, bhairavī-tantra, and uttara-tantra; but all these, including 'uttara-tantra', *** mean the procedures of the worship of the respective deities named in these expressions, the deities Kāmeśvari, Tripurā, Umā and others being the different forms of Mahāmāyā. *** According to Govindānanda the word 'durgā-tantra', occurring in Kālikā-p. 62. 9b, means the ten-syllabled mantra of Jayadurgā which begins with the Praṇava and ends with the word 'svāhā'; *** and in order to support this meaning Govindānanda cites a verse*** from the 'Kālikā-p.' But this verse is not found in the printed text of the present Kālikā-p.

It has already been said that besides the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas mentioned above, a Ms has been found of another Kālikā-p, which is also called Kāli-purāṇa and Sati-purāṇa, 505 and that this work and the Caṇḍi-p. 406 and Bhagavati-p. 407 which are quite different from the extinct and extant Kālikā-purāṇas, will be examined thoroughly in another Volume of the present work.

3. The Mahābhāgavata-purāņa.

This work508 must be distinguished from the famous

³⁰⁰ Kälikä-p. 54.5 anul 7-9.

see Kälika-p., chaps. 58-68 and 78.

in 'Uttara-tantra' is also the name of a work. An Uttara-tantra is drawn upon in Tryambaka Mate's Acarendu, p. 129.

Wa Kalika-p. 60.48-54.

bhujāņi devim durgā-tantrena pūjayet / ... // durgā tantra-samjānkena praņavādi-svāhāntena daiākṣara-jayadurgā-mantren-eryarihah //

See also Varsa-knomudi, p. 376 (durgā-tautrum daiāksara-jayadurgā-mantrah) and p. 390 (milla-mantras tu durgātantra-samjārako daiāksara-durgā-mantrah).

tāro durge dvayani orphah prāntu dhāntah salocanah /
svāhāntā jayadurgeyani durgā-tantram iti sturtam //

Varia-kaumodi, p. 390.

The only printed efficient of the Mababhagavata are those published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913, and the Vangaväsi Press, Calcutta, 1321 B.S.

Vaiṣṇava Mahāpurāṇa called Bhāgavata, which also is sometimes called 'Mahābhāgavata' (i.e. 'the great Bhāgavata').¹⁰⁶ It is an interesting Upapurāṇa dealing with the praise of Devi and her worship. Although it is a com-

The latter edition appeared under the name of Pandit Panchanan Tackaratna as its editor.

Our analysis of the Mahábhāgavata-p, is chiefly based on the former edition (published from Bombay).

Although both these editions have the same number of chapters, the latter (published from Calcutta) has occasionally some additional verses which are wanting in the former. For instance, verses 19h-11a, 58-51, 67-68 and 93-94 of chap. 7, verses 28b-37 and 71b-81 of chap. 8, verses 24-35a of chap. 14, and verses 23-31a of chap. 28 of the Vanga. ed. do not occur in that published from Bombay. As regards readings the Vanga. ed. very often differs from that of Bombay.

For Mss of the Mahābhāgavata sec

 Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1280-82, No. 3547, Ma. No. 457 (written in Bengali script and comissing of 80 chapters).

(ii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V., pp. 772-4, Not. 4112-16, Mat Nov. 732, 600, 8119, 4490 and 4400 respectively. (All these Mas are written in Bengali characters. Only the first two are dated Saka 1697 and 1731 respectively).

(iii) Roth, Tübingen Can., p. 15.

(iv) Mitra, Notices, I. p. 203, No. 329 (incomplete; ending with a few verses of chap. 49; and written in Bengali script).

(r) Shastri, Nozices, III, pp. 142-3, No. 220 (written in Bengali characters, and dated Saka 1734).

(ei) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 12 (No. 165-complete).

(aii) Ducca Univ. Ma Nos. 936 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Saka 1733), 1470 (complete; dated 1729 Saka), 3278 (complete), 3280 (incomplete), 3818 (complete; dated 1774 Saka), 4200 (complete; dated 1732 Saka), 4432 (incomplete), 4645 (incomplete), 4646 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Saka 1740), 4714A (complete; dated Saka 1708), 4791 (complete), D.R. 113 (complete).

All these Daeca Univ. Mss are written in Bengali script. Of these, three were dis-

covered in Sylhet and the rest in Eastern Bengal,

In their colophous many of these Ma chaim to contain only the first part (prathama khanda) of the Mahābhāgavata, and this claim seems to be supported by the printed editions also (cf. chap. 81, verse 43 = Vanga. ed. 81.52—etāvad uktarņ devena / khande'min jaumine //). But as a matter of fact, the Mahābhāgavata consists of the first part only and does not contain any other part.

For Min of the Bhagavati-gită belonging to the Mahābhāgavata, see Shastri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-8 (Min Nos. 117 and 135 respectively); Mitra, Notices, I. p. 249, No. 440; and Dacca Univ. Min Nos. 169C, 169T, 331E, 326B, 1500, 1611,

1836 and 2076A.

*** See, for imiance, Sanvatsaca-pradipa, fol. 41a-b--skände--'...
mahāhhagavatākhyasya sa cāṇḍāta-samo matah // mahāhhāgavatākhyasya mahāhhāgavata-purāṇasya / ata etud-diṇa-parfhārāya hhāgavata-purāṇasya katicit ilokāni likhyante / tud yathā--'yaṇ brahma vedāṇṭavido vadanṭi paraṭp pradhāṇaṇ puruṣṇṇ tathānye / viivodgateḥ kāraṇam livaraṇ vā tamusi namo vighna-vināyakāya //

Kāvya-samgraha (of Rājajīvana De Dhaa), fol. tūb—atha irīmad-bhāgavata (?'te) katīcit ilokāni—'janmādyasya yato'nvayād isaratai rārthesv abhijūah svarāt / etc. etc.

(=Bhag, I, I, I, 3 etc.; X, 14, 28 etc.; X, 4, 39£; and so on).

paratively late work and is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas except the Bṛhaddharma-p., 600 it deserves to be studied for information about the contemporary state of Hindu religion and society in Bengal, especially in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.

The printed edition of the Mahābhāgavata opens with four maṅgala ślokas, of which the third contains a salutation to Devi and the fourth a benediction. According to these two verses Devi is the 'Ādyā Prakṛti' and is 'parā' and 'svarg-āpavarga-pradā'; she created the universe of her own accord, subjected herself to births, and had Śambhu as her husband; and Śambhu, in his turn, had Devi as his wife through severe austerities and held her foot on his bosom.

Regarding the origin of the Mahābhāgavata and its introduction on earth it is said in chap. I that at the request of Saunaka and others in the Naimisa forest to describe some 'Purāṇa' on the glory of Devi, Sūta spoke of the 'most secret Purăņa named Mahābhāgavata' which was first declared by Maheśa to Nārada and then by Vyāsa to Jaimini, Sūta said that being unable to attain mental satisfaction even after writing 'the eighteen Puranas' Vyasa wanted to become the author of a 'Mahāpurāṇa' that would deal elaborately with the praise of Bhagavati. Consequently, he went to the Himalaya for realising the true nature of Devi by means of austerities. But being directed by Devi's voice from the air, Vyāsa went over to Brahma-loka where he was told by the four Vedas that it was Bhagavati Durgā herself who was 'Parama Brahma'. Being eulogised by these Vedas Devi appeared in person before Vyāsa. In order to convince Vyāsa of her own identity with Supreme Brahma, Devi assumed various forms such as those of a thousand-handed female deity mounted on a lion and furnished with divine

^{**} Byhaddh. (ASB ed.) I. 25, 20.

The reading 'upimbane ca totals param' of the Vanga, ed. of the Brhaddharma-p. (for 'mahābhāgavatam tathā' of the ASB ed.) is erroneous, because the 'Nārsaimha' has been included in the list of Upapuranas given in verses 23-27 and the reading 'mahābhāgavatam tathā' of the ASB ed. has been found in all the Mot we have been able to examine.

The Brhaddharma-p, includes the Mahābhāgavata among the 'Mahat Purāṇas',

weapons, a dark-complexioned and four-handed goodess standing on a corpse (śava-vāhanā), female deities having two, four, ten, eighteen, one hundred or innumerable hands, Viṣṇu-and-Kamalā, Kṛṣṇa-and-Rādhā, Brahmā-and-Vāṇi, Śiva-and-Gaurī, and so on. She then revealed to Vyāsa the Purāṇa named Mahābhāgavata, which Vyāsa found recorded on the thousand petals of the lotus lying under her feet. Thus, Sūta said, the Mahābhāgavata was revealed to Vyāsa.

In the remaining chapters Sûta is found to reproduce the dialogue between Mahādeva and Nārada on the glory of Durgā in the same way as it was reported by Vyāsa to Jaimini. The contents of these chapters are briefly as follows:

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Jaimini to speak on the glory of Durgā, Vyāsa praises topics on Durgā as well as the name of this goddess called 'tāraka brahma' and then begins to reproduce what Mahādeva, being insisted upon to divulge the name of the deity worshipped by himself and by Brahmā and Viṣṇu, said to Nārada on the Mandara mountain about the glory of Durgā.

Chap. 3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmä, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī from Parā Prakṛti, who, though formless, assumed at her own wish the form of a naked (digambarā) female having a collyrium-dark complexion, a beautiful face, four bands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, heaving breasts, and a lion as her mount. Prakṛti's assumption of a dreadful form for testing the force of penance of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; her failure to disturb Śiva's mind, and her consequent consent to become his wife in her fullness. Brahmā's creation of his ten mind-born sons, of Dakṣa and other Prajāpatis, and of Saṃdhyā and Kāma. Birth of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu and Śatarūpā from Brahmā's body. Descendants of Svāyaṃbhuva Manu and Dakṣa.

Chap. 4.—Story of Devi's birth as Sati (having eight

IN Sec venes 15-17.

hands and a fair complexion) 662 as a result of Dakşa's penance, Sati's choice of Siva as her husband by placing the garland (meant for selection of husband) on the ground after pronouncing the words 'sivāya namaḥ', and her marriage with Siva.

Chap. 5.—Dakṣa's lament for Satī, and his censure on both Satī and Śiva. Dadhīci's praise of Śiva and Satī as Parama Puruṣa and Ādyā Prakṛti respectively, and his advice to Dakṣa not to decry Śiva and Satī.

Chap. 6.—Śiva's residence with Satī on the Himālaya. Daily worship of Satī by Menā, wife of Himālaya, for having Satī as her own daughter. Citation of a hymn of praise to Śiva by Nandin, an attendant of Dakṣa and a disciple of Dadhīci, and his consequent appointment as the head of Pramathas.

Chap. 7.—Siva's amorous sports with Sati for ten thousand years. Menā's worship of Sati by observing a vow which began on the Mahāṣṭamī Tithi and ended on the same day of the following year; and Satī's consequent promise to be born as Menā's daughter.

Dakşa's denouncement of Siva; his arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice in order to get rid of the disturbance that Siva would, according to Nārada's information, create in Dakşa's city; and his insult to Dadhīci for his advice to invite Siva, to whom, as the Vangavāsi press edition says, no invitation was accorded by Dakṣa for being a Kāpālika (skull-bearer). Nārada's persuasion of Siva and Satī to attend this sacrifice and chastise Dakṣa.

Chap. 8.—Satī's fruitless attempt to persuade Šiva to accompany her to Dakṣa's house or to permit her to go there. Siva's reproach for Satī's importunity. Satī's consequent rage and assumption first of an extremely dreadful female

¹⁰⁵ Venes 24-25-

aylabbir bāhu-vallībirir bhrājamānām

ta mayā sa samābūto yajāe 'amin muni-sattama / kāpālikatayā lokānarhatvena mahesitub //—7,50.

For the second line the Bombay ed, has 'punya-karmani labelho na sa ityesa maheivarab' (7.56a).

form and then of those of the ten Mahāvidyās, viz., Kāli, Tārā, Chinnamastā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bagalā, Dhūmāvatī, Tripurasundarī, Mātaṅgī, Ṣoḍaśī and Bhairavī. Satī's statement that by assuming these forms she enabled her votaries to perform māraṇa, uccāṭaṇa, kṣobhaṇa etc. and that Śiva was to speak out works which would deal with mantras, yantras, statras, kavaeas etc. of these deities and would consequently be known as Āgamaśāstra. Śiva's praise of Satī out of fear, and his permission to the latter to do as she liked. Satī's start for Dakṣa's house by assuming the form of Kālī.

Chap. 9.—Satī's meeting with her mother Prasūti at Dakṣa's house; and Prasūti's narration of a dream in which she saw that Satī destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice by assuming the form of Kāli⁶⁰⁷ and caused Dakṣa's head to be replaced by that of a he-goat. Satī's meeting with Dakṣa; the latter's lament for Satī's dark complexion, dishevelled hair and naked body, and his denouncement of Śiva; Satī's creation

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Werses 50-52—
tyaktvä hema-patim äsid vyikihävasthä-sama-prabbä /
digambarä lasat-keiä lalaj-jihvä caturbhujä //
kälänala-lasad-dehä svedäktena tanürubä /
mahäbhimä ghora-rävä munda-mälä-vibhüsanä //
udyat-pracanda-kotyäbhä candrärdhu-kṛta-iekharä /
udyad-iditya-sankäiä kiritoivala-mastakä //
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(For these verses see Vanga, ed. 8.60-62, which read 'tyaktvā haimīna runim prāsīd dhvastāftjana-sama-prabhā' (in the first line), 'galat-keiā' (for 'lalat-keiā' in the second line), 'kāmālasa-lasad-dehā svedākta-ranus ulvaņā' (for the third line), and '-saṃkāśa-kirītojjvala-' (in the sixth line).

For the names and description of these Muhāvidyās see verses 57-71.

For the lines

'kāll tārā ca lokeii kamalā bhuvancivari //
chinnamastā sodaši en undarī vagalāmukli /
dhūmāvati ca mātadgi nāmāny ātām imūni vai //
(0.625-63) of the Bombay ed. the Vanga. ed. (8,72-3) reads;
'kāli tārā mahāvidyā sodaši bhuvancivari /
bhairavt echinnamastā ca // etc.'
'er Verses 89-90—
jāne tvārp paramešānim pērnām prakrtim uttamām /
tvam kdyā paramā vidyā sarva-bhūtejv avasthitā /

avatantră paramă iaktiți kai te vidhi-nisoditakali // arr A description of this form is given in verses 12b-13a as follows: mahlmegha-prabhă-iyāmă mukta-krāt digamharā / caturbhujā a(tahāsā jvalannetra-travojivalā // of a shadow (chāyā) resembling herself and disappearance in the sky; and Chāyā-Kālī's rage against Dakṣa and entrance into the sacrificial fire in accordance with Satī's instructions.

Chap. 10.—Siva's lament for Sati, who was taken to be dead. Origin of Virabhadra and the Pramathas from Siva's rage. Virabhadra's fight with Viṣṇu who was conscious of his own identity with Siva; on his realisation, effected by a voice from the air, that Siva and Viṣṇu are the same; his destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice; and his replacing of Dakṣa's head with that of a he-goat. Dakṣa's praise of Siva; and his completion of the sacrifice by giving to Siva a share of the sacrificial offerings.

Chap. 11.—Brahmā and Visnu's consolation to Šiva by explaining how, out of regard for her father, Sati created Chāyā-Satī and kept herself invisible. Their eulogy of Sati, who consequently appeared in the sky as Käli and assured Siva that she would be born again as the daughter of Himālaya and become his wife. Satī's advice to Siva to roam about on earth by taking Chāyā-Satī on his head, to cause mahāpīthas to be created by the fall of her limbs, and to practise austerities at that best pitha which would contain her female organ. Siva's doing the same, and his assumption of the form of a mountain at Kāmarūpa in order to support Devi's female organ. Siva's presence, in the form of lingas, in all the mahāpīthas, viz., Kāmarūpa etc., which were created by the fall of Chāyā-Sati's limbs cut by Viṣṇu. Siva's curse on Visnu to be born as a human being in the Treta Yuga and suffer from mental agony due to the abduction of the shadow (chāyā) of his wife by a Rākṣasa.

nāmayor vidyate bhedab kadācid api kutracit //

visque nărăyuno mauni cintayânăna cetasă //

siva-vidveșanensiva vidvișto 'smi na samânyah /
aliam sivah šivo visque bhedo năsty ăvayor yatab //
anena visqui-răpena prărthito 'smi viscatab /
nindito 'smi mahădeva-warūpenāham eva hi //

**** Verse 64—
yo visquh sa mahādevah šivo nărāyaṇah svayam /

Chap. 12.— Meeting of Brahmā and Viṣṇu with Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Śiva's penance at Kāmarūpa for Devi's favour; and Devi's consent to be born of Menā as Gaṅgā and Durgā (Pārvatī).

Praise of Kāmarūpa, which is situated on the bank of the Lauhitya (also called 'Brahmaputra') and is said to be the best of the *fifty-one pīṭhas* created by the fall of the limbs of Chāyā-Satī, and in which Devī resides as Kāmākhyā.

Results of worshipping Kāmākhyā according to the Tantric method (tantrokta-vidhi),

Chap. 13.—Devi's birth as Gangā (having a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands)⁴¹⁰ on Vaišākha-śuklatṛtiyā. Nārada's advice to Himālaya to hand over Gangā to the gods. Gangā's divulging of her own identity and mission to Himālaya in a dream, and her advice to the latter. Brahmā and others' approach to Himālaya, and their taking of Gangā to heaven.

Chap. 14.—Menā's curse on Gangā that she would be compelled to come down to the earth in a liquefied form as she left for heaven without taking Menā's permission. Gangā's marriage with Siva, whom Nārada brought to heaven from Kāmarūpa.

Chap. 15.—Devi's birth to Menă as Pârvatī (Durgā) having three eyes, eight hands, and a crescent moon on her head. Pârvati's divulging of her own original nature to Himālaya; and her furnishing the latter with divine eyes (divyam cakṣuḥ) in order to enable him to realise herself. Description of Devi's different forms which were shown to

[&]quot; Venes 71-fla-

gangā samabhavac chuklā sucāru-mukļu-pankajā / trinetrā asisāpāngī canarbālm-višobhītā //

See also verse 58h-

šukiš trī-nayanā kācid devī makara-vāhanā []

tarundditya-kotyâbhām trinetrām divyarūpiņim / aytahastām vitālālatīm candrārdita-krts-šekhatām // See also verse 40.

^{*13} Verses 23-25-

lasi-koti-prabhaqı caru-candrantha-kçıa-ickharam / urifula-vara-bastaın ca jaşa-mandita-masınlam //

Himālaya by Devi herself. Himālaya's culogy of Devi; and the latter's discourse on Brahma-vijñāna (which is said to be attainable through Devi-worship performed in accordance with the rules of varņāśrama-dharma).

Chaps. 16-19.—Discourse on Brahma-vijñāna continued.

—Description of the nature of Ātmā and of the vidyā which gives one final emancipation; way of getting rid of rāga, dveṣa etc.; origin of body (deha) from the five elements; cause and process of rebirths; enumeration of Devi's sthūla forms (called Mahāvidyās, viz., Mahākālī, Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Bagalā, Chinnā, Mahātripurasundarī, Dhūmāvatī and Mātaṅgī) which one must worship for being able to realise her sūkṣma form; praise of the study of the Bhagavatī-gītā.

[Chaps. 15-19 deal with the essence of yoga and are called Bhagavatigitopanisad,]

Chap. 20.—Nărada's advice to Himālaya to give Pārvatī in marriage to Śiva, and his assurance that Pārvatī herself would be able to captivate Śiva's mind.

Chap. 21.—Siva's arrival in Himavatprastha for the practice of austerities. Pārvati's determination to captivate Siva's mind through the practice of austerities and thus to give effect to Brahmā's curse on Siva (who had censured Brahmā for his passionate love for his own daughter

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bhayānakanı ghora-rūpanı kālānala-sahairahham /
paāca-vaktram trinetram ca nāga-yajāopavītinam //
dvīpi-cormāmbara-dhoram nāgendra-kria-ishūjaņam /
evam vilokya radrūpam * * * //
(See also verae 41).

Verses 27-29—
rūpam anyan muni-freytha viivarūpā sanāmoī /
šarac-candru-nibham rāru-mukut-niivala-manakam //
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rupam anyan muni-trestha viivarūpā sanātani / tarac-candru-nibham cāru-mukut-ojjvala-mantakam // tarkha-cakra-gadā-padma-hastam netra-trayojjvalam / divya-mālyāmhara-dharam divya-gandhānulepanam // yoglodra-vtnda-samvandyam sucāru-caraṇāmbujam / sarvatah-pāṇi-pādam ca sarvato'kṣi-śiro-mukham //

⁽See also verse 42).

Vene 34

ailotpala-dala-iyāmam vanamālā-vibhūṣitam /
iankha-cakra-gadā-padmam abhivyaktam caturbhujam //
(See also verse 43)

¹⁰ Chap. 19, venes 26-28.

[This summary contains innovations, which are as follows:—

- (a) Rāma started on his exile on the Śukla-daśami Tithi of Āśvina and remembered Devi at the time of starting.— Chap. 38, verses 20-21.
- (b) Devî left Lankā as soon as Hanumān (who was none but Siva himself) went there in search of Sîtā and saw Devî in her temple.—Chap. 39, verses 18-29.
- (c) The construction of the bridge to Lankā was begun on Śrāvana-paurnamāsī.—Chap. 40, verse 6.
- (d) Before starting war against Rāvaņa Rāma pleased Devī by performing pārvaņa-śrāddha.—Ghap. 40, verses 12-21.
- (e) Finding that Rama was terrified by the news of Kumbhakarna's approach to the battle-field, Brahmā advised him to worship Durga and spoke on her glory. He narrated how in ancient times Siva tore away one of his five heads and how, being approached for redress, Devi furnished him with the fifth head and told him that it was she who thus punished him for having a strong desire for sexual union with his own daughter Samdhya. Brahma assured Rama that Devi forsook Ravana because that demon abducted, with an evil purpose, Sītā who was his own ksetraja daughter born of Mandodari. 814 He wanted to invoke Devi, though untimely, for the sake of Rama and spoke of Devi's Vaidiki, Paurānikī and Tāntrikî mūrtis as well as of the different regions, viz., Siva-loka, Visnu-loka (placed above Siva-loka), Gauri-loka (which is situated on the left side of Siva-loka and in which there is Devi's 'daśa-bhujā vaidiki mūrti'), Goloka (in which Kṛṣṇa sports with Rādhā), and the region of Mahādurgā (which occupies the highest position and lies beyond the brahmanda and in which there is Devi's Tantriki mūrti). Brahmā gave a long description of this last-mentioned region and said that Rādhā was an infinitesimally small part

¹¹⁴ Mahábhag, 43, 64-

iitä mandodarl-garbhe taqıbbütä câru-rüpinî / kyetrajd tanayāpy asya răvanasya raghüttama //

of Mahādurgā. Tāntrikī mūrti as follows:—She has four hands, wears red clothes, and mounts a big lion; on her left side stand Jayā and Vāṇī, and on her right there are Vijayā and Lakṣmī; she does not recognise any distinction of caste or position but favours those who are devoted to her. Intending to invoke Devi in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi and to worship her by constructing an earthen image of her Paurāṇikī mūrti which is furnished with ten hands and mounted on a lion, Brahmā took Rāma to a Bilva tree on the sea-shore.— Chaps. 41-43.

(f) Răma approached the Bilva tree and culogised Devi, and the latter assured him with a voice from the air that he would attain victory over the Rãkṣasas.—Chap. 44, verses 1-20.

(g) While Rāma was fighting with Kumbhakarņa on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi, Brahmā invoked Devī in a Bilva tree by citing the Devī-sūkta as well as mantras containing Tantric symbols, and continued to worship her daily for

Rāma's victory.-Chap. 45, verses 1-25.

(h) Devi's description of the method of her own worship in an earthen image during the three days from Sukla-saptami to Sukla-navami with the performance of patrikā-praveša, saṃdhi-pūjā, paśu-bali (sacrifice of animals), śatru-bali** (sacrifice of enemies, on the Navami Tithi) etc.; and the immersion of the image in a current of water on the Daśami Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava).—Chap. 45 verses 26-36.

 (i) Devi's praise of the annual worship of herself in the above-mentioned manner; and her description of săttvika,

rājasa and tāmasa worship.—Chap. 46.

(j) Rāma worshipped Devī in an earthen image on the Saptamī, Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis after performing her adhivāsa (in the evening of the Sukla-ṣaṣṭhī

Mahālihāg, 43. 26—yat-kalā-koţi-koţy-amiā rādhā kṛṣṇasya geliini.

⁴³ For detailed description of Devi's Täntriki mūrti see Mahābhāg, 43, 63-96.
⁴³ Mahābhāg, 43, 33—tatah intrum halim dadyāt kṛtvā pigamayam mama.

Tithi) and patri-pravesa (on the Saptami Tithi), immersed the image in the sea on the Dasami Tithi, and killed Rāvaņa with a missile received from Devi.—Chaps. 47-48.]

Chaps. 49-58—Story of the birth of Kālī as Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devakī) and of Śiva as Rādhā (daughter of Vṛṣabhānu) in accordance with Śiva's prayer to Kālī. The eight forms of Śiva were born as Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and others; Vijayā and Jayā were born as Śrīdāma and Vasudāma respectively; and Viṣṇu was born as Halāyudha.

[Being approached by the Earth to relieve her of the tyrannical rulers such as Kaṃsa, Duryodhana and others, who were the same as the demons killed previously by Viṣṇu and Devī, Brahmā went to Kailāsa and eulogised Devī, who consequently promised to be born as Kṛṣṇa and said that Viṣṇu, in part, would be born as Arjuna, Dharma as Yudhiṣṭhira, Pavana, in part, as Bhīmasena, Aśvins as the sons of Mādrī (i.e. as Nakula and Sahadeva), and Devī (Kālī), in part, as Kṛṣṇa.

Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Haladhara and Arjuna, and of Kāli's birth as Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva and Devaki who were respectively the same as Kaśyapa and Aditi reborn; Kṛṣṇa's assumption of the forms of four-handed Kāli** and ten-handed Devî (Durgā) in order to prove his own power to his parents; his killing of Pūtanā, Tṛṇāvarta and others by assuming temporarily the form of Kālī; his sports with Rādhā** who was the same as Śiva born sportively as a female 'in the house of Vṛṣabhānu' and who was married to a certain cowherd (named as 'Āyāna' in the Calcutta edition as well as in most of the Mss)** who became impotent at

^{***} Mahabhag, 50, 77-79

kṛṣṇaḥ kamaia-locanaḥ /
nainaā tamabināt kṛṣṇā bhūnāṇyā śava-vāhanā //
caturbhujā tri-nayanā jihvā-lalana-bhiṣaṇā /
galad-āyata-kriaugh-āchanna-pṛṣṭhā kiriṭini //
tadābhavan munc sāpi varamālā manovamā /
mundāli-racinā mālā lambamāu-ātišobhanā //

⁴³¹ See especially chap. 53 in which there is mention of Kṛṣṇa's playing on the flute, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā's assumption of eight forms, the rāsa-kriḍā, vastra-haraṇa, and so on.

¹²¹ See Vanga, ed. 51, 34-

Šiva's wish immediately after marriage; his other sports and exploits; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's going to Madhupura (Mathurā); Kṛṣṇa's help to the Pāṇḍavas; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's further exploits; and so on.

Story of the birth of Dakşa and Prasūti as Nandagopa

and Yasoda respectively.

Story of the Pāṇḍavas, who are said to have seen Kāmā-khyā at Yonipiṭhassa (i.e. Kāmarūpa) during their exile and to have been blessed by the latter on different occasions. (Chaps. 55-57).

Kṛṣṇa and others' passing to heaven.

Towards the end of chap. 58 it is said that in another Kalpa Viṣṇu would be born as Kṛṣṇa towards the end of the Dvāpara age.]

Chap. 59-Description of the region of Mahākālī.

Chaps. 60-63—Story of Indra's killing of Vṛtra, his performance of a horse-sacrifice for expiating the sin arising out of Dadhīci's death, and his visit to the reigion of Mahā-kālī¹³⁴ with the help of Siva for getting rid of the remaining part of the sin.

[Chaps. 64-75—Story of Ganga's liquefaction and her descent on earth.]

Chap. 64.—After marriage Samkara and Gangā visited Vaikuntha at the invitation of Viṣṇu. There, being requested by the gods, Samkara sang three songs, of which the third turned Viṣṇu into water. This water, which was the second form of Gangā, was placed by Brahmā in his Kamandalu and taken to heaven.

Chap. 65.—Story of Viṣṇu's birth as Vāmana and of Gaṅgā's attainment of Viṣṇu's feet by being poured out of Brahmā's Kamaṇḍalu when Vāmana raised one of his feet into the sky.

tām rādhām upasamyamy-āyāna-gopo muhāmune / klibatvam sahasā prāpa šambhur iechāmuāratab //

In the first line of this verse the Bombay ed. reads 'upasamyeme ko'pi gopo.'

^{**} Mahabhag. 56. 1-32.

For description of Mahākāli and Mahākāla see Mahābhāg. 63.28-36.

Chap. 66.—Bhagiratha's austerities for bringing Gangā down to the earth, Gangā's consent, and her advice to Bhagiratha to please Siva also.

Chap. 67.—Bhagiratha's eulogy of Siva with the mention of his one thousand and eight names (including 'Kāmadeva', 'Gajāsya', 'Matsya-priya', etc.); Siva's permission to Bhagiratha to take Gaṅgā down to the earth.

Chap. 68.—Bhagiratha, with the Earth, mounted the peak of Meru and sounded a conch-shell. That sound reached Vaîkuntha and liquefied Gangā who resorted to Viṣṇu's feet. As Gangā descended on the peak of Meru, she was eulogised by Bhagiratha and the Earth. As a result of this eulogy, Gangā divided herself into four streams which flowed in different directions. Bhagiratha led one of these streams towards the south. At the prayer of the gods, this stream divided itself into two, of which one flowed in heaven and was known as Mandākinī, and the other broke through the southern peak of Meru on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-daśamī, which is known as Daśaharā.

Chaps. 69-70.—Gangā then reached the Himalayas, where she descended on Siva's head and lost her way in his matted hair. By Siva's grace she found a way out and reached Haridvara, where she divided herself into seven streams by following the sound of seven conch-shells blown by seven sages. She then rushed towards the south-east and met the Yamuna and the Sarasvati at Prayaga. Taking an easterly course she reached Kāśi, where she flowed to a short distance towards the north and was challenged by a Bhairava. After leaving Kāśī she felt a desire to see Kāmākhyā and took an easterly course. Understanding her intention, Bhagiratha stopped his chariot and ceased from sounding the conch-shell. In the meantime, being led astray by Jahnu, Ganga got enraged and flooded his hermitage. Jahnu drank up Ganga, but the latter came out by piercing his thigh and was known as Jāhnavī. On account of this dissension with a sage, Gangā gave up her idea of visiting Kāmākhyā and proceeded towards the south by following Bhagiratha. When, after going to a short distance, Bhagiratha was taking rest, Padmā, daughter of Jahnu, wanted to see her sister (Gaṅgā) and blew a conch-shell. Hearing its sound, Gaṅgā rushed towards the south-east but was stopped by Bhagiratha. This excited Padmā, who consequently turned into water and, as a broad river, met the ocean. Gaṅgā also proceeded with great speed towards the south and flowed into the sea.

Chap. 71.—Gangā then went to the nether world and delivered the burnt sons of Sagara by washing away their ashes. One of her streams remained there under the name of Bhogavatī,

Praise of reading or hearing this story of Ganga.

Chap. 72.—Praise of Gangā and of seeing her before death and residing on her banks.

Story of a sinful Śavara fowler named Sarvāntaka who chanced to see Gangā during his arrest by king Citrasena and was consequently taken to Śiva-loka by the Śiva-dūtas after his death.

Chap. 73.—Praise of Gangā; the results of bath in her waters on different occasions, and of the performance of śrāddha and mantra-purascaraņa on her banks.

Chap. 74.—Praise of death in the Ganges.

Story of a robber named Dhanādhipa who, though placed in a hell after death, was able to pass to the region of Siva, because his flesh came in contact with the waters of the Ganges drunk by a tired jackal that had eaten up his body.

Praise of residence on the banks of the Ganges.

Chap. 75.—One hundred and eight names of Gangā. Praise of Gangā.

Chap. 76.—Praise of Kāmarūpa, where Devi's female organ fell and in which Devi resides as Kāmākhyā. Praise of bath in the Lauhitya.

Chap. 77.- Description and praise of Kāli, who is

⁴²⁸ Mahābhāg. 70. 566-57-

samabhūt tena padmātikruddhā jalanuyi babhau //
sā tu pūrva-dišam prāyād vistirma-salilā nadt /
punyā vegavad sindhurājemīni masngatā //

said to be the same as Kāmākhyā and is called the presiding deity of Kāmarūpa, and who, being herself the chief of the ten Mahāvidyās, is surrounded by the remaining nine.

Description and praise of Devi-kavaca (in which there is mention of 'Nīlasarasvatī' and 'Ugratārā' and the names

of the Mahāvidyās).

Chap. 78.—Praise of worshipping Kālī and Śiva at Kāmarūpa. Praise of a Bilva tree and the waters of the river Lauhitya.

Chap. 79.—Glorification of Tulasī plants.

Chap. 80.—Praise of Rudrākaşas.

Chap. 81.—Moral degradation of people during the Kali age. Praise of Siva-worship.

From the contents summarised above, it is evident that the Mahābhāgavata advocates Śāktism. According to this work, it is Kālī who is Parama Brahma as well as Parā Prakṛti (or Mūla-prakṛti). Though 'saccidānanda-vigrahā', 'śuddha-jūānamayī', 'nityā' and 'arūpā', Kālī, as Prakṛti, assumed, for creation, the form of a young and beautiful female seated on a lion and having a collyrium-dark complexion, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, and the quarters as her clothes (digambarā). She created a Puruṣa as an embodiment of the three guṇas and contaminated into him a wish for creation. From the three guṇas, viz., rajar, sattva and tamas, of this Puruṣa were born Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Prakṛti, on her part, divided herself into Māyā, Vidyā and Paramā, and became Satī, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and others.

Unlike the present Kālikā-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p. the Mahābhāgavata conceives Kāli as the wife and Śakti of Śiva.¹²⁷ It identifies Śiva with Puruṣa and says that Brahma consists of Śiva and his Śakti.¹²⁸ It regards Kāśi and Kailāsa as the best holy places in earth and heaven

erf Mahabhilg, 15.16-

jānībi mām parām iaktim maheivara-kņāirayām / iāivat-aiivarya-vijāāna-mūrtim sarva-pravartikām //

respectively and remarks that Vaikuntha and Brahma-loka do not deserve comparison even with a small part of Sivaloka. e29 It introduces several stories for establishing Siva's superiority over other gods, especially over Visnu. It praises Siva-worship thus: "In the Kali age there is no work like Śiva-worship. A man, whether he is a Śākta, a Vaisnava or a Saiva, should worship Samkara first of all and then his own tutelary deity with a feeling of reverence. At first one should worship a linga with Bilya-leaves; otherwise all (his efforts), being bereft of Siva-worship, will be like those of Śūdras". " From this praise of Śiva and from the nature of some of the stories at it is evident that the Saivaśāktas had the Vaisnavas and the Vaisnava-śāktas as their most powerful rivals and tried hard to popularise their own ideas especially against those of the latter. But in spite of its outspoken inclination towards Siva, the Mahābhāgavata follows the Vedanta in advocating the unity of all gods, 882

The Mahābhāgavata was written in Bengal and most probably in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa, as the following evidences indicate.

- (i) The Mahābhāgavata devotes a few chapters to the praise of Kāmarūpa which is called the best of the 'fifty-one' mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of Satī's limbs. (See especially chaps. 11-12 and 76-78).
- (ii) According to this work Gangā, when following Bhagiratha, intended to visit Kāmākhyā but gave up her project as she chanced to displease the sage Jahnu at the very beginning of her advance eastwards. This shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata had a special attraction for Kāmarūpa and wanted to add to it the same sanctity as it generally attached to those parts of the country which are watered by the Ganges.

em fbid., 5. 12-15.

¹⁸ Hid., 81, 13-14, See also Mahabhag. 81, 32-34.

^{**}I Viz., these of Ganeia (who was Nārāyaṇa rebom—chap. 35) and of Kṛṇṇa and Rādhā (who were the same as Kāli and Śīva respectively—chaps. 49-58).

^{***} Mahābhāg, 7, 63-64; 10, 42 and 64; and so on,

- (iii) The accounts of the Bhāgirathi and the Padmā, as given in chaps. 69-70, shows that the author of the Mahābhāgavata was quite familiar with these rivers and regarded both of them as sacred.
- (iv) In the Mahābhāgavata the autumnal worship of Durgā has been connected with the story of Rāma (son of Daśaratha). The method of Durgā-worship, as described in this work, includes the following operations:-bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree; special worship of Devi for three days (viz., Saptami, Astami and Navami Tithis) in an earthen image after performing Devi's adhivāsa in the evening of the Suklaşaşthî Tithi; performance of patrikā-praveša on the Saptamī Tithi and of satru-balion the Navami Tithi; and the immersion of the image on the Dasami Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava).ess It is to be noted that the custom of satru-bali (in which an image of the enemy is constructed with powdered rice and sacrificed before Devi on the Navami Tithi) is still surviving in some form or other in Bengal. (For information about satru-bali see pp. 80-85, under Devi-p. above).
- (v) In the Mahābhāgavata there are some words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,
 - (a) ... garvam tvam āśu paricūrnaya (9. 59a);
- (b) 'ā+√ kṣip' used in the sense of 'lamenting'-... sambhuḥ ... ruroda ha / patnīm ākṣipya bahudhā satīm prākṛta-lokavat // (12. 4);
- (e) sati tvam mama bhāryeti loka-lajjām parityajan / mūrdhnā vahāmi te cehāyām // (11, 61);
- (d) 'u mā !' (used by females in expressing astonishment ef. the Bengali expression 'ओ मा !' uttered by women in modern Bengal)—u meti vismitā prāha (21. 59);
- (e) peculiar use of the word 'nikaţa'—drutam āgacchata sură brahmano nikaţam tataḥ (13, 50); nātra yāsyati vai kaścij janas tvan-nikaţe prabho (21, 26); (for the use of this

The word 'sunushotsava', occurring in Mahāhhāg, 45, 35-36, may mean the famous Sāvarotsava mentioned in the Nibandhas of Bengal.

word see also Mahābhāg, 20, 15; 21, 10; 22, 5 and 44; 24, 4 and 50; 25, 30; 29, 18; and 33,10);

- (f) kuputri duścaritrā tvam cakṣuṣơr me bahir bhava—9. 73b (the second half of this line meaning 'go out of my sight'); sā tvam me cakṣuṣor bāhyam śīghraṃ bhava durātmike (9. 76b); aham te cakṣuṣor bāhyam bhaviṣyāmi na kevalam (9. 81a);
- (g) apakarma svayam kṛtvā param dūṣayate kudhiḥ(8. 43b).
- (h) vācam niyaceha kalyāņam yadīcehasi sudurmate / chinde jihvām mahāmūrkha , // (9. 65b-66a);

(i) use of Locative in place of Ablative—śrutvā tava

mukhāmbhoje kathām ... (2. 3a).

(vii) Almost all of the numerous Mss of the Mahābhāgavata, hitherto discovered, were found in Bengal, mostly in its eastern part, and are written in Bengali script.

- (viii) So far as we have been able to find, it is only the authors of Bengal who refer to or draw upon the Mahābhā-gavata. (For these references see below).
- (ix) Independent Mss of the Navagraha-kavaca, Bhagavati-gitā, Siva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found scattered all over Bengal. Some of these Mss have been collected by the Dacca University and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁴³⁴

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that

the Sec Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-18; Dacca Univ. Mrs Nos. 645B (found in Rangpur), 645C (found in Rangpur), 526P (found in Bogra), and so on.

the Mahabhagavata is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern bart which was adjacent to Kamarapa.

The Mahābhāgavata calls itself 'Purāna'455 as well as 'Mahāpurāna's but never 'Upapurāna', and this claim has been supported by the Brhaddharma-p, which includes its name among those of the eighteen 'Mahat Puranas'. 537 Yet it must not be taken to be an early work. It knows the names of rāśis and week-days, and mentions the Tulasi plant as well as Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. Its comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the Puranic works except the Brhaddharma-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. However, the Mahābhāgavata is certainly not a very modern work. In his Report, p. 12 R. G. Bhandarkar mentions a complete Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which he found in the Bombay Presidency. In the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated Saka 1697. 5rītīrtha-svāmin, who was most probably a courtpoet of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-candra of Nadia (Bengal), wrote a philosophical treatise entitled Yathartha-manjari in the middle of the eighteenth century. In this work on he ascribes to the 'Mahābhāgavata' three lines 'jñānāt samjāyate muktih' etc. which are the same as Mahābhāg. 15. 63b-64. In the introductory portion of his Sāradā-mangala-kāvya Siva-candra Sena, who lived a little later than Bharatacandra (a vernacular poet of Bengal), refers to the 'Mahābhāgavata' as describing the autumnal worship of Durga. 440

¹⁰⁵ See Mahabhag., chap. 1, verses 6, 8, 13, 49, 51 and so on.

Mahābhag. 1, 16. See also the chapter-colophom. ary Behaddh. (ASB ed.) I. 25, 20, See also footnote 600 above.

⁴³⁰ Shastri, ASB Cat., V. p. 772, No. 4112.

to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4093, fal. 11b. (This is a complete Ms written in Bengali script and dated Saka 1734. Its colophon rum as follows: इति श्रील्श्रीतीर्थस्वाम-कृत्ययावंसञ्ज्ञाते समाप्ता ।

sas Sāradā-mangala-kāvya (Dacca Univ. Ms No. 3099)— मार्कण्डेयपुराण बार देवीपुराणते । असेव प्रमाण बाछे महाभागवते । शरत कालेते पूजा प्रकाश से मते।।

In the Dacca University collection there is a Ms (No. 1470) of the Mahābhāgavata which is dated 1729 Saka and which, in its last leaf, contains a sankalpa-mantra for the study of the Mahābhāgavata.451 In this collection there is another Ms (No. 4150) which contains a metrical Bengali translation of the Bhagavati-gitā constituting chaps. 15-19 of the Mahābhāgavata. We have already said that independent Mss of the Bhagavati-gitā, Siva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Nava-grahakavaca, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the Mahābhāgavata, are found in all parts of Bengal. These evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Mahābhāgavata became a highly popular work and was widely studied as an authoritative Purana a few centuries ago. It has already been mentioned that the Brhaddharma-p, has included the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'. That the Mahābhāgavata mentioned in the Brhaddharma-p. is the same as the extant one, is shown definitely by the fact that the author of the Brhaddharma-p. has not only derived many of his stories from the present Mahābhāgavata642 but has plagiarised a large number of verses from the latter. 448 As a matter of fact, a comparison between these two Upapuranas shows that the author of the

Ganga, and Rama's autumnal worship of Durga in the two works.

"13 The verses, which are common to these two works, are the following:

| Mahahhag. | Brhaddh. | Mahabhāg. | Hrhaddh. |
|------------|------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| 3. 26a | = II, I. 56b, | 5. 36a | = 11. 5. 25b. |
| 3. 42a | - cf. II, 1, 21b. | 5. 37a | = 11, 5, 26b, |
| 3. 454 | = 11.1.25b. | 5. 37b | = 11. 5. 27b. |
| 3. 46a | - cf. H. J. 26a. | 5, 38b | - 11, 5, 28a, |
| 3, 58 | = II. 2. 16b-17a. | 5. 46-47 | - cf. II. 5, 32-33. |
| 3, 61-63 | - II. 2. 19 and 21-22. | 7, 21b-23a | - d. 11. 6. 2-3. |
| 3, 61b-65a | = II. 2, 25a-b. | 7. 24b-25a | - cf. 1L 6. 4. |
| 4. 48a | - cf. II. 3, 22b. | 7. 40b-41a | = II. 6. 10. |
| 5. 25-28 | - cf. 11, 5, 17-20. | 7. 43 | = II. 6, 11. |
| 5, 29-34a | = II, 5, 21-25a. | 7. 46b, &c | = 11. 6. 12b, &c. |

The text of this saikalpa-mantra, which abounds in mistakes, rum as follows: visuar namuo'dyetyädi amuka-gotrah iri-amuka-däsah irimaijagadambikā-bhagavati-durgā-devyāh priti-kāmah sūta-iaunuka-maharpi-verlavyāsa-yaimini-samprokta yām brādhya viriñeir ityādi iti irimakābhāgavate mahāpurāne iiva-nārada-samvāde prashama-khanda-samāptir noāmaikā-lititamo 'dhyāyah samāpta ityantam yathā-jāānasah mahābhāgavata-mahāpuranasya yathākāla-iravanam akam karāye.

Bṛhaddharma-p. thoroughly utilised the language and contents of the Mahābhāgavata in his work. Hence the Mahābhāgavata must have preceded the Bṛhaddharma-p. by a fairly long time, otherwise it could not be regarded as an authoritative 'Mahat Purāṇa' by the author of the latter. We shall see afterwards that the Bṛhaddharma-p. was composed not later than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Hence the Mahābhāgavata cannot be dated later than the twelfth century A.D. Its Śaiva tendency like that of the earlier Kālikā-p. and its silence about the present Kālikā-p. which is remarkably inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism, tend to show that it was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

In describing the state of society during the Kali age the Mahābhāgavata (81. 8a) says: "kara-graha-ratā nityam rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ." But this mention of kings as Mlecchas must not be taken to mean that at the time of composition of the Mahābhāgavata Bengal came under the sway of the Muhammadans; because the Bṛhaddharma-p., which the Mahābhāgavata preceded by a fairly long time, was composed not much later than the advent of the Muhammadans in Bengal. It is probable that the author of the Mahābhāgavata used the expression 'rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ' only to characterise the kings of the Kali age as being regardless of all moral laws like Mlecchas. Or, it may be that this generalisation was based on the introduction of Muhammadan rule in other provinces outside Bengal.

A study of the Mahābhāgavata shows that the author of this work lived in a society in which the most powerful sects were those of the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Śauras, and which was seriously influenced by Tantricism. People performed ṣaṭ-karma (the six acts, viz., vaśikaraṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana etc.), studied the Āgamas, and followed Tantric manners, customs and methods of worship. Even in their conception of the forms of deities they were often guided

^{***} For mention of the Saurus see Mahābhāg. 67. 61.

^{***} Mahābhāg, 8. 72ff. For Tantric mannar used in Durgă-warship, see chapt. 44-45, Kâmākhyā was worshipped according to the Tantric method (12.37).

by the Tantras. So, the author of the Mahābhāgavata praised varņāśrama-dharma and prescribed the study of Vedānta. He did not decry Tantricism but tried to bring about a compromise between the two systems by making Devî say,

"O Samkara, the Agama and the Veda are my two hands with which I sustain the whole universe consisting

of stationary and moving objects.

"If, out of ignorance, anybody violates [the directions of] these two, he is sure to slip down from my hands.

"It is true and undoubted that I am unable to deliver that person who worships [me] by violating [the directions of] the Agama and the Veda.

"A wise man should practise dharma by taking these

two as the same.

"Mantra, Yantra and Kavaca—whatever is given by the spiritual preceptor himself [to his disciple] has to be kept secret [by the latter] with much care and is not to be disclosed anywhere.

"From disclosure ensues loss of success, from disclosure comes misforture. So, the best Sādhaka (follower of austere religious practices) should keep [them] secret

with all effort." ats

We have already noted the Saiva tendency of Sāktism advocated by the Mahābhāgavata. But in spite of its high praise of Siva the Mahābhāgavata follows Vedānta in establishing the unity of all gods. 619

^{***} See chap, 43, in which there is mention of DevI's Parapic and Tantric forms.

^{***} Mahāhhāg, 15, 51-54 and 68.

^{**} Ibid., 8, 77-82.

^{***} Ibid., 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.

4. The Devi-bhagavatassa.

This work, as its title shows, deals with the praise of

This work has been printed on more occasions than one, its chief editions being those published by the Samskrta-pustakilaya (Benarcs), Venkateivara Press (Bombay), and Vangaväsi Press (Calcutm). Of these three editions, which have practically the same tent, the first is furnished with a 'Devl-bhāgavata-māhāunya' consisting of five chapters and claiming to belong to the Mānasa-khanda of the Skanda-p, and the second, with the commentary Tilaka of one Saiva Niiakantha. There is also an English translation of this work by Svāmi Vijdānānanda, which was published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (Allahabad).

Besides the editions mentioned above, there was another prepared by Haricharan Basu under the patronage of Roy Baradaprasad Basu Bahadur and published in three volumes in Bengali characters in Saka 1809-1813 from the Sabda-kalpudruma-kāryālaya at 71. Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, with Saiva Nilakantha's commentary and a Bengali translation.

As the Benares edition, which we have mainly used here, contains numerous instances of careless editing, we have compared its readings with those of the Bombay and Calcutta editions before utilizing them for our purpose.

For Mss of the Devi-bhagavata, sec.

- (f) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1207, Nm. 3363-6. (Of these four Mas, which are all incomplete, the first and the third are written in modern Bengali handwriting, and the rest in Devanägari. Skandba IV of the second Ms is dated Samvat 1861).
- (ii) Shartri, ASB Cat., V, p. 770, No. 4106, Ms No. 4061. (This is a complete Ms written in Nhgara and dated Samvat 1865 at the end of the seventh Skandha).
- (iii) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., 1V, pp. 28-29, No. 35 (written in Nagara; dated Saka 1726 and Sarpvat 1861; incomplete, containing the first six Skandhas and a part of the seventh), and p. 100, No. 181 (written in Bengali script; fresh; complete 'as regards the first part only').
 - (ie) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 79-81, No. 136 (written in Bengali script; incomplete).
- (a) Weber, Berlin Cat., pp. 126-132, No. 1528 (a complete Ms dated Samvat 1867 and 1868). Also his Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 139-140, No. 479.

(ri) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 193-8, Not. 420-432 (written in Nagara).

- (rii) Ma No. 114 of A1881-62 and No. 115 of A1881-82 belonging to Government Mas Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (Of these two Mas the former consists of two parts written in different hands and bearing the dates Saka 1715 and Saka 1734 respectively. Both these Mas are incomplete).
- (viii) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., H. i, p. 913, No. 6608 (containing Skandhar I-V; written in Grantha characters,; and dated about 1852 A.D.).
- (ir) Adyar Library Cat., I, p. 151. (All the three Mss mentioned are incomplete. One of them is written in Grantlas characters, another in Bengali script, and the third in Andhra).
- (x) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 201. (This is a complete Ms furnished with Nilakantha's commentary).
- (ei) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 338, No. 2203 (incomplete; written in Devanagari; and dated Sanyvat 1848), and p. 339, No.2204 (incomplete; containing Nilabantha's commentary; and dated Sanyvat 1904).
- (xii) Hiralal, Cat. of Sans, and Pkt. Mm in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 211.
 - (mii) Lewis Rice, Cat. of Sans, Mar, p. 72.
 - (xiv) Burnell, Classified Index, Tanjore, p. 183.

Devi as the highest deity and the Energy (śakti) of all gods and others. It consists of 12 Skandhas or Books divided into two halves of six Skandhas each⁶⁵¹ and opens with a Devi-gāyatrī which runs as follows:

sarva-caitanya-rūpām tām ādyām vidyām ca dhīmahi / buddhim yā nah pracodayāt //652

In its first three chapters we are told that once Suta went to the Naimişa forest in Vinasana and met a group of sages, of whom Saunaka praised Suta for his study of the 'eighteen Purāņas' with Vyāsa, referred to the classification of all Purānas and other Śāstras into three classes, viz., sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa, and requested him to narrate the 'fifth' 634 Purāņa called 'Bhāgavata'. Consequently, Sūta saluted Bhagavati (whom he described as the Sakti of all including Brahmā, Visnu and Siva and as the primary cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe) and said that the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata Purāṇa' (i.e. the Devi-bhāgavata) contained 18000 slokas divided into 318 chapters and 12 Skandhas, the first Skandha consisting of 20 chapters, the second Skandha of 12 chapters, the third of 30 chapters, the fourth of 25 chapters, the fifth of 35 chapters, the sixth of 31 chapters, the seventh of 40 chapters, the eighth of 24 chapters, the ninth of 50 chapters, the tenth of 13 chapters, the eleventh of 24 chapters, and the twelfth of 14 chapters. He then explained the five topics (viz., sarga, pratisarga, vamia, manvantara and vamianucarita) of this Purana thus:-In sarga Bhagavati, who, in her supreme (turiya) state, is

⁽so) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV. Nos. 9768-74 (incomplete; written in Devanagari).

⁽xvi) Poleman, Gensus of Indic Mss, p. 50, No. 1063 (with Nilakantha's commentary).

⁶¹ Dbh. VI. 31. 57a—pürvärdho'yam puränanya kathitas tava suvrata. See also the post-colophon statement (saytha-skandhätmakah pürvärdhah sanipürnah) of chap. 31 of Skandha VI of the Vanga. ed.

⁶⁰⁹ In some of the Mss of the Devi-bhāgavata, this line is given as 'jivat-hṛt-kañja-nilayām buddhim yā nah pracodayāt'.—See Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3363; Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sam. College Cat., IV, No. 35; and Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., No. 136, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰ The printed texts read 'visvasanam'. Aufrecht's Ms reads 'vinasanam'.

in the list of Puranas given in Dbh I. 3. 3-12 the 'Bhagavata' occupies the fourth place.

'nirguna', 'nitya' and 'voga-gamya', takes to the gunas and manifests herself, for the sake of creation, as Sattviki, Rajasi and Tāmasī Šaktis in the forms of Mahālaksmī, Sarasvati and Mahākālī respectively; by pratisarga is meant the origin of Brahmā, Visnu and Rudra for creation, preservation and destruction respectively; vamia means the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, as well as those of Hiranyakasipu and others; maneantara involves the description of the periods of reign of the different Manus; and vamsanucarita consists of the accounts of the descendants of these Manus. Saunaka next narrated how all these sages came to Naimiṣāranya by following a wheel given to them by Brahmā at the advent of Kali, and asked Sñta to name the different Puranas before narrating the 'Purana furnished with the name of Bhagavati' (bhagavatyā nāma-yuktaņi puranam). Consequently, Suta named the eighteen Puranas with their extents, 855 as well as the eighteen Upapuranas, 856 and said that after writing the eighteen Puranas Vyasa wrote the unparalleled Mahābhārata, magnifying it by means of the Puranic contents, that Visnu took the form of Vyasa in every Dvāpara age and compiled the Purāṇas, and that in the Dyapara of the Vajvasvata Manvantara it was Vyasa, son of Satyavatī, who wrote the Purānas, because in the Kali age Brahmins became short-lived and had little intelligence, and women, Sudras and the unworthy members of the higher three castes were not entitled to hear the Vedas. Sūta then named the twenty-seven Vyāsas657 preceding

as Dbh I, 3. 13-15. For the names of the Upapuranas in this list, see Vol. I,

Chap. I (p. 10).

Dbh I. 3. 2-12. In these verses the names and extents of the Purhuas are given as follows: Mārsya of 44000 verses; Mārkandeya of 9000 verses; Bhavisya of 14500 verses; Bhagavata of 10000 verses; Brahma-purhua of 10,000 verses; Brahma-yaivarta of 18000 verses; Vāmana of 10,000 verses; Vāyavya of 24600 verses; Vaiņava of 23000 verses; Vārāha of 24000 verses; Agni-putāņa of 15000 verses; Nārada of 25000 verses; the voluminous (ripula) Pādma of 55000 verses; the Linga of 11000 verses; the Gāruda, spoken out by Hari (hari-bhāgitam), comisted of 19000 verses; the Purāṇa declared by Kūrma comisted of 17000 verses; and the extremely wonderful (paramādbhuta) Skānda comisted of 81000 verses.

⁶⁶⁷ Svayambhü, Prajāpaul, Uianas, Mṛṭyu, Maghavan, Vasiṣṭita, Sārasvata, Trichāman, Trivṛṭa, Bharadvāja, Antarikṣa, Dharma, Trayyāruni, Dhamnuṇaya, Medhānithi, Vratin, Atri, Gautama, Uttama, Haryātman, Vena Vājašravas, Soma Amuṣyāyana, Tṛṇabindu, Bhārgava, and Sakti Jātukarnya (Dbh 1, 3, 26-33).

Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, son of Satyavati, and said that the twenty-eighth Vyāsa (son of Satyavati) wrote the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata-purāṇa' (i.e. the Devi-bhāgavata) and taught it to his son Suka who was born from an 'araṇi' and was indifferent to the world from his very birth. This reference to Śuka roused curiosity in the sages to hear about Śuka's birth and conduct; and in chaps. 4-19 we find Sūta narrating the story of Śuka, with relevant digressions, in the following way:

While living in his hermitage on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, once chanced to notice with interest the affectionate care of a pair of sparrows for their newborn offspring. This sight had such a great appeal to Vyāsa's mind that he began to muse on the benefits of having a son. He felt in his mind a strong desire for one, and determined to practise austerities for the purpose. At Narada's advice he went to the mountain Meru and worshipped Devi and Mahadeva by muttering the monosyllabic Vāg-bija. Mahādeva granted to Vyāsa a boon, which resulted in the birth of Suka from Vyāsa's energy discharged on an 'arani' at the sight of the nymph Ghṛtācī who had assumed the form of a female parrot (śuki). From his very birth Suka was indifferent to worldly pleasures and wanted to lead the life of a celibate. Being unable to persuade Suka to marry, Vyāsa asked him to study the 'Bhāgavata-Purăņa' (i.e. the Devi-bhāgavata) which Vyāsa himself wrote and of which the essence had been revealed in times of yore by Bhagavatī in a single line (viz., sarvam khalv idam evāham nānyad asti sanātanam—Dbh I. 15. 52b) to Visņu when the latter was lying as a child on a Vata-leaf. Suka studied this 'Bhagavata Purana' but did not change his mind. So, Vyāsa sent Suka to Janaka, king of Videha. Janaka pointed out to Suka the dangers of spontaneous renunciation and convinced him that it was highly necessary for one to pass successively through all the stages of life, and that even in the second stage of life one can be free from all kinds of attachment by training up his mind. He praised the sacrificial religion of the Vedas, although it often required the killing of animals, drinking of Soma, playing with dice,

and similar other practices. Being fully convinced, Śuka returned to Vyāsa, married Pīvarī, daughter of the Pitṛs, and begot on her three sons and a daughter. He muttered the Māyā-bīja and passed into the sky by means of yoga-practices.

The above story of Suka has been interspersed with various digressions which are as follows:

Chap. 5.—Viṣṇu's attainment, through Devi's favour, of the form of Hayagriva as a result of a curse of Viṣṇu's wife Mahālakṣmī (who was under the influence of Tāmasī Śakti) as well as of the boon granted by the Tāmasī Śakti to the demon Hayagriva who worshipped her by muttering the monosyllabic Māyā-bīja and desired to be killed by none but Hayagriva.

Chaps. 6-9.—Brahmā's rousing of Viṣṇu by eulogising Yogamāyā, and Viṣṇu's killing of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who had pleased Devi by muttering the Vāg-bija and received from her a boon that their death would depend upon their own wish.

Chaps. 11-13.—Birth of Budha from Tārā by Soma; Sudyumna's change into a female named Ilā, and the birth of Purūravas from Ilā by Budha; Sudyumna's worship of Devī mounted on a lion; story of Purūravas and Urvašī.

Chap. 18.—Story of king Śaśabindu whose cow-sacrifice gave rise to the river Carmanvati.

Chap. 19.—Story of the mutual curse of Nimi and Vasistha. 458

Chap. 20.—Śāntanu's marriage with Satyavati, mother of Vyāsa, and the birth of Citrāngada and Vicitravīrya. Citrāngada's death in a fight with a Gandharva of the same name. Vicitravīrya's marriage with Ambikā and Ambālikā, daughters of the king of Kāsī, and his untimely death by consumption. Satyavatī's appointing of Vyāsa to raise children on the childless wives of Vicitravīrya, and the consequent birth of Dhṛṭarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura.

The contents of the remaining Skandhas are as follows.

⁴⁰⁵ In the Devi-bhāgavata Satyavati is called 'daughter of Dāia' and 'daughter of Niṣāda'.—Dbh II. 5, venes 3, 18 etc.; 1, 20, 5; 11, 3, 4; and so no.

Skandha II

Chap. 1.—Birth of Matsyagandhā (also called Kālī and Matsyodarī) from an Apsaras named Adrikā when the latter assumed the form of a fish due to the curse of a sage and ate up the energy of Vasu Uparicara, king of Cedi.

Chap. 2.—Story of Parāśara's union with Matsyagandhā,

and the birth of a part of Vișņu as Vyāsa.

Chap. 3.—Brahmā's curse on king Mahābhişa and Gangā who became enamoured of each other, and the former's birth as Śāntanu (son of king Pratīpa). Vasiṣṭha's curse on the Vasus, especially on Dyaulı, to be born as human beings, because Dyaulı stole Vasiṣṭha's cow Nandini with the help of the other Vasus.

Chap, 4.—Gangā's union with Śāntanu, and the birth of the eight Vasus as her sons. Gangā's drowning of all her sons except the last, viz., Gāngeya, who was Dyauh reborn and whom Gangā handed over to Śāntanu after he

had attained youth.

Chap. 5.—Gāngeya's promise to renounce his right to the throne and to remain unmarried throughout his life.

Sāntanu's marriage with Satyavati.

Chap. 6.—Birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's marriage with Gāndhārī and Saubalī, and Pāṇḍu's marriage with Kuntī and Mādrī. Story of the birth of Karņa and the five Pāṇḍavas. Pāṇḍu's death at

the time of embracing Mādrī.

[The names of the different kinds of sons are given in this chapter as follows:— aṃśaja, putrikā-putra, kṣetraja, golaka, kuṇḍa, sahoḍha, kānina, krīta, vana-prāpta (prāptas tathā vane), and datta.—Verses 47-48. Dbh VII. 16.15 also speaks of 'ten kinds of sons'—putrā daśa-vidhāḥ proktāḥ, but in Dbh VI. 13. 7-8 there is mention of 'thirteen kinds of sons', of which krīta is one.—trayodaśa-vidhāḥ putrāḥ kathitā dharma-saṃgrahe / tasmāt krītaṃ sutaṃ kṛtvā [/]

Chap. 7.—Names of the wives and descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Bhīma's ill treatment to Dhṛtarāṣṭra after his sons' death. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's performance of śrāddha cere-

monies for his deceased sons, and his retirement to the forest with Vidura, Gändhäri and Kunti. Vidura's death. Kunti, Gändhäri and Subhadrā's request to Vyāsa to show them Karņa, Duryodhana and Abhimanyu respectively; and Vyāsa's compliance with this request through the favour of Devi Śribhuvaneśvari who lives in Maņidvīpa.

Chaps. 8-9.—Extinction of the whole family of the Yadavas including Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and the sequence

thereof. Pāṇḍavas' death on the Himālaya.

King Pariksit's hunting excursion, and his insult to a sage by putting a dead snake round his neck. The sage's son's curse on Pariksit to die of snake-bite.

Story of sage Ruru (a descendant of Bhṛgu) who revived his snake-bitten wife Pramadvarā by giving her half of his own longevity. Parikṣit's precautions for avoiding the curse.

Chap. 10.—Story of the meeting of Kasyapa and Takṣaka on their way to Parīkṣit's residence, and the testing of their power on a Banian tree. Takṣaka's entrance into a

fruit and causing the death of king Pariksit.

Chap. 11.—Janamejaya's accession to the throne, his marriage with the daughter of Suvarpavarman, king of Kāśi, and his commencement of a snake-sacrifice at the advice of sage Uttańka who was troubled by Takṣaka. Uttańka's narration of the story of Ruru, who set out for killing snakes and met a Dundubha which, being relieved of its snakehood, turned a Brahmin and advised Ruru to practise ahiŋṣā except in sacrifices. Janamejaya's snake-sacrifice stopped by Āstika, son of sage Jaratkāru. Vaiśaṃpāyana's recitation of the 'Bhārata' to Janamejaya, but the latter's mental unrest and approach to Vyāsa for advice about the way of attaining peace.

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa's proposal to narrate the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' (also called 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata') which he taught to his own son Śuka and which contained the essence of all the Vedas (sarvāgama-samuddhṛta). Vyāsa's narration of the story of Jaratkāru's marriage with Vāsuki's sister (named Jaratkāru), and the birth of Āstīka. Story of Garuḍa's

redemption of his mother Vinata from slavery. Vyāsa's praise of Devi and her worship.

Skandha III

Chap. 1.—Janamejaya's wish to know about Devi and her worship. Vyāsa's consequent description of his meeting with Nārada and of questioning the latter about the nature of that deity which occupies the highest position and is the primal source of the universe.

Chap. 2.—Nārada's description of what he had heard from Brahmā on the same topic.—Brahmā's confusion at the sight of the world immersed in water; his meeting with Mahāviṣṇu, who, being left by Devī Yoganidrā, awoke and killed Madhu and Kaiṭabha; and his start with Rudra and Mahāviṣṇu in an aerial car (vimāna) brought by Devī.

Chap. 3.—Passing of the car through a number of beautiful regions, in which they found Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva⁵⁵³ different from themselves. Arrival of the car in a region which was occupied by Devi Śribhuvaneśvari,⁶⁶⁰ who is called 'kumāri', 'mahāvidyā', 'mahāmāyā' and 'pūrṇā prakṛti' and is said to have preserved in her own body the seed of creation.⁶⁶¹

Chap. 4.—Devi's transforming of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva into charming young girls; and the latter's viewing of the whole universe (including themselves and the other gods

^{***} This Siva is described as follows:

... bhagavañ chambhur vparūdhas teilocanah /

paūcānano dala-bhujah kria-somārdha-iekharah //
vyūghra-carma-parādhāno gaja-carmontarīyakah /

pārņui-rakņau mahāvirau gajānana-tadānanau //
Venes 21-22.

[&]quot;a She is described in verses 38if. as 'rakta-mālyāmbara-dharā', 'aurakta-nayanā', 'vidyut-keţi-tama-prabhā', 'arunā', 'vara-pālānkuśābhlti-dharā', 'sarva-trīgāra-veiddhyā', etc. According to Vitou, she is the mother (janani) of himself as well as of Brahmā and Siva (yerse 67).

For description of Devi Sribhubanesvari, the resident of Manidvipa, see also Dbb Vi. 5.50-56; VI. 8. 57-62; VII. 30. 3; VIII. 31. 31-41; and so on.

¹¹¹ Dbh III, 3, 54-35-

liogāni sarva-jivānām svatarīre nivriya ca/ sarva-bijamayī hy ejā rājute sāmpratam surati//

and goddesses) in the nail of her toe. Eulogy of Devi Śribhuvaneśvari by Viṣṇu who was 'yuvatī-bhāva-saṃsthitā'.

Chap. 5.—Siva's culogy of Devi, and his receipt of the nine-syllabled mantra from the latter. Brahmā's eulogy of Devi and prayer to her to explain her own self.

[In all the culogies Devi is called the primal source of the

universe.]

Chap. 6.—Devi's description of her own self. (—Devi is 'eka advitiya brahma', but she assumes 'dvaita-bhāva' in creation. She is neither male nor female, nor is she neuter. She appears as the Śaktis** of the different gods and enables them to do their own duties). Devi's creation of the three Śaktis, viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālaksmī and Mahākāli from herself, and her giving of these Śaktis to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Her instruction to Brahmā and others to mutter her nine-syllabled mantra and do their respective duties. Unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva advocated. Brahmā and others' attainment of male-hood and return to their former place.

Chap. 7.—Description of Nirgunā Šakti and Nirguna Puruṣa who are but one. The three gunas (sattva, rajas and

tamas) and their effects.

Chaps. 8-9.—A discussion on the nature of the three gunas and the mode of their operation.

Praise of Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmi and Mahākālī, as well as of uttering even the syllable 'q' (which is bereft

of the nasal) out of fear or otherwise.

Chaps. 10-11.—Story of Utathya (alias Satyatapas or Satyavrata), son of Devadatta of Kośala, who, being born as a fool in consequence of Gobhila's curse on his father, retired to the forest, became a renowned poet by unconsciously uttering the Sārasvata bija out of compassion for a boar wounded by a fowler, and spontaneously pronounced, like Vālmīki, a śloka—

yā paśyati na sā brūte yā brūte sā na paśyati /

^{***} Namely, Gauri, Brāhmi, Raudri, Vārāhi, Vaiquavi, Šivā, Vāruņi, Kauveri, Nārasiṃhi, Vāsavi and others.

aho vyādha sva-kāryārthin kim prechasi punaḥ punaḥ // (chap. 11, verse 41).

[In chap. 11, verse 36 truth is defined as follows: satyam na satyam khalu yatra himsā dayānvitam cānṛtam eva satyam / hitam narāṇām bhavatīha yena tad eva satyam na tathānyathaiva //]

Chap. 12.—Vyāsa's description of the method and result of performing Devī-yajña, which may be sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa according as the performers are sages, kings and Rākṣasas respectively. The necessity of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and mantra-śuddhi in Devī-yajña.

Chap. 13.—Brahmā's creation of the world as well as of gods, sages and others. Viṣṇu's performance of Devi-yajña according to the instructions of Devi (the resident of Maṇidvipa), and his attainment of the highest position among all the gods. Results of worshipping Devi in images according to the Vedic method.

[Chaps. 14-25.—Story of Sudarsana, eldest son of Dhruvasandhi, king of Kośala.]

Chaps. 14-23.—Sudarśana, being deprived of the throne after his father's death by Yudhājit (the maternal grandfather of his step-brother Satrujit), took shelter in Bharadvāja's hermitage, won Devi's favour by muttering the syllable '##' (named Kāmarāja, which Sudarśana chanced to gather, in his childhood, from the word 'klīva' applied by the young hermits to his old chamberlain), became fortunate enough to see Vaiṣṇavī Śakti** even in his childhood, and was able to recover his kingdom by marrying Śaśikalā, daughter of Subāhu, king of Kāśī, in a 'svayamvara'.** Subāhu's eulogy

in Dbh III. 17. 42-43 Vaisoavi Sakti, as seen by Sudariana in his childhood, is described as follows:

raktāmbaraup rakta-varņaup rakta-sarvānga-bhūsaçam //
garude vāhane saņuihām vaiņasvim taktīm adbhutām /
dīņivā prasanna-vadanah sa babhūva nzpātmajah //

^{***} According to Dbh III. 18, 42-43 there are three kinds of 'evayaspvara'—inddregumeara, pane-swyapeara (such as Rāma's winning of Sirā by breaking Siva's bow), and lawyaiulka-mayapuara.

of Durgā, who protected Sudarsana during his fight with the rival kings.

[In chaps, 16 and 17 the following stories occur as

digressions:-

(1) Jayadratha's abduction of Draupadī during the absence of the Pāṇḍavas from the hermitage.

(2) Vāmana's chastisement of Bali.

(3) Viśvāmitra's sad experience in his attempt to take

Vasistha's cow Nandini by force.]

Chap. 24.—Durgā's consent to Subāhu to remain constantly at Benares and protect the city. Sudaršana's eulogy of Durgā, and the latter's instruction to him to go to Ayodhyā, establish her image there, worship her thrice daily, especially on the Aṣṭamī, Navamī and Caturdaśī Tithis as well as in the autumn season according to the Navarātra method, and observe great festivals in honour of her during the months of Caitra, Āśvina, Āṣāḍha and Māgha. Sudar-śana's description of Devī as both Saguṇā and Nirguṇā, and his praise of the Kāma-bīja.

Chap. 25.—Sudarśana's return to Ayodhyā and consecration of an image of Devī (Ambikā) which became famous in Kośala. Subāhu's consecration of an image of

Durgā at Benares,

Chap. 26.—Vyāsa's description of the Navarātra-vrata, which is to be observed in the months of Āśvina and Caitra in autumn and spring respectively, because these two seasons cause diseases and death to people and are thus known as 'Yama's teeth'.*

(In the Navarātra-vrata, which is to continue for 'nine nights' from Sukla-pratipad to Sukla-navamī and in which the worshippers are to observe complete fast or to take only one meal at daytime, the priests should be 'veda-vedānga-

^{***} Dbh 11. 26. 4b-7a-

dvāv trā yama-damijrākhyau nūnam sarva-janeņu vai / iarad-vananta-nāmānau durgamau prāpinām iha / tasmād yatnād idam kāryam sarvatra iuliham iechatā // dvāv eva sumahāghorāv mā roga-karau nmām / vasanta-faradāv eva janu-nāta-karāv ubhau // tasmāt tatra prakartavyam candikā-pūjamam budhaih /

pāraga', 'ācāra-nirata' and 'devi-tattva-viśārada', and Devi may be worshipped either in an image or in a yantra furnished with the nine-syllabled mantra. An image of Devi should be mounted on a lion and furnished with four hands having a conch-shell (śańkha), a discus (cakra), a mace (gadā) and a lotus (padma) in them. It may also have eighteen hands. In Devi-worship, buffaloes, he-goats and boars may be sacrificed by those who take meat, and virgin girls, aged not less than two years or more than ten years, ** are to be worshipped and honoured with food, clothes, ornaments etc.).

Chap. 27.—Qualifications of virgin girls eligible for worship; ess restrictions as regards their castes in case of

Brahmin, Kşatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra worshippers.

People, who are unable to observe the Navarātra-vrata duly, may worship Devi for three days from Saptami to Navami.

Praise of the performance of Navarātra-vrata.

Story of a poor merchant of Kośala, who attained prosperity by performing the Navarātra-vrata and muttering the Māyā-bija in accordance with the instructions of a Brahmin.

The Brahmin's reference to Rāma's performance of this

Vrata at Kiskindhyā for rescuing Sîtā.

Chaps. 28-30.—A short summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, with the mention of Rāma's performance of the Navarātra-vrata at Kiṣkindhyā in the month of

devl caturhastāyudbānvitā //
iankha-takra-gadā-padma-dharā simbe sthitā sivā /
astādafa-bhujā vāpi pratisthāpyā sanātanī //
arcābhāve tathā yanttam navārtja-mantra-samyutam /
sthāpayet pliha-pūjārtham kalasam tatra pārivatah //

In verses 44-52, the results of, and mastras for, worshipping these virgin girls have been described

104 According to Dish III. 26, 22 it was Rāms who cut the nose of Sürapanakhā.

^{***} Dbh 111, 26, 18-21-

Virgin girls aged 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 years are called Kumārikā (or Kumāri), Trimūri, Kalyāni, Rohini, Kālikā, Candikā, Šāmbhavi, Durgā and Subhadrā respectively.—Dbb. 111, 26, 40-43.

Birth in a high family is one of the disqualifications of these girls.—Verse I (viiila-kula-amplihavam).

Āśvina in accordance with Nārada's advice. Devī's appearance before Rāma by mounting a lion (siṃhārūḍhā), and her mention that it is Nārāyaṇa who took the forms of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, and the son of Jamadagni, and then appeared as the son of Dašaratha. Rāma's worship of 'Vijayā' and start on the Dašamī 'Tithi for victory over Rāvaṇa.

Skandha IV

Chap. I.—Janamejaya's questions regarding the cause of the incidents in the lives of Vasudeva, Devaki, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī.

Chap. 2.—Vyāsa's discourse on the inevitability of the fruits of actions (which are classified into 'sameita', 'bhaviṣya'

and 'prārabdha').

Chap. 3.—Cause of Kaśyapa's birth as Vasudeva and Aditi's birth as Devaki.—Kaśyapa's stealing of Varuna's cows, and the consequent curse of Varuna and Brahmā on Kaśyapa to be born, with his wife, in the family of Yadu.

Birth of the Maruts; and Diti's curse on Aditi to suffer the troubles of prison-life and to have her sons killed one

after another.

Chap. 4.-Vyāsa's speech on the power of māyā which

urges creatures to do various kinds of impious acts.

Chaps. 5-6.—Story of the austerity practised by Nara and Nārāyaṇa at Vadarikāśrama in the Himalayas by meditating on the Mahāvidyā as well as on the Tantric syllables called Vāg-bīja, Kāma-bīja and Māyā-bīja. Indra's fear, and his unsuccessful attempt to dissuade the sages from their austere practices first by offering to them the best boon, then by creating wolves, lions and tigers, and rain, wind and fire by means of his magic power (māyā), and finally by sending Kāma (Cupīd) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring) and 8050 Apsarases headed by Rambhā and Tilottamā. The reception given by Nārāyaṇa to the nymphs. His creation of Uravaśī by striking his thigh with his palm. His subsequent creation of other divine nymphs, who wanted

to have their creator as their husband. Nărayaṇa's rage against these nymphs,

Chap. 7.—Effects of 'ahamkāra', the birth place of

kāma, krodha etc.

Chap. 8.—Story of Cyavana, who entered the Narmadā for bath and was taken to the nether world by a Nāga. Cyavana's meeting with Prahlāda, his praise of manaḥ-śuddhi, and his mention of Naimiṣa as the best holy place.

Prahlāda's visit to Naimişa and bath in the Sarasvatī.

[In this chapter there is mention of the Niṣādas, Kaivartas, Hūṇas, Vaṅgas, Khasas and Mlecchas as living along the banks of the Ganges.—Verses 31-32.]

Chap. 9.—Prahlāda's fight with Nara and Nārāyaṇa, because, unlike the sages, they had bows and quivers.

Chaps, 10-14.—'Ahamkara' as the cause of the fight as well as of all kinds of actions,

Bhṛgu's curse on Viṣṇu to be born again and again as a human being, because Viṣṇu severed the head of Kāvya's mother who tried to save the Daityas by overpowering the

gods by means of her Yogic power.

Kāvya's penance in Kailāsa for getting a mantra from Mahādeva; his amorous sports with Jayanti for ten years; Bṛhaspati's disguise as Kāvya and preaching of Jaina dharma among the Daityas; Kāvya's return and curse on the infatuated Daityas to be defeated by the gods; Bṛhaspati's departure for heaven; Daityas' entreaty to Kāvya.

Chap. 15.—Gods' defeat in a war with the Daityas protected by Kāvya; Indra's eulogy of Devi (Vaiṣṇavi Śakti) as 'śūla-dhāriṇī', 'śańkha-cakra-gadā-padma-khaḍga-hastā', 'daśa-tattvātmikā', 'mahāvidyā-svarūpiṇī' etc., and the latter's appearance before Indra by mounting a lion, wearing red clothes and having four hands holding 'śańkha', 'cakra', 'gadā', and 'padma' in them.***

Prahlāda's culogy of Devī by calling her 'hrīm-mūrti',

ete Victore 22-23,

imhārūdhā caturhhujā //
iankha-cakra-gadā-padmān bibhrati cāru-locanā /
raktāmbara-dharā devi divya-mālya-vibhūsaṇā //

and his return to the nether world in accordance with Devi's wish.

Chap. 16.—Viṣṇu's incarnations (viz., Nara-and-Nārāyaṇa, Dattātreya, Nṛṣiṇḥa, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-and-Arjuna, and others) in the different Yugas and Manvantaras under the influence of Parā Prakṛti.

Chap. 17.—Nārāyaṇa's promise to the love-smitten nymphs to become their husband when he himself and Nara would be born as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna respectively in the

twenty-eighth Dvapara,

Chap. 18.—Indra and Brahmā's prayer to Viṣṇu to be born on earth and relieve her by killing Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, Kaṃsa and others. Viṣṇu's mention of the sufferings undergone by him in his different incarnations, especially as Rāma, and his confession that he is not the master of himself but is a mere tool in the hand of Devi Yoga-māyā.

[In verses 41-58, the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned. These incidents include Rāma's banishment of Sītā and the latter's entrance into the nether

world.]

Chap. 19.—Brahmā and others' invocation of Devi Bhuvaneśvarī Yogamāyā of Maņidvīpa with the citation of the mantra "mahālakṣmyai ca vidmahe sarva-śaktyai ca dhīmahi / tan no devi pracodayāt //²², and the latter's assurance that Kaśyapa, Aditi, Viṣṇu and others would be born on earth and accomplish their objects.

Chaps. 20-22.—Description of the power of Devi, who is

both Vidyā and Avidyā.

Birth of Kaśyapa and Aditi as Vasudeva and Devaki respectively. Vasudeva and Devaki's agreement with Kaṃsa at the time of their marriage, Kaṃsa's killing of their first six sons at the advice of Nārada (who is described as 'kalaha-priya'—chap. 22, verse 5). Accounts of the previous births of these sons. Names of gods and demons reborn on earth,

Chap. 23.—Transfer of Devaki's seventh son to Rohini's womb. Birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his transfer to Nanda's house. Yogamāyā's threat to Kamsa.

Chaps. 24-25.—Exploits of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Gokula, Mathurā and Dvāravatī. Story of Kṛṣṇa's bringing about the death of Kālayavana, king of Mlecchas.

Story of Pradyumna, who was stolen by Sambara immediately after his birth, but whom Kṛṣṇa recovered

through the favour of Devi Yogamāyā.

Kṛṣṇa's penance for winning the favour of Maheśvara. Vyāsa's praise of Devī, who was realised by Śvetāśvatara

and other sages.

[In chap. 25, verses 10-20 the main incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa have been mentioned in exemplifying the power of māyā. These incidents include Sītā's entrance into fire, Rāma's banishment of Sītā, and Sītā's entrance into the nether world.]

Skandha V

Chap. 1.—Cause of Kṛṣṇa's penance for Śiva's favour.— Superiority of Śiva (or Mūla-rudra) over Viṣṇu (of whom Kṛṣṇa is called only a partial incarnation—aṃśāvatāra);

māyā and ahamkāra, which steep all in nescience.

Chaps. 2-19.—Devi-māhātmya.—Story of the birth of the demon Mahişa from a mahişi (female buffalo) by the demon Rambha; Mahişa's occupation of heaven; gods' meeting for bringing about the death of Mahişa; origin of an eighteen-handed Devi (called 'Mahālakṣmi') from the energy of the gods, who furnished her with ornaments, weapons, and a lion as her vāhana; Mahiṣa's repeated proposal of marriage to Devi (who gave herself out as the mother of gods named Mahālakṣmi); Devi's war^{nı} with Mahiṣa and his generals; the latter's death; gods' eulogy of Devi; Devi's disappearance after promising help to the gods in all crises.

Chap. 20.—Passing of Devi (Mahālakṣmi) to her own place Maṇidvipa, which is situated in the ocean of nectar and where Devi, as Māyā-śakti, always sports in different

forms,

⁵⁰⁰ In describing the battlefield, Dhh V. 13, 33 refers to the use of goard-shells by learners of swimming.

Chaps. 21-31.—Story of the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha.—Their penance at Puşkara for Brahmā's favour; their occupation of heaven; their muttering of the Māyābija and penance on the Himālaya for Devi's favour; Devi's appearance as Pārvatī, from whose body came out Ambikā (called Kausikī) of incomparable beauty; Pārvatī's consequent dark complexion and name Kālikā; Kausikī and Kālikā's war with and killing of Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa and other demons; origin of Kālī (also called Cāmuṇḍā) from Devi's forehead; Devi's appellation 'Sivadūtī' for sending Siva as a messenger to Sumbha; death of Raktabīja, Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Chaps. 32-35.—Story of king Suratha and a Vaisya, who heard Devi-māhātmya from a sage, received the nine-syllabled mantra from him, and worshipped Devi by practising severe austerities.

The method of Devi-worship, as given in chap. 34, includes the following operations:— performance of bhūta-śuddhi and nyāsa; worship of Devi either in a metal image or in a yantra (diagram) which is to have six or eight corners and the syllables of the nine-syllabled mantra written in it, and is to be consecrated after the Vedic method; use of the nine-syllabled mantra in Devi-worship, which could be done either in the Tantric or in the Vedic method; 'fast for nine nights' during the Navarātra-vrata (which was open to Sūdras and in which virgin girls were to be worshipped and fed).

Skandha VI

Chap. I.—Tvastr's creation of a son named Viśvarūpa (also called Triśiras for having three heads) out of enmity against Indra; Viśvarūpa's severe austerities, which could not be disturbed by Aprasases.

Chap. 2.—Indra's killing of Viśvarūpa; Takṣan's severing of Viśvarūpa's heads in temptation for having a

^{25. 38; 26.4; 31.18;} and so on.

share of the sacrificial offerings; origin of various kinds of birds from the severed heads; Tvastr's rage and creation of Vrtra⁶⁷² from the sacrificial fire.

Chap. 3.—Vrtra's war against Indra, and the latter's defeat.

Chap. 4.—Vrtra's receipt of a boon from Brahmã, and his occupation of heaven.

Chap. 5.—Gods' eulogy of Devî (described as 'pāśāń-kuśa-varābhīti-lasad-bāhu-catuṣṭayā', 'netra-traya-vibhūṣitā', 'raktāmbara-parīdhānā' etc. in verses 50-56) for infatuating Vṛtra.

Chap, 6.—Indra's treaty with Vrtra, and his killing of the latter in the evening by means of a mass of foam containing the thunder as well as Visnu's energy.

Chap. 7.—Tvaṣṭṛ's curse on Indra. The latter's residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasa lake for escaping 'Brahma-hatyā'. Appointment of Nāhuṣa in place of Indra. Nāhusa's passion for Śacī.

Chap. 8.—Indra's escape from 'Brahma-hatyā' by performing a horse-sacrifice at the advice of Viṣṇu. Śaci's worship of Devi Śribhuvaneśvari, *** and the latter's consent to infatuate Nahuṣa and degrade him from the position of Indra. Śaci's meeting with Indra in the Mānasa lake.

Chap. 9,-Sages' curse on Nahusa to become a snake.

Chap. 10.—Vyāsa's discourse on different kinds of 'karma' (viz., sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa; and sameita, vartamāna and prārabdha).

Chap. 11.—Vyāsa's description of yuga-dharma. [In the Satya-yuga Brahmins remain engaged in Devi-worship and mutter the Māyā-bija; and the Rākṣasas of the previous Yugas are reborn as Brahmins in the Kali age, mostly follow the Pāṣaṇḍa-dharma, and serve Śūdras.⁴⁷³]

^{***} Dbh VI.2.44

vrjinkt trātum adhunā yasmāc chakto 'si putraka / taunād vrtra iti khyātam tava nāma bhavisyati //

[&]quot;She is described as 'haqusa-vāhint,' 'vidyut-koṭi-samānābhā,' 'pāśāńkuṭābhayavarān dadhaṭt,' and 'locanatraya-bhūṣiṭā'.—Verses 57-62,

en See vener 36ff.

Praise of the power of Devi-worship in destroying sin.

Chap. 12.—Names of holy rivers,678 mountains, lakes,677 and places678 which are sacred to Devi.

Praise of dravya-śuddhi, kriyā-śuddhi and manaḥ-śuddhi.

Story of king Hariścandra, who was attacked with dropsy (jalodarābhidhā vyādhiḥ) due to his breach of promise of sacrificing his own son Rohita to Varuṇa.

Chap. 13.—Vasistha's advice to king Hariscandra to perform the sacrifice with a 'purchased son', and Hariscandra's purchase of Sunahsepha from his father Ajigarta; Sunahsepha's prayer to Varuna in accordance with Visvâmitra's advice; and Varuna's favour to both Sunahsepha and Hariscandra,

Story of the fight between the ādī (a kind of bird) and the vaka (crane) into which Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra had respectively been transformed by their mutual curse.

Chap. 14.—Story of Vasistha's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuna as a result of Nimi's curse on Vasistha who, in spite of Nimi's request to help him in performing a sacrifice for the pleasure of Devi, went to heaven to attend a sacrifice instituted by Indra, and after return cursed Nimi to be 'videha' (bodiless).

Chap. 15.—Nimi's residing, as nimişa, in the eyes of creatures through Devi's favour. Birth of Janaka from a fire-producing stick (arani).

Vyāsa's speech on the bad effects of passions as well as

on the results of śābdika and anubhavākhya jñāna.

Chaps. 16-19.—Slaughter of Bhrgus by Haihayas for the former's refusal to render pecuniary help to the latter. Worship of Devi by the females of the Bhrgu family, and the consequent birth of a son named Aurva who blinded the Haihayas by the brilliance of his body and thus saved the remaining Bhrgus.

Viz., Gangā, Yamunā, Saratvati, Narmadā, Gandaki, Gomati, Tamasā, Candrabhāgā, Vetravati, Tāpil. Sāhhramati, etc.

¹⁹⁷ Viz., Manasa and Bindusaras,

res Viz., Puşkara, Kurukşetra, Dharmaranya, Prayüga, Arvudâranya etc.

Story of the origin of the family of the Haihayas.— Lakṣmī's abstraction at the sight of Revanta (son of Sūrya), her birth as a marc in consequence of Viṣṇu's curse, her union with Viṣṇu who approached her as a horse at the request of Siva, and the birth of Ekavîra (alias Haihaya), from whom the Haihaya family started.

Chaps. 20-23.—Story of Ekavîra, who was given to Yayāti's son Turvasu (alias Harivarman) by Viṣṇu. Ekavīra's accession to the throne of his foster-father; his meeting with Yaśovatī, who narrated how her friend Ekāvalī, daughter of king Raibhya, was abducted by a demon named Kālaketu, how she received a Devī-mantra from a Brahmin and worshipped Devī for three months with great devotion, and how, being instructed by Devī, she came to the bank of the Ganges in search of Ekavīra; Ekavīra's receipt of a Yogeśvarī-mahāmantra named Trilokī-tilaka from Dattātreya and rescue of Ekāvalī after killing Kālaketu; and his marriage with Ekāvalī.

Chaps. 24-25.—Vyāsa's description of his own appointment by his mother Satyavatī to raise children on the widowed wives of Vicitravirya; birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura; descendants of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu; incidents in the life of the Pāṇḍavas.

Power of 'moha' (delusion of the mind) in confounding

even the wisest men.

Chaps. 26-31.—Nature and power of māyā explained and illustrated by means of stories.—Nārada and Parvata's travel on earth; mutual love between Nārada and Damayanti, daughter of king Sañjaya; Parvata's curse on Nārada to become monkey-faced; Nārada's marriage with Damayanti in spite of the latter's father's protest; and Nārada's attainment of his previous facial beauty.

Story of Nārada's experience after turning a female named Saubhāgya-sundarī by bathing, at Visņu's advice,

in a lake near Kānyakubja.

Praise of Devi, who only is capable of releasing creatures from māyā.

Skandha VII

Chap. 1.—Origin of Brahmā, his worship of Mahādevī, and his creation of his mind-born (mānasa) sons as well as of Vīriņī who was married to Dakṣa. Creation by Dakṣa; Nārada's sending away of Dakṣa's sons to measure the earth before creation; Dakṣa's curse on Nārada for doing so; and Nārada's consequent birth as a son of Vīriņī. Marriage of Dakṣa's daughters with Kasyapa, Dharma, Soma, Bhṛgu and others.

Chaps. 2-5.—Kaśyapa's descendants including Vivasvān, whose son was Vaivasvata Manu. Descendants of Vaivasvata Manu.

Story of Cyavana's blindness caused by Sukanyā (daughter of king Śaryāti of the Solar race), his marriage with the latter, and his regaining of his eye-sight and youthful beauty through the favour of Aśvins pleased by Sukanyā. Cyavana's promise to make Aśvins have a share of the Somadrink in sacrifices.

Chaps, 6-8.—Śaryāti's performance of a sacrifice at the advice of Cyavana (who is said to be a devotee of Deví), and the latter's compelling Indra to recognise the Aśvins as sharers of the Soma-drink in this as well as in other sacrifices by benumbing him as well as his thunder-weapon and by creating a 'kṛtyā' named Mada for his destruction.

Saryāti's descendants. Story of king Revata, who saw Brahmā in the Brahma-loka and gave his daughter Revatī in marriage to Baladeva at Brahmā's advice.

Position of the different lokas (such as Indra-loka, Vahni-loka etc.) on the peak of Meru.

King Mahābhişa and Gangā's looking amorously at each other, and Brahmā's consequent curse on them to be born on earth.

Chap. 9.—Story of Vikukşi (son of Ikşvāku), who, while hunting animals for aṣṭakā-śrāddha to be performed by his father, ate the meat of a hare, and was consequently named Śaśāda and forsaken by his enraged father.

Story of Kakutstha (son of Vikukși), who was a devotee

of Devi and fought the demons by mounting Indra transformed into a bull,

Names of Kakutstha's descendants including Kuvalayāśva (who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the demon Dhundhu) and Māndhātṛ (who is said to have constructed one thousand and eight Devī-temples at different holy places).

Story of Mandhatr's birth.

Chaps. 10-11.—Names of Māndhātṛ's descendants including Satyavrata (son of Aruṇa), who, being discarded by his father for marrying a Brahmin's wife by force, lived with the Śvapākas (who used to abduct the wives of the twice-born people), *** supported Viśvāmitra's wife and children during his absence, became known as Triśańku by killing Vasiṣṭha's cow, worshipped Devī by muttering the nine-syllabled mantra, and succeeded his father through Devī's fayour.

Aruņa's instructions to his son Triśanku.

Chaps, 12-14.—Story of Triśańku's attempt to ascend heaven with the human body through Viśvāmitra's help, and the result thereof.

Story of Viśvāmitra's eating the meat of a dog during a

famine (chap. 13, verses 8-27).

Chaps. 14-17.—Story of king Hariścandra (son of Triśańku).—His dejection due to his sonlessness; his worship of Varuna for a son; Varuna's granting a boon on condition that this son would be sacrificed to him; birth of Rohita; Hariścandra's deferring the performance of the sacrifice under various pretexts; Rohita's escape from the capital; Varuna's curse on Hariścandra to have dropsy; Hariścandra's purchase of Śunahśepha from his father Ajigarta; Śunahśepha's eulogy of Varuna; and so on.

[For this story see also Dbh VI, chaps. 12-13.]

Chaps. 18-27,-Story of king Hariscandra's sufferings

on Dhh VII. 10. 16a-

śwapącasya kranp karma dvija-darapaharanam/

brought on by Viśvamitra, to whom the king had given his whole kingdom. 680

The story runs as follows.-Vasistha praised Hariscandra for his munificence and other qualities. This excited Viśvāmitra, who promised to lower the king in public opinion. Once Hariścandra met a beautiful young woman in a forest and learnt from her that she was troubled by Viśvāmitra's severe penance. Hariścandra approached Viśvāmitra and requested him not to create trouble to others. This enraged Viśvāmitra. He lured Hariścandra into an unknown forest by sending to the latter's pleasuregarden a demon in the form of a boar (. . . danavam . . . / presayāmāsa ... vidhāya śūkarākṛtim // -chap. 18, verse 16b-17a). Finding that Hariścandra had lost his way, Viśvāmitra appeared before him in the form of an old Brahmin. Hariscandra requested this Brahmin to lead him out of the forest and promised to give him enormous wealth for his service. This gave Viśvāmitra a grand chance. On the pretext of marrying his son, whom he created by his magic power, Viśvāmitra asked the king to give him his entire kingdom. The king readily agreed and returned to Ayodhyā. Viśvāmitra also followed him there, accepted the whole kingdom, asked Hariscandra for proper 'daksiņā', and ordered him out of his kingdom. Hariscandra went to Benares and paid up the 'dakṣiṇā' at the last moment by selling his wife Saivyā and son Rohita to an old Brahmin (who was none but Viśvāmitra himself in disguise), and himself to Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, in his turn, sold Hariścandra to a Candala (who was Dharma in disguise). Now, in course of time, Rohita was bitten to death by a cobra sent by Viśvāmitra. But Śaivyā was not allowed by her master to see her son till midnight. When, at dead of night, she went to her son's dead body, people took her to be a fiend that used to kill children (bāla-ghātini) and handed her over to the Candala. The Candala ordered his servant

This story has been influenced by that in the Mirkandeya-purana, as is shown by the verses of the latter retained in Dbh VII. 18-27.

Hariścandra to kill Śaivyā. When, with great reluctance, Hariścandra got ready to carry out his master's order, Śaivyā narrated the sad story of her son's death and sought his permission to bring the dead body there for cremation. Then, with Hariścandra's permission, the dead body was brought to the cremation ground; Hariścandra and Śaivyā recognised each other and decided to burn themselves with their son. They prepared a funeral pyre and meditated on Devi Śatākṣī (i.e. Śākambharī) before entering it. At this moment, the gods appeared there, revived Rohita, and allowed Hariścandra to ascend heaven with his wife and subjects.]

Chap. 28.—Story of Devî Bhuvaneśvari's appearance as Śatākṣī (alias Śākambharī)⁴¹² during a famine for sustaining the creation by killing the demon Durgama on the Himālaya. [During her war with Durgama, Śatākṣī was helped by her Śaktis, viz., Kālikā, Tāriṇī, Tripurā, Bhairavī, Bagalā, Mātaṅgī, Kāmākṣī, Chinnamastā and others, who issued

from her own body.—See verses 54ff.]

Chaps. 29-30.—Praise of worship of Devi (Bhuvane-

śvari), who is called the highest deity.

Story of the powerlessness of Viṣṇu and Śiva who felt proud of their own capacity in killing the demons called Hālāhala and were consequently forsaken by Mahālakṣmī

and Gauri respectively.

Dakşa and others' muttering of the Māyā-bija on the Himālaya, and their prayer to Devi Bhuvaneśvari, the resident of Maṇidvipa (maṇidvip-ādhivāsini); Devi's assurance that one of her Śaktis would be born to Dakşa as Sati and another would come out of the ocean and be known as Mahālakṣmi.

Story of Sati.—In course of time Devi's energy was born to Dakşa as Satī and was married to Siva. Once Nārada gave to Dakṣa a garland which he had received from Devi by muttering the Māyā-bija, but Dakṣa did not show due

⁸⁴ She is described as 'raksâmbara-paridhânâ' and 'nânâyudha-dharâ'. — Chap. 27, venes 2-3.

^{***} For description of Satakal see verses 33-37.

regard to this garland and thus dishonoured both Siva and Devi. So, Sati did not think it proper to retain her body which she had received from Daksa, but burnt it to ashes by means of Yogic fire. Though Siva was very much excited at Sati's death, he stopped Virabhadra from destroying the three worlds, made Daksa goat-faced, lamented for Sati, and roamed about on earth with Sati's body on his shoulder. Viṣṇu severed Sati's limbs with his arrows. These limbs fell in different places and created one hundred and eight 'siddha-piṭhas', as which were resorted to by both Devi and and Siva and in which Devi should be worshipped with the Māyā-bija. It is to be noted that though these piṭhas include Ekāmrakṣetra, Puruṣottama, Vaidyanātha and Puṇḍra-vardhana, most of them belong to the western part of Northern India.

Chap. 31.—Gods' prayer to Devi (the resident of Manidvipa) 444 to furnish Siva with a wife, so that Siva's son born of this wife might kill the demon Tāraka. Devi's assurance that her Sakti would be born to Himālaya as Gauri and become Siva's wife,

Chaps. 32-34.—At the request of Himālaya, Devī described her own self and her relation to the world, and revealed her 'virāḍ-rūpa', which was composed of the whole universe and which filled the gods with awe. Devī's speech on karman and jīāna, and her explanation of the syllable 'hrīm'.

[These and the following few chapters deal with Sakta theology and philosophy as conceived by the author of the Devi-bhāgavata.]

Chaps. 35-36.—Devi's description of the method of practising yoga.—The different kinds of impediments to yoga; description of yama, niyama, āsana, prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi; number of veins (nāḍi) in the body; names and functions of the principal veins; names

** She is described as 'păiătkuis-varābhlti-caturbāhu', 'trilocană' etc.—See venes

for the names of these pithas see thap, 30, verses 53-84. These verses are practically the same as Mat. 13, 25-53 and Pd (Srati-kh.) 17,188ff., but neither in the Matsya-p, nor in the Padma does the name 'siddha-plaha' for these holy places occur-

and description of padmas in the body; method of practising yoga, which should be learnt from the spiritual preceptor and not from books (gurupadesato jñevo nanyatha sastrakotibhih); realisation of Brahma.

Praise of a guru, who should give instructions on Brahma-

jñāna to his eldest son or to a devoted disciple.

Chap. 37.—Devi's description of the different kinds of bhakti, viz., tāmasī, rājasī, sāttvikī and parā; and her praise of sattviki and para bhakti. [Devi explains the relation between jāāna and bhakti thus: bhaktes tu yā parā kāsthā saiva jūānam prakīrtitam.—Verse 28.]

Chap, 38.—Devi's mention of the names of those holy

places which should be visited by her worshippers.

These places are the following:-Kolāpura, where Laksmi dwells permanently; Mātypura; Tuljāpura; Kāncipura; places of Hingulā, Jvālāmukhī, Śākambharī, Bhrāmarī, Srīraktadantikā, Durgā, Vindhyācala-nivāsinī, Bhīmādevī, Vimalā, Śrīcandralā, Kausikī, Nīlāmbā situated 'on the peak of the Nîlaparvata', Jāmbûnadeśvarī 'in Śrīnagara', Guhyakālī 'in Nepāla', Mīnākṣī 'in Cidambara', Mahālasā, Yogeśvari, and Nilasarasvati 'in Cina'; 888 Vedāranya, the place of Sundari: Ekāmbarā; Vaidyanātha, the place of Bagalā; Manidvipa, the place of Śrīmac-chribhuvaneśvari; Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala, the place of Śrimat-tripurabhairavi; Puskara, the best place of Gāyatri; Amareśa; Prabhāsa; Naimisa; Mahāsthāna; Nākula; Japyeśvara; Āmrātakeśvara; Mahākāla; Kedāra; Gayā; Kurukṣetra; Kanakhala; Mākota; and so on.]

Names of Devi-vratas which should be observed by males and females, viz., Ananta-trtivā-vrata, Rasa-kalyāṇinivrata, Ārdrānandakarī-vrata, Šukravāra-vrata, Kṛṣṇacaturdaši-vrata, Bhaumavāra-vrata, Pradosa-vrata, Somavāra-

vrata, the two Navarātra-vratas, and 'many others'.

Names of festivals (utsava) to be performed in honour of

One of these padmer is called 'manipadma'.- Chap. 35, verse 30.

tatha nilasarasvatyah schāṇaṃ cineju viicutam.—Verse 13.

^{**} irtmat-tripurabhairavyāh kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍalam.—Verse 15.

Devi, especially Dolotsava, Śayanotsava, Jāgaraņotsava, Rathotsava, Damanotsava, and Pavitrotsava.

Chap. 39.—Devi's description of the different ways of her worship.—There are two kinds of worship, viz., outer (bāhya) and inner (ābhyantara). Outer (bāhya) worship is, again, of two kinds, viz., Vedic and Tantric. Outer Vedic worship may be performed in two different ways according to the difference in the forms of the deity. Persons, having Vedic initiation, are entitled to perform Vedic worship, but those, who are initiated according to the directions of the Tantras, must follow the Tantric method.

Description of the first type of outer Vedic worship (bāhyā vaidikī pūjā), in which Devi's 'virāḍ-rūpa' should be conceived and worshipped with the performance of sacrifices etc., and the directions of the Vedas should be followed. [In this connection it is said that Siva composed the anti-Vedic (śruti-smṛti-viruddhāni) Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kapālakas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas for deluding people, and that he wrote the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇa-vas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas for correcting those twice-born who had been cursed by Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca.]***

In the second type of outer Vedic worship, Devi is to be worshipped in any of the following mediums,—image, altar, solar orb, lunar orb, water, Bāṇaliṅga, yantra and mahāpaṭa, and the worshipper is to meditate on her as 'aruṇāruṇā', 'śṛṅgāra-rasa-saṃpūrṇā', 'candra-khaṇḍa-śikhaṇḍinī', and 'pāśāṅkuśa-varābhīti-dharā',***

Description of inner worship (ābhyantara-pūjā).

^{***} Verses 265-30-

anyāni yāni iāsnāņi loke'anin vividhāni ca iruti-mrti-visucidhāni tāmasāny eva sarvaish // vāmam kapālakam caiva kaulakam hhairavāgamah / tivena mohanārthāya pranīto nānya-hetukah // dakja-iāpād librgoh iāpād dadbīcasya ca iāpatah / dagditā ye beālimana-varā veda-mārga-bhijkņtāh // tejām uddharanārthāya sopāna-kramatah sadā / taivāt ca vaiņavāt caiva saurāh tāktās tathaiva ca / gāņapatyā āgamāt ca pranītāh tanpkarena tu //

Chap. 40.—Method of outer Tantric worship (bāhyā tāntrikī pūjā).—Meditation on the guru in the morning; performance of bhūta-śuddhi, nyāsa, dig-bandhana, homa etc.; worship of the main deity as well as her attendants in a yantra; and so on.

Devi's birth to Himālaya as Gaurī and marriage with

Siva; birth of Skanda, and his killing of Tāraka.

Origin of Laksmi from the churned ocean.

Skandha VIII

[In Skandhas VIII—XII Vyāsa reproduces to Janamejaya what Nārāyaṇa said to Nārada on various topics.]

Chap. 1.—Brahmā's request to Manu to begin creation;

and Manu's eulogy of Devi before doing so.

Chap. 2.-Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a boar and

his killing of Hiranyākṣa and uplifting of the earth.

Chap. 3.—Manu's sons (Priyavrata and Uttānapāda) and daughters (Ākūti, Devahūti and Prasūti), and their descendants. Praise of Kapila (son of Devahūti), who was the author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy and wrote the 'Kāpila-śāstra which destroys all nescience'.

[Chaps. 4-20.—Geography of the earth. Solar system.] Chap. 4.—Priyavrata's descendants. Names and position of the seven dvipas, and the names of Priyavrata's sons ruling over these dvipas.

Chaps. 5-7.—Names and position of the nine varşas of Jambudvīpa. Names of mountains and rivers in these

varşas.

Chaps. 8-11.—Worship of Devi as well as the different forms of Viṣṇu in the different varṣas. Names of mountains and rivers in Bhārata-varṣa. Praise of Bhārata-varṣa as

Santkarana is said to have been worshipped in Ilâvṛta-varṣa, Hayagriva in Bhadrāiva-varṣa, Narasimha in Hari-varṣa, Smara in Kenumāla-varṣa, Matsya in Ramyaka-varṣa, Kūrma in Hiranmaya-varṣa, Varāha in Kuru-varṣa, Rāma in Kimpuruṇa-varṣa, and Nārāyaṇa in Bhārata-varṣa.

'karma-bhūmi'. Names of the eight upadvipas*** comprised in Jambudvipa.

Chaps. 12-13.—Description of Plaksa and other dvipas.

Their extent and position; names of their varsas, mountains and rivers; conduct of the inhabitants; and so on.

Chaps. 13-15.—Position and description of the Lokaloka mountain. Movements of the sun in the different parts of the year, and the results thereof.

Chap. 16.—Movements of the moon and other planets and their distance from one another. Origin of the different kinds of valsara, avana, rlu etc.

Chaps. 17-20.—Position and description of Dhruvamandala, Rāhu-mandala, and the worlds named Atala, Vitala, Sutala etc. The kings and inhabitants of these worlds.

Chap. 21.—Difference in śrāddha causing difference in the results of actions. Names of the twenty-eight hells.

Chaps, 22-23.—Actions which lead to the different hells. Sufferings of sinners in these hells.

Chap. 24.—Method of Devi-worship for attaining the highest state of existence.—Worship of Devi from Sukla-pratipad to Pürnimä with the offer of different articles; Devi-worship in a Madhūka tree on the Sukla-tṛtiyā of every month from Caitra, with the offer of different kinds of food in different months.

Skandha IX

[Almost all the chapters of this Skandha have been taken from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.]***

ingamindvipanja cistau hi upadvipih mrtih pare / hayamirpin viiothadbhib sigarali paritalpitih // evargaprashai candraiskin ivartanaraminakau / mandaropitihyaharnau pincajanyas techawa ca / simbaisi cawa lanked upadvipistakan sugram //

Chap. 11, verses 30-31.

Chap. 11, verses 30-31.

Chap. 11, verses 30-31.

Chap. 11, verses 30-31.

Chap. I.—Description of Prakṛti's five forms, viz., Durgā (mother of Gaṇeśa), Lakṣmi, Sarasvati, Sāvitrī and Rādhā, *** as well as of her chief parts, viz., Gaṅgā, Tulasī, Manasā, *** Şaṣṭhi, *** and Maṅgala-caṇḍi. ***

Innumerable other parts (kalā) of Prakṛti.—Svāhā, Dakṣiṇā, Svadhā, Svasti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Saṃpatti, Dhṛti etc.; Aditi, Diti, Rohiṇi, Saṃjñā (wife of the Sun), Tārā (wife of Bṛhaspati), Arundhati, Gāndhāri, Draupadī, Šaivyā, mother of Rādhā, Mandodarī, Sītā and others; all the rural goddesses; and all females (among whom some have sattra-guṇa and are classed as 'madhyama', and some have tamo-guṇa and are called 'adhama').

[In this chapter there is reference to (1) the worship of Durgā first by Suratha and then by Rāmacandra for killing Rāvaṇa, (2) Devi's birth first as the daughter of Dakṣa and then as that of Himālaya, (3) birth of Kṛṣṇa as Gaṇcśa and of a part of Viṣṇu as Skanda, (4) first worship of Lakṣmi by king Mangala, of Sāvitrī by king Aśvapati, of Sarasvatī by Brahmā, and of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa on Kārtuiki Paurṇamāsi in the Rāsa-maṇḍala in Goloka and by Suyajña on earth.]

For description of Rādhā ser verses 44-57, in which Rādhā is called 'sanātuni', 'paramānanda-rūpā', 'nirguṇā', 'nirākārā', and 'ātma-warūjaul'.

⁸⁴ Verses 71-77.

Manasi is called 'samkaru-priyo-siyyi', 'visnu-puji-pariyani,' and 'brahma-rearups.'

^{**} See vernes 78-83a.

South Deet is called 'putra-patteradi-dates' and is said to be worshipped in the lysog-in chamber on the sixth day after child-bath. Or the may be worshipped on the twenty-first day.

^{**} Sec verme 635-96a.

Mangala-capdi is called 'prakter mukha-sambhūtā' and 'kṛṇṇa-bhaktā' and sand to be worshipped every Turaday.

^{***} Vene 136b-137a-

habiyah sasyah kaliki caiwa praketer eva bisirate / yil yiki na grima-denyah syus ikh usreih prakeseh kaliki //

See also verse 137b-158a-

kall ya yah samudbhütüb püjitke elli ca bhürate /

pújul grima-devyal ca grime ca nagare mune //

^{***} Verse 1455-1466--

pajus rorathendelmi durgā durgārti-addini / tatab irirāmacandrena rāvaņasya vadhārthinā //

^{** 1} cmr | 1465-

geomei ca rvayam kripab ikando visou-kulodhhavab /

Chap. 2.—Origin of the universe from Krsna⁷⁰⁰ and Rādhā.-Conception of Kṛṣṇa as Para Brahma and Paramātman, and of Rādhā as his Śakti. Desire of supreme Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Brahma) for creation, and the consequent origin of a male (i.e. primary Kṛṣṇa) from his right side and a young female (i.e. primary Rādhā) from his left. Primary Kṛṣṇa's sports (rāṣa-krīḍā) with this female who is called his 'cit-śakti', and the origin of a golden egg (dimba) from their union. Origin of water, the vital airs, Varuna and Varunani from this female. Primary Kṛṣṇa's curse on this female as well as on other goddesses to be childless, because this female had thrown away the egg into water. Origin of Sarasvati from the tongue of this female. Division of this female into two halves, and the origin of Kamala (Laksmi) from the left half and Rādhikā (i.e. secondary Rādhā) from the right. Division of primary Kṛṣṇa into two halves, and the origin of a two-handed being (i.e. secondary Kṛṣṇa) from the right half and a four-handed one (Nārāyaṇa) from the left. (Secondary) Rādhā was given to two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and Lakṣmi to four-handed Nārāyaṇa. Origin of four-handed attendants (pārṣada) and crores of maid-servants (dāsī) from the bodies of Nārāyaņa and Kamalā respectively. Origin of innumerable cowherds and cowherdesses from the pores of secondary Kṛṣṇa and secondary Rādhā respectively. Sudden appearance of Viṣṇumāyā (Durgā⁷⁶¹) before Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's assumption of the forms of Kṛṣṇa (the lord of cowherdesses) and Mahādeva (who came out of the left half of his body).

Chap. 3.—Origin of Mahāvirāţ from the egg; his meditation on Kṛṣṇa (the Supreme Being) and muttering of the mantra 'om kṛṣṇāya svāhā'; and Kṛṣṇa's blessings on him. Origin of Kṣudra-virāṭ from Mahāvirāṭ, and of Brahmā from

The etymological meaning of the word 'kpana' is given as follows:

kpiis tad-bhakti-vacano nai cu tad-dāsya-vācakah /

bhakti-dāsya-pradātā yah m cu kpanah prakirtitah //

kpii cu surva-vacano nakāro bijam eva ca /

sa kpanah sarva-sraņā

Verses 24b-26a.

Verses 24b-26a.

Verses 64ff.

Kṣudra-virāṭ. Origin of Rudra from Brahmā's forehead. Brahmā's creation of mānusa sons and others.

Position of different lokas, viz., Vaikuntha, Goloka,

Brahma-loka, Bhûrloka, Bhuvarloka etc.

Chap. 4.—Mention of fivefold Prakţti, viz., Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, and of Prakţti's parts, viz., Kālī, Vasundharā, Gaṅgā, Ṣaṣṭhī, Maṅgala-caṇḍikā, Tulasī, Manasā, Nidrā, Svāhā, Svadhā and Dakṣiṇā.

Sarasvatī's birth from the tongue of Rādhā, and her desire for union with Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa's worship of Sarasvatī and instruction to her to go to Nārāyaṇa for the

purpose.

Description of the method of Sarasvati-pūjā as followed in the Kāṇva school (of the White Yajurveda).—Worship of Sarasvatī either on the Māgha-šuklapañcamī or at vidyārambha; offer of different articles such as tila-laḍḍuka, havi-syānna, śrīphala, vadarīphala etc. with the use of the eight-syllabled mantra 'śrīm hrīm sarasvatyai svāhā'; meditation (dhyāna) on Sarasvatī as 'śukla-varṇā', 'vīṇā-pustaka-dhāriṇī' etc.; and so on. The worship of Sarasvatī must be preceded by that of Gaṇeśa performed according to the Vedic or the Tantric method.

Description of Sarasvati-kavaca, by wearing which Pāṇini, Śākaṭāyana and others are said to have written books.

Chap. 5.—Eulogy of Sarasvatī by Yājñavalkya who lost

his learning due to the curse of his guru.

Chaps. 6-8.—Story of the quarrel among Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā, the three wives of Viṣṇu.—Sarasvatī's curse on Lakṣmī and Gaṅgā, and Gaṅgā's curse on Sarasvatī'; the consequent transformation of a part of Lakṣmī into the Tulasī plant as well as the river Padmāvatī, and of Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī into rivers of the same names; Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī's attainment of wifehood of Śiva and Brahmā respectively at Viṣṇu's order.

Visnu's mention of the means of getting rid of these

curses.

Praise of devotees of Visnu (who are said to sanctify

asi-jīvins, masi-jīvins, dhāvakas and others, and even the rivers Gangā, Padmā and Sarasvatī).702

Description of the evils of the Kali age. [In this connection it is said that during the Kali age the twice-born would give up samdhyā and the sacred thread (yajňa-sūtra), read Mleccha-śāstras, and serve Śūdras, and people of all castes would sell their daughters, become Vāmācāras, and enjoy all women except their own mothers—mātṛ-yonim parityajya_yihariṣyanti sarvataḥ.⁷⁰⁵]

Chap. 9.—Origin of the Earth from Mahāvirāt, and her union with the Boar. Method of worshipping the Earth according to the Kāṇva school of the Śukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 10.—Results of bhūmi-dāna. Works (such as bhūmi-haraṇa, digging the earth during Ambuvācī, placing a lamp, a conch-shell, a Śiva-linga, a Śālagrāma, books etc. on the bare earth, and so on) which lead one to hell.

[Chaps. 11-14.—Story of Ganga.]

Chap. 11.—Story of Bhagīratha's worship of Gangā according to the method of the Kauthumas, and his bringing Gangā down to the earth.

Chap. 12.—Gangā-dhyāna according to the Kāṇva school; and Gangā-worship. Viṣṇupadī-stotra of Gangā.

Story of Gangā's origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva's song on Kṛṣṇa during the Rāsotsava on the Kārttiki Paurṇamāsi,

Chap. 13.—Story of Gangā continued.—Rādhā's rage against Gangā, and her intention to drink the latter up; Gangā's entrance into Kṛṣṇa's feet; Brahmā's imparting of the Rādhikā-mantra to Gangā; Gangā's worship of Rādhā according to the directions of the Sāmaveda, and her passing to Vaikuṇṭha; Brahmā's taking into his kamaṇḍalu the water from which Gangā came out.

Chap. 14.—Brahmā's request to Viṣṇu to accept Gaṅgâ as his wife, and Viṣṇu's consequent marriage with Gaṅgā according to the Gandharva form.

¹⁹⁴ Chap. 7, vene 29.

¹⁸⁶ See chap. 8. For mention of the Vamacaras see verses 16 and 43-45,

[Chaps. 15-25.—Story of Tulasi.]

Chap. 15.—Vṛṣadhvaja, a descendant of Dakṣa-sāvarṇi Manu, was a devotee of Śiva. He had no regard for Nārā-yaṇa, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and stopped their worship. Sūrya was enraged at this, and cursed Vṛṣadhvaja to be bereft of fortune. Śiva got excited and rushed forward to kill Sūrya with his trident. Sūrya, with Brahmā, sought Viṣṇu's protection. As Śiva was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, the latter could easily pacify Śiva with the assurance that Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja, the grandsons of Vṛṣadhvaja, would become prosperous and that Lakṣmī would

be born in part to their wives.

Chap. 16.—Dharmadhvaja and Kuśadhvaja attained prosperity through Mahālaksmī's favour. Kuśadhvaja had a daughter named Vedavati, who was a part of Laksmi reborn and was versed in the Vedic lore from her very birth. With a view to pleasing Nārāyaṇa she practised austerities first at Puskara and then on the Gandhamadana mountain, where she was touched perforce by Ravana. Vedavati cursed Rāvaņa to be destroyed for her sake, and left her body by means of Yogic power. She was reborn as Sitā and married to Rāma (described as 'paripūrņatama Hari'). When, during exile, Rāma was living with Sītā and Laksmaņa on the sea-shore, Agni approached him privately in the form of a Brahmin and gave him a shadow (chāyā) of Sitā saying: The time for the abduction of Sita has come. .. . Place the mother of the world in my charge and keep this chava with you. I shall return Sita to you at the time of the ordeal. Rāma accepted Chāyā-Sītā, but did not divulge her character even to Laksmana. In course of time Rāvaņa abducted Châyā-Sītā and was killed by Rāma. During Sītā's fire-ordeal (vahni-parīkṣā) in Lankā, Agni returned real Sitā to Rāma. At the advice of Rāma and Agni, Chāyā-Sītā practised austerities at Puşkara for three lacs of divine years and became Svarga-Laksmi. Rāma installed Vibhisana on the throne of Lanka, ruled at Ayodhya for eleven thousand years and then passed to Vaikuntha with all his subjects.

Story of Chāyā-Sītā's rebirth as Draupadī as a result of her prayer to Saṃkara five times for a husband, and the latter's boon to her to be born as Draupadī and have the five Pāṇḍavas as her husbands.

Chaps. 17-25.—Story of the birth of a part of Laksmi as Tulasi.- Tulasi's birth from Mādhavi, wife of Dharmadhvaja; her receipt of a boon from Brahma to be married to Sudāman reborn as Śańkhacūda through Rādhikā's curse; her worship of Rādhikā with the sixteen-syllabled Rādhikā-mantra; her love for and marriage with Sankhacuda, who received Kṛṣṇa-mantra from Jaigiṣavya, wore a Visnu-kavaca, and practised austerities at Puskara; her enjoyment of the pleasures of married life; gods' approach to Visnu for saving them from the tyranny of Śankhacuda; Visnu's advice to the gods, with a description of the incident of Rādhikā's curse to Sudāman to be born as Sankhacūda; Śiva's war with Śańkhacūda on the bank of the Puspabhadrā (also called Candrabhāgā) in Southern India; 2034 Viṣṇu's approach to Sankhacuda in the form of an old Brahmin, and his begging of the kavaca from the latter; Vișnu's enjoyment of Tulasi by assuming first the form of Sankhacuda and then that of his own, and his transformation of Tulasi's body into the river Gandaki and of her hairs into the Tulasi plant; Tulasi's curse on Vișņu to turn into Śālagrāma-śilā; Śiva's killing of Śańkhacuda with a lance (śūla) received from Viṣṇu; Śańkhacūḍa's assumption of the form of two-handed Kṛṣṇa and passing to Goloka. Glorification of the Tulasi plant, and the classification and praise of Salagramaśilas.

Story of the first worship of Tulasî by Viṣṇu; hymn of Tulasī.

[Chaps. 26-38.—Story of Sāvitrī.]

rea For description of this river and for mention of the 'Aksaya-vata' tree and the hermitage of Kapila as standing on its bank see Dhb IX. 21, 16-21.

For an interesting account of this great Banyau Tree, as given by James Forbes and John Copland, see M.S. Commissariat's History of Gujarat, pp. 468-491.

¹⁹⁴ For the classification of Salagrama stones into Lakymi-nārāyana, Lakymi-janārdana, Raghunātha, Vāmana, Šrīdhara etc. see chap. 24, verses 50-74.

Chap. 26.—King Aśvapati's worship of Sāvitrī at Puşkara with the muttering of gāyatrī and the offer of sixteen articles (ṣoḍaśopacāra) as well as with Sāvitrī-dhyāna and Sāvitrī-stava according to the Mādhyandina recension of the Sukla Yajurveda.

Chap. 27.—Sāvitrī was born as the daughter of king Aśvapati and married to Satyavat, son of Dyumatsena. While collecting fuel, Satyavat died by a sudden fall from a tree. Yama took Satyavat's soul and proceeded towards his region. As Sāvitrī also followed him, he spoke on karma (work) as determining the fate of creatures.

Chap. 28.—Yama's praise of the Vedic dharma; his speech on karma; and his classification of bhakti¹⁰⁵ and iñāna.

Chap. 29.—Yama's boon to Sāvitrī, and his description of the results of niṣkāma and sakāma karma, especially of donation. [It is said that the dutiful worshippers of Sūrya, Sīva, Gaṇapati and other deities attain the respective regions but are forced to return to India, and that it is the devotees of Mūla-prakṛti who pass to Maṇidvīpa never to return.—Verses 32ff.]

Chap. 30.—Yama's description of the results of (i) giving food, clothes, cows, Sâlagrāmas, palanquin, young girls, land, śaktu (in the month of Vaiśākha) etc. to worthy recipients, and (ii) performing various kinds of vows and worships, such as Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī-vrata, Sivarātri-vrata, Saṃkara-pūjā (in the month of Māgha or Caitra)⁷⁰⁸ Rāma-navamī-vrata, Sāradīya-mahāpūjā,⁷⁰⁹ Mahālakṣmī-pūjā (to be observed for a fortnight from Suklāṣṭamī),

for Vener 6b-9-

hbaktiš ca dvividhā ... //
nirvāņa-pada-dātrī ca hari-rūpa-pradā nguām /

bari-rūpa-svarūpām ca bhaktim vaūchanti vaimavāh //

The In this worship, which is to be continued for a month, a fortnight, ten days, or seven days, the worshipper is to dance with a cane in his hand. This Sankara-pūjā, as observed in the month of Caitra, may be the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Cadak-pūjā or Gājan) prevalent in rural Bengal.—Verses 74-75.

¹⁰⁰ In this worship buffatoes, he-goats, theep, rhinoceroses, frogs etc. are to be scarificed. Verses 78-92a.

Rāsotsava (on the Kārttiki Pūrņimā), Śakra-pūjā (on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī), Sūrya-pūjā (on Sundays, Samkrāntis, and Šukla-saptamī Tithis), Sāvitrī-pūjā (on Jyaiṣṭhakṛṣṇa-caturdaśi), and Sarasvatī-pūjā (on Māgha-śuklapañcami).

Yama's praise of Devi-yajña (which is called the best of all sacrifices, Devi being described as nirguna Para Brahma),

Chap. 31.—Săvitrî's eulogy of Yama, and the latter's imparting of Śakti-mantra (Māyā-bīja) to the former.

Chap. 32.—Yama's description of hells, which are not visited by Vaisņavas, Šāktas, Sauras, Gāņapas and other pious people.

Chaps. 33-35.—Actions which lead to the different hells and cause various kinds of undesirable rebirths (as Yavanas, Rajakas, Mlecchas, Svarņavaņiks, Devalas, Gaņakas, Vaidyas, Gopas, Karmakāras, Rangakāras etc.).

Chap. 36.-Yama's praise of the worship of 'five deities' (pañca-deva), and his accounts of the sūkṣma and the kritrima deha.

²⁰⁰ Such as decrying Mölaprakrii, the Vedas, Purāņas and other Šāstras, Brahmā, Visnu, Siva and other gods, Gauri, Vani and other goddenes, and so on; non-maintenance of one's own parents, superiors, wife, thildren and other dependants; killing of animals; acceptance of food offered by Sudras; carrying of the dead body of a Sudra; serving as priests or cooks to Sudras; stealing of gold etc.; serving a Micochs; following the profession of a scribe (masi-jivin); distinguishing between Krapa, Siva, Sarya, Ganela, Durgā and other deities; showing disregard to devotees of Sakti and to Sākta scriptures; non-observance of the five pureru, viz., Kṛṇṇa-janmaṇami, Rāma-navami, Sivaratei, Ekādasi and Ravivāra; digging the earth during Ambuvāci; marking the body with 'tapta-madra' and 'tapta-fula'; cohabitation with the brother's wife; noninitiation to Vaisnava, Saiva, Sakta, Saura or Gânapa mantras; acceptance of gifts at Vārāņasi, Badari, Gangī-sāgara-sangama, Puņkara, Hariharaksetra, Prabhāsa, Kanusrusthala, Haridvāra, Kedāra, Mātrpura, Vrndāvana, Triveņī and Himācala, and on the banks of the Sarasvati, Godávari and Kautiki; following the profession of a Devala or a Daivajña Brahmin or of a Vairiya; cohabitation with unchaste women (who are classified into kulatā, dhaminī, pumicalī, veiyā, pungi and mahāveiyā); and so oo-

The different types of unchaste women have been defined as follows:

pativratā mika-patau dvidye kulatā smpā / trilye dharpini jüeya caturthe pumicality api // veiyà ca pañcame santae pungi ca saptame'stame // tata firdhvarp mahāveiyā sāspriyā sarva-jātiņu //

Chap. 37.—Description and measurement of the

different hells.

Chap. 38.—Yama's praise of Devi-bhakti (devotion to Devi) which was originally described by Kṛṣṇa to Śiva at Goloka, his explanation of Devi's self as consisting of Puruṣa (pumas) and Prakṛti and thus constituting Supreme Brahma; and his advice to Sāvitri to perform the Sāvitri-vrata (on the Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-caturdaśi), Mahālakṣmî-vrata (on the Bhādra-śuklāṣṭamî), Maṅgalavāra-vrata (on every Tuesday), Ṣaṣṭhi-pūjā (on the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi of every month), Manasā-pūjā (on Āṣāḍha-saṃkrānti), Rāsotsava, and Durgā-pūjā (on the Śuklāṣṭamī of every month), and to worship the respective deities in diagrams (yantra) or images.

[Chaps. 39-42.—Story of Laksmi.]

Chap. 39.—Origin of a Devî in Rāsa-maṇḍala from the left half of Kṛṣṇa, the Paramātman; origin of Mahālakṣmī from the left side of the body of this Devī, and of Rādhikā from her right side; division of primary Kṛṣṇa into two-handed Kṛṣṇa and four-handed Nārāyaṇa for the sake of Rādhikā and Mahālakṣmī respectively; presence of Lakṣmī in different places in different capacities, viz., as Svarga-lakṣmī, Nāga-lakṣmī, Rāja-lakṣmī, Gṛha-lakṣmī etc.

Chap. 40.—Story of Durvāsas's curse on Indra to be forsaken by Lakṣmi.—Durvāsas's meeting with Indra on the Kailāsa mountain, and his presentation to the latter of a garland of Pārijāta flowers which he had received from Viṣṇu; Indra's disregard for this garland, and the sage's

consequent curse on Indra.

Praise of devotion to Visnu and of good actions, especially of donations made to Brahmins on particular occasions.

[In connection with the praise of Visnu-naivedya, acceptance of food from a twice-born physician, a Devala, and a seller of his daughter has been regarded as an offence.

-Verse 33.1

Chap. 41.—Brahmā and Viṣṇu's censure on Indra for his conduct, and Viṣṇu's mention of those persons of undesirable conduct and habits who are forsaken by Mahā-laksmī.

Viṣṇu's request to Lakṣmi to come out, in part, of the ocean of milk. Gods' churning of the ocean, and Lakṣmi's

consequent appearance out of it.

Chap. 42.—Description of the method of Indra's worship of Lakşmi, which was preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaņeša, Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Siva and Śivā, and in which sixteen articles including paramānna⁷⁰⁰ and miṣṭānna⁷¹⁰ were offered.

[This chapter contains a Laksmi-stotra and Laksmidhyāna 'as given in the Sāmaveda'—dhyānam sāmavedoktam.]

Chap. 43.—Story of Svāhā, a part of Prakṛṭi.—Her penance for winning Kṛṣṇa's favour; Kṛṣṇa's instruction to her to become the Śakṭi of Agni; her consequent marriage with Agni; and the birth of her three sons named Dakṣiṇāgni, Gārhapatyāgni and Āhavanīyāgni.

Praise of pronouncing the word 'svāhā' in sacrifices.

Method of worshipping Svāhā in a Šālagrāma or a pitcher at the beginning of all sacrifices, with the practice of 'sāmavedokta dhyāna', the recitation of a stotra, and the use of Svāhā-mantra (oṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ vahni-jāyāyai devyai svāhā).

Chap. 44.—Story of Svadhā, the mind-born daughter of Brahmā and a part of Prakṛti, and her marriage with the Pitṛs.

Method of worshipping Svadhā. Praise of the utterance of the word svadhā in śrāddha ceremonies,

Chap. 45.—Story of Dakṣiṇā (a part of Prakṛti), who fled from Goloka for fear of Rādhā and entered the person of Mahālakṣmī and who was taken out by Nārāyaṇa during the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttiki Pūrṇimā and married to Yajāa.

Method of worshipping Dakşiņā in a Śālagrāma or a pitcher, with the 'kāṇva-śākhokta' dhyāna and stotra.

This chapter contains a few verses on the praise of devotion to the husband.

¹⁹⁸⁻⁷¹⁹ For the constitutional difference between paraminua and missiona see venes 24 and 28b-29a.

Chap. 46.—Story of Şaşthī, who is the sixth part of Prakṛti (ṣaṣṭhāṃśā prakṛteḥ) and is the same as Devasenā, wife of Skanda, and whose worship was first introduced on

earth by Priyavrata, son of Sväyambhuva Manu.

Goddess Şaşthī is a guardian deity of children. She is said to have revived the dead son of Priyavrata and asked the latter to worship her. Consequently, Priyavrata worshipped Şaşthī in the lying-in chamber on the sixth day after the birth of his son, and in doing so he followed the method of the Kauthumas.

Sasthi may be worshipped in the Salagrama or a pitcher or at the root of a Bata tree or in a human figure drawn on a

wall.

Chap. 47.—Story of Mangala-candi, who is the same as Durgâ and who was first worshipped by Siva after the manner of the Mādhyamdinas every Tuesday for the destruction of Tripura.

Story of Manasa (also called Vişaharı), who was the mind-born daughter of Kasyapa and the wife of sage

Jaratkāru.

Chap. 48.—Method of worshipping Manasā and meditating on her according to the directions of the Sāmaveda.

Story of Manasā.—Her origin from the mind of Kaśyapa; her penance first at Kailāsa for pleasing Šiva and then at Puṣkara for winning the favour of Kṛṣṇa; her marriage with sage Jaratkāru; birth of Āstīka; penance of Jaratkāru and Āstīka at Puṣkara; Āstīka's saving the lives of snakes by stopping the snake-sacrifice begun by king Janamejaya.

Description of the method of Manasā-pūjā, which is to be performed especially on the Manasā-pancamī and is to be preceded by the worship of the six deities, viz., Gaņeśa,

Sūrya, Agni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā.

Chap. 49.—Story of the origin and worship of Surabhi.

—While sporting with Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa felt a strong desire for drinking milk and created Surabhi, who was worshipped according to the directions of the Yajurveda on the day following the Dīpānvitā.

Chap, 50.-Glorification of Rādhā as one of the two

creative Šaktis of Mūla-prakṛti and as 'Kṛṣṇa-prāṇ-ādhidevi'. Method of worshipping Rādhā, who is to be meditated upon as twelve years old in accordance with the directions of the Sāmaveda.

Glorification of Durgā; and description of the method of her worship.

Skandha X

Chaps. 1-7.—Origin of Sväyambhuva Manu from Brahmā's mind, and his worship of Devî in an earthen image with the use of the Väg-bija. Devi's blessings on Manu and her residence on the Vindhya mountain as Vindhyaväsinī.

Story of the Vindhya mountain.—Being informed by Nārada of the pride of other mountains, Vindhya became jealous of Meru and obstructed the path of the sun by raising his peaks. Finding that the world was in danger, the gods, with Brahmā and Siva at their head, went to Viṣṇu and culogised him with the mention of his ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, Buddha⁷¹¹ and Kalki). At Viṣṇu's advice the gods went to Benares and saw Agastya, a devotee of Devî. Agastya stopped the rise of the mountain.

Chap. 8.—Other Manus (viz., Svārocişa, Uttama, Tāmasa and Vaivasvata), and their worship of Devî with the Vâg-bija and Kāma-bija on the banks of the Yamunā, Gangā and Narmadā.

Chap. 9.—Cākṣuṣa Manu's penance on the bank of the Virajā by muttering the Vāg-bīja.

Chaps. 10-12.—Story of Sāvarņi Manu's worship of Devī. Devī-worship by king Suratha, to whom the account of Devī's manifestation as Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī and Sarasvatī was related by a sage. As Mahākālī, Devī roused Viṣṇu who was to kill Madhu and Kaiṭabha; as Mahā-

tti Chap. 4, verses 13b-14a dusta-yajūa-vighātāya palu-himaā-nivṛṭṭaye / hauddha-rūpam dadhau yoʻsau tasmai davāya te namah //

lakşmi, she killed the demon Mahişa; and as Sarasvati, she killed Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Chap. 13.—Names of the six sons of Vaivasvata Manu, and their worship of Devi on the bank of the Yamunā.

Names of the remaining Manus, and their worship of

Devi.

Story of Devi's manifestation as Bhrāmari for killing the demon Aruṇa. [In eulogising Bhrāmari the gods call her

Kālikā, Nīlasarasvatī, Ugratārā, Tripurasundarī, Bhairavī, Mātangī, Dhūmāvatī, Chinnamastā, Šākambharī, Raktadantikā etc.]

Skandha XI

Chap. 1.—Description of sadācāra which pleases Devī.
—Mention of Śrauta and Smārta dharma; praise of ācāra; classification of ācāra into 'šāstrīya' and 'laukika', and of dharma into grāma-dharma, jāti-dharma and deśa-dharma; three sources of dharma, viz., Śruti, Śmṛti and Purāṇa, of which the first is the most authoritative and the basis of all other Śāstras; acceptability of those directions of Tantras which do not go against the Vedas; denouncement of certain sectaries (viz., Kāmācāras, Pāśupatas, Linga-dhārins, those who mark their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and the followers of the doctrine of the Vaikhānasas)¹¹² who are 'veda-mārga-bahiṣkṛta' and influence the people with bad śāstras; method of performing prāṇāyāma for the destruction of sins; mental worship of guru.

Chaps. 2-3.—Description of sadācāra continued.—Rules of performing various daily duties such as study of the Vedas, answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing in the morning, muttering of gāyatrī, performance of prāṇā-yāma, and wearing of Rudrākṣas on different parts of the

body.

Chaps. 4-7.—Story of the origin of Rudrākṣa trees from

¹³³ Sec verses 30-31.

Siva's tears; classification of Rudrākṣas; rules of making garlands with these; praise of wearing Rudrākṣas.

Story of an ass and a sinful Brahmin named Gunanidhi,

who were liberated by virtue of Rudrākṣas.

Chap. 8.-Method of performing bhūta-śuddhi.

Chaps, 9-10.—Description and praise of Sirovrata and Pāśupata-vrata (in which the body is to be painted with ashes in different ways).

Chap. 11.—Methods of preparation of three kinds of

ashes.

Chaps. 12-15.—Method and praise of painting Tripundra marks with these ashes as well as of besmearing the body with these. Method of painting Urdhva-pundra according to 'Vaiṣṇavāgamas'; difference in its painting in the case of Ekāntins, Paramaikāntins and 'other Vaiṣṇavas';⁷⁸ prohibitions to Vaidikas with regard to certain kinds of Urdhva-pundra; praise of Urdhva-pundra.

[Bath in ashes—bhasma-snāna—is said to cure various kinds of diseases including 'eighty kinds of rheumatism, sixty-four kinds of bile-complaints and fifteen kinds of

phlegm-complaints'.--Chap. 14, verses 20-22.]

Chaps. 16-19.—Methods of performing Vedic and Purāṇic prātaḥ-saṃdhyā with gāyatrī-japa and prāṇāyāma. (In Purāṇic saṃdhyā, various kinds of nyāsas and mudrās are to be performed).

Method of Pañcāyatana-pūjā, in which Sivā, Siva,

Gaṇapati, Sūrya and Viṣṇu are to be worshipped."14

Method of the special worship of Devi. (In such worship Devi is to be bathed with various things including juice of sugarcanes growing in Pundravardhana).

Method of performance of Madhyāhna-samdhyā.

Chap. 20.—Performance of brahma-yajña, tarpana, vaiśvadeva, entertainment of guests, giving of food to cows, and so on.

Performance of sāyam-saṃdhyā.

¹²⁵ Chap. 15, verses 64-66.

⁷¹⁴ Chap. 17, vetter 35ff.

Chap. 21.—Method of gāyatrī-puraścaraṇa, preceded by purification of one's own self and food (ātma-śuddhi and anna-śuddhi) according to Tantric and Vedic processes.

[In this chapter as well as in chap. 16 it is said that 'all twice-born people are neither Saivas nor Vaiṣṇavas but are Śāktas inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy (ādi śakti) and the mother of the Vedas'.

In verse 32, Kāśīpurī, Kedāra, Mahākāla, Nāsika and Tryambaka are called the 'five lamps' (pañca-dipāḥ) on

earth.]

Chap. 22.-Mention of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca

mahāyajña); and description of vaisvadeva-vidhi.

Chap. 23.—Penances (viz., Cāndrāyaṇa, Kṛcchra, Tapta-kṛcchra etc.) and other ways of removing sins caused by violation of śāstric directions as regards food, cohabitation with the wife, etc.

Chap. 24.—Different methods of performance of santika and paustika homas for curing various kinds of diseases,

attaining prosperity, and so on.

Effects of repeating gayatri with the practice of various

Skandha XII

Chaps. 1-5.—Dissertation on gāyatri.—Praise of gāyatrī; names of sages, metres, deities, Šaktis and colours of the different syllables of the gāyatrī; names of mudrās (viz., saṃmukha, saṃpuṭa etc.) for the different syllables; gāyatrī-kavaca; gāyatrī-dhyāna; gāyatrī-hṛdaya; gāyatrī-stava.

(Găyatri has been regarded as Devi herself).

Chap. 6.—One thousand and eight names of Gayatri. (All these names have been arranged alphabetically from 9 to 9).

Chap. 7.—Method of initiation to Devi-worship. (Though this method is full of Tantric elements, the mantra to be imparted to the disciple may be Vedic or Tantric according to circumstances).

Chap. 8 .- Glorification of Devi by repeating, with

modifications, the story of 'Umā Haimavatī' (as found in the Kena-upaniṣad).

Identification of Devi with Gayatri; and the necessity

and effect of Gāyatrī-upāsanā.*15

Chap. 9.—Story of Gautama's curse on some sages to be irreverent to Devi and Siva, to be averse to Advaita philosophy, to go against Srauta and Smārta dharma, to worship deities other than Devi, to mark their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and to turn Kāpālikas, Bauddhas, Jainas, Vāmācāras, Kaulikas, Pāncarātras and other anti-Vedic sectaries.

This story runs as follows. Once there was a great famine, which caused a number of sages to seek Gautama's shelter. Gautama received these sages very cordially and accommodated them in his hermitage. He pleased Gayatri with worship and eulogy and received from her a 'pūrņapātra' which supplied him with all things necessary for their maintenance. At the end of the famine these sages left Gautama by creating a pretext through a magic cow. Being offended at their conduct Gautama cursed them in the abovementioned manner. He then worshipped Gāyatrī and returned to his hermitage. In the meantime the cursed sages forgot the Vedas and the gāyatrī. They appeased Gautama, and the latter told them that they would have to live in the Kumbhipāka hell up to the end of Kṛṣṇa incarnation and then be born on earth. Consequently, the cursed sages lived in that hell and were then born on earth as Brahmins after Kṛṣṇa had left it. These Brahmins had no regard for the Vedas or gayatri, and followed the views of the Pāṣaṇḍas. Some of them marked their limbs with 'tapta-mudra', some followed the practice of the Kamacaras, and some became Kāpālikas, Kaulikas, Bauddhas or Jainas.

Chaps. 10-12.—Detailed description of Manidvipa, the place of residence of Devi Bhuvaneśvari, which is situated above all other regions.

Chap. 13.-Initiation of king Janamejaya to Devi-

rus See especially verses 58-89 and 91-92.

worship, and his performance of Devi-yajña, during which he caused Brahmins to read the Devi-bhāgavata. Parīkṣit's passing to Maṇidvipa in consequence of Janamejaya's actions.

Praise of the Devi-bhagavata as the best Purana and

as the essence of all the Vedas and Purāṇas.

Chap. 14.—Praise of the Devi-bhāgavata, which is said to be the epitome of a much bigger work (of one lac of verses) based on a half-verse⁷¹⁶ uttered by Devi.

According to the Devi-bhāgavata, the Vaiṣṇavas, Saivas, Sauras and Gāṇapatyas should study it for pleasing the Saktis of their respective gods, and the Vaidikas should do so for pleasing Gāyatrī.

The above contents show clearly that the Devî-bhāgavata is avowedly a Śākta work, and not Śivaite as Winternitz takes it to be.717 It conceives of a central goddess called Devi Śribhuvaneśvari, and describes her as follows: She is a maiden (kumārī) having four hands and three eyes; she has a complexion as bright as crores of lightning-flashes (vidyut-koți-sama-prabhā) and wears red clothes and a red garland (rakta-mālyāmbara-dharā); she holds a noose (pāśa) and a goad (ankuśa) in two of her hands and assures boon and safety with the other two; and she lives in a region called Manidvipa, which is situated above all other regions such as Goloka, Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka etc.718 Following the doctrine of monism of the Vedanta710 the Devi-bhagavata says that in her supreme state this Devi is 'nirguna', 'saccidānanda-rūpiņī' and 'nirādhārā' and is identical with Para Brahma and Paramatman, but in creation she takes to the gunas and divides herself into Purusa and Prakṛti. It is

tie sarvam khalv idam eväham nänyad asti sanātanam—Dbh I. 15, 52b.

¹¹⁸ Watternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 555.

¹⁵⁰ Dbb 111. 3. 37ff.; VI. 8. 55ff.; VII. 30, 2ff.; VII. 51, 31ff.; and so on.

⁷¹⁹ Dbh III. 6.4-

ekam evādvitīyam vai brahma nityam tanātanam / dvaita-hhāvam punar yāti kāla utpatti-tamjāake //

See also Gautama's curse on the sages in Dth XII. 9, 66 advaita-jääna-niithäyäm iänti-däntyädi-sädhane/ bhavatänunmukhä yüyam sarvada brähmanädhamäh //

this Mūla-prakṛti who is Mahāmāyā and creates Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Rudra out of herself and enables them to perform their respective duties by furnishing them with her own Sāttvikī, Rājasī and Tāmasī Saktis in the forms of Mahālakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Mahākālī respectively. Nay, she is the mother of the whole universe and the Sakti of all. Nothing exists beyond her, and it is she who appears as Durgā, Rādhā, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Gaṅgā, Tulasī and others for accomplishing different objects.

The Devi-bhāgavata praises Devi as the highest deity, regards Devi-yajña as the best of all kinds of worship, and says that the Sauras, Śaivas, Śāktas, Gāṇapatyas and the devotees of other deities, who faithfully perform their own duties, attain the regions of their respective deities but are forced to be reborn in India, whereas the dispassionate and dutiful devotees of Devi go to Maṇidvipa never to return. It lays special stress on bhaktira as a means of realising Devi and takes jñāna to be the same as bhakti in its highest state. It holds that as soon as a devotee realises Devi, he attains jñāna bereft of all sense of dualism.

A study of the Devi-bhāgavata shows that at the time of composition of this work the most prominent deities were Viṣṇu, Siva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Devi, and their worshippers were divided into different classes following different ideas and practices, viz., Vaiṣṇavas, Pāñcarātras, Sauras, Gāṇapatyas, Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Lingadhārins, Triśūladhārins, Bhairavas, Vāmācāras, Kaulakas, those who marked their bodies with 'tapta-mudrā', and the followers of the system of the Vaikhānasas.²²⁴ Though almost all these sectaries imbibed Śākta ideas more or less,⁷²⁵ some of

rm Dbh IN. 29, 33-36,

in Skandha IX, the Devi-bhagavata speaks of 'dasya-bhakti'.

res Dhh VII. 37. 28—bhaken tu yā parā kāştlat saiva jāšnam praktritam. tas Cf. Dhh VII. 37. 35—mama loke bhavej jāšnam dvaita-bhāva-vivarjitam.

⁷⁶⁴ Dbb VII. 39, 26b-30; XI. 1, 29-31; XII. 8, 3-4; XII. 9, verses 71-72, 75 and 95-96. (For the texts of these verses see footnote 727 below).

¹²² Dish XII. 14, 21-24u-

valiņavali czīva izīvali ca ramomā-prītaye sadā / saurali ca gāņapatyoli ca svepta-iaktei ca tuņtaye //

them followed the directions of the Vedas and the Smrtis, but the majority was guided by the Āgamas (i.e. Tantras). Among the followers of the Āgamas, again, there were some who did not recognise the superiority of Śakti, while there were many others, especially the Kāpālikas, Kaulakas, Bhairavas, Taptamudrānkitas, and the widely spread Vāmācāras, who had no regard for the Vedas and followed non-Vedic and anti-Vedic ideas and practices. Besides

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pathitavyam prayatnena navaritra-catuataye /
    vaidikair nija-gäyatri-pritaye nityaso mune //
    pothitavyam prayatnena virodho nătra kasyacit /
    upāsanā tu sarveyām šakti-yuktāsti sarvadā //
    tac-chakter eva tosärtham pathitavyam sadā dvijaib //
Cf, also Dbh XI, 16, 17-
    tasmūt sarve dvijāh šāktā na šaivā na ca vaisņavāh /
    ādi-iaktim upāsante gāyatrīm veda-mātaram //
and Dbh XI. 21. 6-
    sarve tāktā dvijāh proktā na taivā na ca vaisņavāh/ etc.
<sup>760</sup> Dbh V. 19, 24-25-
    manye gunio tava bliovi prathita-prabhavah
    kurvanti ye bi vimukhan nanu bhakti-bhavat /
    lokān ava-buddhi-racitair vividhāgamais ca
    vigay-Isa-bhāskara-gaņcša-parān vidhāya //
    kurvanti ye tava padād yimukhān narāgryān
    svoktāgamair hari-harārcana-bhakti-yogaih /
    teşlim na kupyasi dayiğu kuruşo'mbike tvam
    tān moha-mantra-nipuņān prathayary alam ca //
7 Dbh VII, 39, 26-30-
    unyāni yāni šāstrāņi loke 'smin vividhāni ca /
    imiti-ampti-viruddhāni tāmasāny eva sarvašah //
    vāmam kapālakam caiva kaulakam bhairāvagamah /
    tivena mohanārthāya pranīto nānya-hetukah //
    dakto-tāpād bhrgoḥ śāpād dadhīcasya ca tāpataḥ /
    dagdhā ye brāhmaņa-varā veda-mārga-baliiskṛtāḥ //
    teşām uddharaņārthāya sopāna-kramatah sadā /
    śaivāš ca vaispavāš caiva saurāh jāktās tuthaiva ca /
    gāņapatyā āgamāi ca praņītāh iaspkareņa tu //
Dish XL 1, 29-31-
    ye kuiastrābhiyogena vartayantiha manavān /
    adhomukh-ordhvapādās te yāsyanti narakārņavam //
    kāmācārāh pājupatās tathā vai linga-dhārinah /
    tapta-mudrāńkitā ye ca vaikhānasa-matānugāb //
    te sarve nirayam yanti veda-marga-bahijkṛtāḥ /
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dršyante vaispavāh kecid gūņapatyla tathāpare / kāpālikāi cīna-mārga-ratā valkula-dhāriņah // dīgambarās tathā baudihāi cārvūkā evamādayah / dršyante hahavo loke veda-iraddhā-vivarjītāh //

Dbh XII, 8, 3-4-

these, there were the Bauddhas (including the Cina-margaratas), Jainas (including the Digambaras) and Carvakas, who also did not recognise the authority of the Vedas, 728 Among all these sectaries, again, there was constant quarrel, 729 They respected their own deities but decried those of others, and the result was that the Hindu society was divided into a large number of mutually quarrelling religious groups. So, the author of the Devi-bhagavata advocates the unity of all gods saying that Visnu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and others are not different and that those, who decry these gods and goddesses or differentiate between them, go to hell. 230 He does not try to dissuade people from respecting deities other than Devi but prescribes the worship of the six deities Ganeśa, Dineśa (Sūrya), Vahni, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śivā at the beginning of all kinds of worship.781 He even advises them to be initiated to the worship of any of the gods and goddesses they like.788 But being himself a staunch Śākta, he claims

Dbh XII, 9, 93-96-

bhuvi jārā brāhmaņāi cu iāpa-dagdhlā purā tu ye / manathyā-traya-vihīnāi ca gāyatri-bhakti-varjitāh // veda-bhakti-vihināš ca pāraņda-mata-gāminah / agniltotr-ādi-saţ-karma-svadhā-svāhā-vivarjitāh // mūla-peakṛtim avyaktām naiva jānanti karhicit / tapta-mudr-āńkitāh kecit kāmācāra-ratāh pare // kāpālikāh kaulikāi ca bauddhā jainās tathā pare / pandită api te sarve dorăcăra-pravartakâh //

28 Dbh XII, 8, 3-1; XII, 9, 71-72 and 75; and XII, 9, 95-96.

The Bauddhas and the Jainas have been denounced on several occasions (see Dbh I. 18. 46; V. 15. 12; VI. 7, 28; and so on); and in 13th VII. 11. 42-45 it has been said that the Raksasses of the previous Yugas have been born as Brahmins in the Kuli age, and that these Brahmins follow the faiths of the Plannelss, decry the Vedas, and serve Súdras.

rm Dhh VI. 18. 35-36a-

mad-bhaktā vānudevasya nindakā bahavas tathā / viņņu-hhaktās tu bahavo mama nindā-parāyaņāh!/ bhavanti kāla-bhedena kalau devi višepatab // (said by Šiva).

See also Dbh XI. 15, 37-39 which speak of persons denouncing Siva, Devt, Viguu, Sürya and Gancia.

700 Dhh III, 6, 53-56; VI. 18, 30-31 and 44-47; IX, 33,8-11; IX, 34, 32-33, 37 and

Tet Dish IX. 11, 72ff; 26, 47; 42, 3; 48, 120-121; and so on.

199 Cf. Dbb IX. 34, 83-

vaispavam ca tathā izivam tāktam sauram ca gāņapem / yo 'haqskārān uş grhņāti mantram so'diksitah smrtah // (An uninjuisted person is said to visit hells).

that it is only Sakti-worship which is advocated by the Vedas and that all twice-born people are Saktas and not Saivas or Vaisnavas, inasmuch as they worship Gāyatrī, the primordial energy and the mother of the Vedas.744 He tries to infuse his own ideas of Sakti into the members of different sects by adapting his work as far as practicable to the views of these sectaries. Hence we see that in some parts of the Devi-bhagavata Visnu is glorified as the highest deity,738 and Siva is said to meditate on Visnu and sing his praise;734 in some places Siva is described as greater than Visnu and Kṛṣṇa; ar in some portions, especially in Skandha IX, Kṛṣṇa has been regarded as Para Brahma, and Viṣṇu as one of his parts; and in many places Savitri, Gayatri, Manasa, Mangala-candī, Gangā, Tulasī and other female deities have been pictured and praised as parts of Devi. As a matter of fact, the author of the Devi-bhagavata claims that this Purăna should be constantly studied by the Vaisnavas and the Saivas for the pleasure of Rama and Uma respectively, by the Sauras and the Ganapatyas for the satisfaction of their own favourite Saktis, and by the Vaidikas for the pleasure of Gāyatrī, and that all these sectaries would not find in this Purana any statement that would go against their own views. 238 But in spite of his assigning each of the chief gods alternately to a position higher than that of the rest, he makes Devi the life and energy of all.

Although a Śākta work, the Devi-bhāgavata holds the Vedas in high esteem and tries its best to establish their authority among the people, especially among Brahmins. It calls itself 'veda-saṃmita' and claims to contain the essence of the Vedas (veda-sāra). It regards 'Śruti', 'Smṛti' and 'Purāṇa' as sources of dharma and looks upon the first

^{con} Dbh XII. 8, 1— deijāthasp tu sarvesām šakty-upāstih štutīritā. Sec also Dbh XII. 8, 88-89, 91, and XII. 9, 98-99.

⁷⁵⁴ Dbh XI, 16, 17, and XI, 21, 6 (quoted in footnote 725 above).

[&]quot; Dbh III, 13, 36b-37 and 39b.

^{***} Dbh 1X. 15. 28.

¹⁸⁸ Dbh V. 1, verses 3, 20-21, 25 and 27.

Dbh XH, 14, 21-24a (quoted in footnote 725 above).
 Dbh I, 1, 16; 1, 2, 2; 1, 16, 15; 17, 12, 4; and so on.

as the highest authority; but it does not totally ignore the Tantras. At one place Devi has been made to say: "That which is said by Sruti and Smrti, is called dharma; what is declared by other śāstras, is called pseudo-dharma. The Veda has originated from my omniscient and omnipotent self; and due to complete absence of nescience in me the Veda is not unauthoritative. The Smrtis have come out by taking the meanings of Sruti, and it is for this reason that the Smrti-works of Manu and others are to be regarded as authorities. In some places [these authorities] hint, on certain occasions, at the meanings of Tantras and declare as dharma the statements of others, but those portions are not to be accepted by the Vaidikas. As the authors of other sastras have sprung from ignorance, their statement, being made defective by it, is not regarded as authoritative. Hence one, striving for final emancipation, should, for the sake of dharma, take to the Veda by all means, Those various other śāstras, which [exist] on earth and go against Śruti and Smṛti, are tāmasa, pure and simple. The Āgamic literatures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulakas and Bhairavas were written by Siva for deluding [people] and not for any other reason. For the deliverance of those best Brahmins who were burnt by the curses of Daksa, Bhṛgu and Dadhica, and were caused to stray from the path of the Vedas, the Agamas of the Saivas, Vaisnavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Samkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these [portions] the Vaidikas do not incur sin. A twiceborn man is by no means entitled to do what is not supported by the Vedas; but one, who is not privileged to study the Vedas (vedādhikāra-hīnah), is qualified for performing such actions. Hence a Vaidika should zealously take to the Veda. Knolwedge, [accompanied] with dharma, reveals Para Brahma".786 At another place of the Devi-bhāgavata Nārāyaņa is found to declare: "Sruti and Smṛti are regarded

⁷⁶⁹ Dbb VII. 39, 15-33.

as the two eyes, and Puranas as the heart. The prescriptions of these three only should be taken as dharma, and not what is found in other works. In case of disagreement among these three, Sruti should be deemed as authoritative. In the Puranas there are certain matters which, though derived from the Tantras, have been regarded as dharma, but one must not follow them [blindly]. If the Tantra does not go against the Veda, it is undoubtedly to be regarded as authoritative, but if it goes clearly against Sruti, it must not be taken as an authority. By all means, it is the Veda which is the authority with regard to the path of dharma. That, which does not contradict it, becomes authoritative, and not otherwise. In the realm of Yama there are hells for chastising one who, after forsaking the Veda-dharma, fares on the authority of other sastras. So, one should strenuously follow the dharma declared by the Veda. Every śāstra, be it Smṛti, Purāṇa, Tantra or anything else, should be regarded as authoritative, in case it is based on the Veda, and never otherwise. Those, who direct people by means of bad scriptures, will plunge into the hell with their legs up and faces down. The Kāmācāras, Pāsupatas, Lingadhārins, those who mark their limbs with hot seals (taptamudrānkita), and the followers of the systems of the Vaikhānasas (vaikhānasa-matānuga)—all these people fare outside the pale of the Vedic dharma and go to hell. Hence one should always practise the faultless dharma declared by the Vedas." The Devi-bhagavata recognises both the Vedic and the Tantric initiation but says that a dutiful Vedic Brahmin should mutter only the Vedic mantra and not a 'laukika' one.743 As regards the ashes meant for use by the Siva-worshippers, it says that the Vedic Saivas should prepare their own ashes and should not use those prepared according to the Tantric process.740 It describes

⁷⁴¹ Dhh XI, 1, 21-32a.

¹¹¹ Dbb XI. 3, 12b-13a-

brāhmaṇah iruti-saṃpannah svadharma-niratah sadā / sa vaidikaṃ japen mantraṃ laukikaṃ na kadācana // ⁷⁴⁸ Dbh XI, 12, 10-17.

both the Vedic and the Tantric method of worship but says that the Vedic method should be followed by those having Vedic initiation, whereas the Tantric method is meant for persons initiated in the Tantric process,745 These and similar other statements made in the Devi-bhagavata show that its author tried his level best to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters and to make the members of the Vedic fold immune from Tantric influence as far as possible. But he could not fully ingore the influence of the age in which he lived. The spread of Tantricism was so wide in his days and its hold on himself and the people so great that he did not hesitate to prescribe the 'yantra' (diagram) as a medium even in the Vedic method of worship,248 to furnish the mantras of different deities with Tantric bijas, and to glorify these bijas (especially the Vāg-bīja, Māyā-bīja and Kāma-bīja) with various stories.

The Devi-bhāgavata calls itself a 'Purāṇa' in the body of the text and a 'Mahāpurāṇa' in the chapter-colophons, and claims to have 'five characteristics'. The its own opinion, it is the best 'Purāṇa' (purāṇottama), with which other Purāṇas do not in any way stand comparison. It styles itself mostly as 'Bhāgavata'. It is only in the chapter-colophons of especially the printed editions as well as in several places of its last two chapters that the name 'Devi-bhāgavata' occurs. But except in only one Ms⁷⁵² nowhere does this

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114 Dbb V. 34, and VII. 39-40.
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¹¹⁶ Dbh VII. 39, 4b-5a-

vaidiki vaidikaih käryä vrda-diksä-samasvitaih / tantrokta-diksävadihis tu täntriki samiritä bhavet //

^{***} See Dish III. 26, 21; V. 34, 7-8; and VII. 39, 39.

¹⁰ Dbh J. 1. 16; 1, 16, 32; II. 4, 68.

²⁸⁸ Dbh I, 2, 3 and 11; I, 3, 40; and so on.

Dbh XII, 13, 25b-26a-

santy anyāni purāņāni kari-rodra-muhhāni ca / devibhāgavatasyāsya kalām nārhanti podašīm //

⁷⁰ Dhh I. I, verses 16, 18, 21, 25; I. 2, 37; I. 15, venes 47, 49, 54; I. 16, 15; and so on.

⁷⁵⁰ Dbh I. 2. 11; 1. 3. 34 and 39; II. 4. 68; and so on.

⁷⁰¹ Dbh I. 3. 41.

¹⁴⁸ No. 115 of A1881-82, preserved in the Government Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poons.

work call itself 'Bhagavati-purāņa'.

As the Devi-bhagavata calls itself 'Bhagavata' or 'Śrimadbhagavata', conforms to the definitions of the 'Bhagavata' contained in the Matsya and other Puranas, includes its own name (Bhagavata) in its list of the eighteen principal

By examining the chapter-colophous of this incomplete Ms S. N. Tadpatrikar comes to the following conclusion:

"The Purana was originally called, fittingly, Sribbagavati-purana, and each of its

parts was called 'amia'.

Then with the growing popularity of Srimad-bhāgavata comes in the period of continuous, when the devotees of Devi at once went to the other extreme, and named this Purāņa Srimad-bhāgavata Mahāpurāņa with the name 'skandha' for its parts. The name was boldly asserted to be grammatically derived from 'bhagavata' as 'bhagavaty's idam bhāgavatam'.

Then the two extremes mixed indiscriminately, and we come across all different

sorts of adhyāya-colophons, as in the present fragment before in.

And has comes the present order of things, where, to distinguish this Purāna from its rival, the word 'devI' was added to the name Bhāgavara and we have the adhyāya-colophons, as we find them, in this last stage, in printed editions". (ABORI, XXIII, 1942, p. 562).

This conclusion, though apparently attractive, is based more on 'imagination'

than on facts. It should be rejected for the following reasons;

(1) Not a single of the other Mss of the Devibhāgavata gives its name as 'Bhagavatā-purāṇa' cither in the body of the text or in the chapter-colophous.

(2) In his Bikaner Cat., p. 187, R. L. Mitra describes a Ma of the 'Rhagavati-purapa'

which is quite different from the Devi-bhagavata.

- (3) A large number of verses has been ascribed to the 'Bhagavati-purāṇa' in Jimūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 320, 322, 381, 382, 511), Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (I, pp. 667, 962; 111, i, pp. 606, 678-9, 692, 704, 717, 728-9, 671; III, ii, pp. 318-4, 316), Mādhavācārya's Kāla-niroaya (pp. 311, 313), Gadādhara's Kālasāra (pp. 103, 109-110, 465, 610), and Mirra-mitra's Viramitrodaya (Āhnika-prakāta, p. 186); but not a single of these verses is found in the Davi-bhāgavata, which is, therefore, quite different from the 'Bhagavati-purāṇa'.
- (4) Even in the Ms (No. 145 of A1831-82) utilised by Tadpatrikar for his conclusion, the name 'Bhagavad-purana' occurs only in a few chapter-colophons and not in the body of the text.
- (5) That the chapter-colophons of this Ms are not at all dependable for any conclusion, is shown by the fact that in the colophon of chap. 29 of its third Skaudha, the name of the work is given as 'Deyl-purāna'.
- (6) The names 'Bhāgavata' and 'Śrimad-bhāgavata' occur in a large number of verses of the Devt-bhāgavata, and these names cannot be replaced conveniently with the name 'Bhagavati-purāṇa' without effecting considerable changes in the verses containing these names.

12 The 'Shagavana' is defined in the different Puranas as follows:-

yatrādhiketya gāyatrim varnyate dharma-vistarah / vṛtrāsuru-vudhopetam tad bhāgavatam ucyate //

appādasa-sahasrāni purāņam tat pracakņate [[
[These lines are the same as Skanda-p. VII. i. 2.39-42].

Purāṇas, and regards the Vaiṣṇava 'Bhāgavata' as one of the eighteen Upapurāṇas, the question naturally arises as to which of these two works is the real Bhāgavata. There is a band of scholars, both European and Indian, who hold that the Devi-bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata and that the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is a spurious work written by Vopadeva, a contemporary of Hemādri. But this view is untenable for the following reasons:—

 The Nibandha-writers are all in favour of the authenticity of the Bhāgavata (i.e. Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata).
 Many of them (such as Vallālasena, Madhvācārya, Hemādri,

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Agni-p. 272, 6-7-
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yatrādhikrīya gāyatrīm kirtyate dharma-vietaraḥ /
vṛtrāsura-vadhopetam tad bhāgavatam ucyate //
astādaia-sahastāni

71.....

Skanda-p. V. iii, 1, 37-

navamam bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam / tad aṣṭādaia-sāhastaṃ procyate grantha-saṃkhyayā //

In his commentacy on the Bhāgavata-p. (I. 1.1) Śridhara Śvāmin gives, from a 'Purl-ountara', the following definition:

grantho "ṭādaia-sāhaaro dvādaia-skandhu-saṃmitaḥ / bayagrīva-brahma-vidyā yaira vṛtra-vadhas tathā / gāyatryā ca samārambhaa tad yai bhāgayatam viduḥ //

According to these definitions, that Purana which begins with the gayatri, deals claborately with diarma as well as with brahma-rided, contains the stories of Hayagriva and the killing of the demon Vrtra, and consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts and of 18000 slokes, is to be known as the "Bhagavata".

All these characteristics are found in the Devl-bhägavata, which begins with a Devigäyatri, deals elaborately with diarms in most of the Skandhas and with brahms-vidpa especially in Skandha XII, contains the story of Hayagriva in Skandha I (chap. 5) and that of the killing of Vytra in Skandha VI (chaps. 1-6), consists of twelve Skandhas divided into two parts of six Skandhas earb, and professes to have 18000 verses.

Wilana, Vahan Purana, I, Preface, pp. XLIV-LI; Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Emays, Vol. I, p. 104; Rurnoul, Bhagavata Purana, Preface, pp. LXIIIf.; Ganganath Jha in Man. Kuppunwami Sastri Commemoration Volume, pp. 1-2; and so on.

At the beginning of his commentary on the Devl-httagavata Saiva Nilakantha tries

to prove that this Devi-bltagavata is the real Bhagavata-p.

There is a polemic treatise, viz., Durjana-mukim-capetikā of Kātinātha Bhatta, a Daksinātāra Tantrik of Benares, which strongly supports the claim of the Devi-shāgavata to be the real Bhāgavata. (For this treatise see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1207-8, No. 3367; Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 771-2, No. 4111; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 63, Nos. 1385-86).

See also the articles on the Devi-bhagavata in ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 241-9, and XXIII, 1942, pp. 559-62.

Govindânanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhatta, and others) quote verses from a 'Bhāgavata' in their respective works; and most of these verses are found in the present Bhāgavata-p., but not a single occurs in the Devi-bhāgavata.

(2) None of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to mention even the name of the Devi-bhāgavata. Among the late Nibandhas even, we have found only one

work which draws upon the Devi-bhagavata.

(3) Although Devi-bhāgavata IX. 29 deals with gifts, Vallālasena does not refer to or draw upon it, nor does he include its name among those of the spurious or rejected Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. That Vallālasena knew the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata as the real Bhāgavāta, is shown by his statement, made in his Dānasāgara, that he did not draw upon the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' because it did not deal with the method of making gifts. As a matter of fact, the present Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, unlike the Devī-bhāgavata, contains no chapter on this topic. Vallālasena's recognition of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata is further shown by the fact that he does not include the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa' among those works which he rejected for imbibing Tantric elements. (We have already seen how greatly the Devi-bhāgavata has been influenced by Tantricism).

(4) The contents of the Bhagavata are more belitting a

principal Purāņa than those of the Devi-bhāgavata.

(5) Alberūnī mentions the 'Vaiṣṇava' Bhāgavata as one of the principal Purāṇas but does not betray his knowledge of the Devi-bhāgavata.

(6) The chapters on Bhāgavata-māhātmya found in the Purāņas such as the Pādma (Uttara-khaṇḍa), Skānda (Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa), etc. relate to the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata and not to any other work claiming to be the Bhāgavata-p.

(7) By way of describing the contents of the eighteen principal Purāņas the Nāradīya-p. gives, in chap. 96 of its

⁶¹⁸ See Dānasāgura, p. 6 (verse 57) bhāgavatam ca purāņam hrahmāndam caiva nāradīyam ca dāna-vidhi-iūnyam etat trayam ilu na nibaddham avadhārya //

Pūrva-bhāga, the contents of a 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' which

agree with those of our present Bhagavata-p.

- (8) In the Bhagavata-p, there is no mention of the Devibhagavata, nor is there any attempt to prove its superior position, but the Devi-bhagavata gives out its knowledge of the Vaisnava Bhagavata and thus acknowledges its own comparatively late origin by including this work among the Upapurānas obviously with a view to establishing its own claim to the position of a Mahāpurāņa. Further, in the Bhagavata Suka is presented as given to complete renunciation of the world from his childhood. But the author of the Devi-bhagavata saw that an ideal character like Suka might encourage others, having much less indifference, to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline in society. Hence he painted Suka in a quite different colour in the Devi-bhagavata. Here Suka, who is about to give up the world, goes to Janaka at the request of his father Vyāsa. Janaka proves the benefits of himsā as practised in Vedic sacrifices and convinces him of the necessity of passing successively through all the stages of life before entering into the life of a samnyasin. Consequently, Suka returns to his father and becomes a householder.
- (9) The Bhagavata regards Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavat himself and makes no mention of Rādhā. But the Devi-bhāgavata, though recognising the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, subordinates him to his Sakti Rādhā and thus tries to infuse Sāktism into the followers of the Bhagayata religion.

(10) By its inclusion of the Vaisnava Bhagavata among the Upapuranas and by its statement that the Puranas on Hari and Rudra do not, in any way, stand comparison with it,768 the Devi-bhagavata clearly betrays its knowledge of the Bhāgavata-p.

(11) The Saktas are not unanimous about the identity of the 'Bhagavata' named in the lists of eighteen principal Purāņas. Some of them say that it is the Kālikā-p. which, on account of its treatment of the birth and exploits of

tis Dbh XII. 13, 25b-26a (cited in footnote 746 above).

Bhagavati, is called 'Bhāgavata'; 717 some are inclined to regard the Devi-p. as the real Bhāgavata; and some, again, are in favour of the Devi-bhāgavata. Besides these, there is another work, named Bhagavati-purāṇa, which also tries to be known as 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata'. Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Śāktas, being jealous of the position and influence of the Bhāgavata-p., tried to substitute it by works of theirs.

The above arguments are perhaps sufficient to show that the Devi-bhāgavata cannot be regarded as the real Bhāgavata. In point of age also it is much younger than its rival. We have seen elsewhere that the Bhāgavata-p. is a fairly early work. But the Devi-bhāgavata cannot reasonably be assigned to an early date. It repeatedly names the Mahābhārata (mostly as 'Bhārata'), bases some of its stories on those of this great epic, and has a good number of verses from it. It also mentions the Dharmaśāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya, and knows the names of rāśis and week-days. It utilises the contents of the Mārkandeya-candi, mentions that work under the title

⁷⁶¹ See footnotes 515 and 523 above (under 'Kālikā-p.').

For a Ma of this work see Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 187. In this Ms the Bingavatipurana ends with the following verse:

santy anyāni purāuāni vistarāņi purāņi ca / irīmad-bhāgavatasyāsya na tulyāniti me macib //

⁽This verse is the same as Dish III. 30.63. The Devi-bhagavata reads 'bahum' for 'purani'.)

¹¹⁰ Hazra, Purăpie Records, pp. 52-57.

⁷⁴⁰ Dbh 1, 3,17; 11, 11,61; 11, 12,53; XI, 20,20 (bhārya-bhārata-pārvain ca mahā-bhārata (tv. api).

to For instance, the story of Suka's birth and meeting with Janaka in Dbh I. 14ff. is based on Mahābhārata, Sānti-parvan, chaps. 324-7, from which the Devl-bhāgavata has taken a few lines.

^{***} For instance, Dbh 1, 14.5, 6b (first half), 7a (second half), 7b, 9b, etc. = Mbh XII, 324.6, 7a (first half), 7b (second half), 8a, 10b, etc.; Dhh VII, 2, 43b-44, 45b, 4fb, 52b (first half), 54b, 56a, 58b (first half) = Mbh III, 122, 3-4a, 5b, 7b, 12b (first half), 13b, 14a, 15a (first half); Dbh VII, 3.1b (first half), 9a (first half), 10b, etc. = Mbh III, 122, 19a (first half), 22a (first half), 23a, etc.; and so on.

⁷⁴² Dhh I, 4.16; IV. 21.10 and 12.

¹⁹⁴ Dbh V, chaps, 21-35 are undoubtedly based on the Markandeya-cardt. At the end of chap, 35 Suts says: 'iti vab kathitah sarah purananan munitvarah', thus referring to the Markandeya-p.

'Saptaśati-stotra', '** and has, in its story of king Hariścandra as given in Skandha VII, chaps. 18-27, a good number of verses from the relevant chapters of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. It gives the names of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including the Buddha, '** and speaks of the Hūṇas as living on the banks of the Ganges. '** It praises the worship of the 'five deities' (pañca-deva), '** includes 'pañcāyatana-pūjā' (i.e. the worship of the five deities—Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Śiva and Śivā) among the daily duties of the twice-born people, '** speaks of 'nine' Rasas including 'Śānti-rasa', '** and knows the ten Mahāvidyās. '** By its mention of 'people following the Cina-mārga' and of 'the place of Nilasarasvatī in Cina' as 'widely known', '** it indicates that Tantric Buddhism had spread into China much earlier than the date of its compo-

puñcāyatana-pūjām ca tatah kuryāt samāhitah / sivām sivam gaņapatim nāryan vismum tathārcayet //

The custom of Panesyntana-pūjā is not of very early origin. For information about this worship see Patquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 179-180.

178 Dbb V. 24.7-

iringārah sarvathā sarvaih prānithāh parayā mudā/ sevaniyo buddhimadbhir navānām uttamo yatah//

Dbh V. 27. 56-57a-

rasānām ca navānām vai civāv eva mukhyatām gatau / śrógārakah śānti-raso vidvaj-jana-sabhām ca // tayoh stógāra evādau urpa-bhāve pratisthitah /

Dbh V. 27, 60b-61a-

madhurālāpa-nipuņai ratāh tānti-rase bi te //

For the recognition of the Quietistic (santa) as the minth Rasa, see S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, II, pp. 346ff.

The stage-direction 'sa-nirvedam', used with respect to Jimitavāhana in Nāgānanda, Act I (verse I) tends to show that Harsavardhana wanted to make Sānta (which has 'nirveda' as its 'sthāys-bhāva') the predominant sentiment in his drama.

771 Dhh IV. 15, 12. The Benares edition wrongly reads 'mahabindu'- for 'maha-vidya-'.

272 Dbh XII. S. 3 (cited in footnote 727 above).

⁷⁸⁴ Dbb IX, 50,86-tataly saptašati-stotram devyā agre tu sampathet.

¹⁰⁰ Dbh X. 5. 4-15.

¹⁴¹ Dhh IV, R. 31-32.

¹⁰⁰ Dbh IX. 36, 10 and 14,

ree Dbh XI, 17, 35-

Dbh VII. 38. 13-tathā eila-saraivatyāḥ sthānam cineņu višrutam,

sition. The way in which the Mlecchas and the Yavanas The have been mentioned repeatedly in the Devi-bhagavata, tends to show that the author of this Purana was quite familiar with the spread of the Muhammadans in India. Devi-bhāgavata VII. 39 is clearly based on Kūrma-p. I. 12, from which it has borrowed a few lines 775 and which cannot be dated earlier than 800 A.D. Almost all the chapters of Skandha IX of the Devi-bhagavata have been taken from the Prakrti-khanda of the present Brahma-vaivarta-p.,716 which is a work of Bengal and which, in its present form, cannot be dated earlier than the tenth century A.D." Hence the upper limit of the date of the Devi-bhagavata can by no means be placed earlier than 950 A.D.

The chapters common to the Devl-bhagavata and the Brahma-vaivarta-p. II (Prakṛti-khanda) are as follows:-

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Devi-bhāgavata Brahma-vaiyazta-p.
Devi-bhāgavata Brahma-vaivarta-p.
                                     IX. 33-34 = II. 30.
 IX, 1-5 = II. 1-5 respectively.
                                        .. 35-39 = .. 31-35 respectively.
           - , 6,
                                        11 40 = 11 36 (except venes 60b-
   ., 8-10 = ., 7-9 respectively.
                                                         179) and 37 (except
   . 11-12 - 10 (except venes 40b-
                                                         verse 1).
                                                    38-43 respectively.
                                       . 41-46 =
   .. 13-17 = 1, 11-15 respectively.
                                        ,, 47 = ,, 44-45.
   ., 18-19 = ., 16.
                                      , 48-49 = , 46-47 respectively.
   .. 20-32 - .. 17-29 respectively.
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The Devi-bhagavata units or changes those verses of the Brahma-vaivarta-p. in which the Vaisnavas have been praised. For imtance, By II, 10, 40b-57 (on the praise of Vaisnavas) do not occur in the Devt-bhagavata; for 'kṛṣṇaṣya paramāṭmanah' of Rv II. 7, 77, Dbh IX. 8, 75a reads 'fridevyāh procyate mune'; for 'harer nimeja-mātrena' of Bv II, 8, 1, Dbh IX, 9, 1 reads 'devyā nime;a-mātrena'; for 'vaisnavāya' of Bv II. 16.97, Dbh IX. 18.85 reads 'sādhave'; for the line 'nivasanti hi goloke vaikonthe vă hareb pade' occurring în Bv II. 27,53b, Dhli IX. 30,53b reads 'nivasanti mații-dvipe iridevyāh parame pade'; and so on.

On the other hand, the Devi-bhagavata adds here and there a few verses (mainly on the peake of Devi) which have not been taken from the Brahma-vaivarea-p. For instance, Dhh IX. 29.34 and IX. 33.8-11 do not occur in the Brahma-vaivarts.

²⁷⁴ Dbh IV. B. 31 (Meechas as living on the banks of the Ganges); IX. S. 24 (people as following Miecchācâea and studying Mieccha-šāstra during the Kali age); IX. 6. 52-53 (all becoming Mierchas-sarvam mierchamayam); IX. 33, 104 (a Brahmin, who serves Miecchas, is condemned to hell-mieccha-sevi masi-jivi yo vipro bhārate bhuvi/ vaset ... masikunde //).

For mention of Micochas see also Dhh IX, 33, 64; 34, 20; and 35, 42.

re Dbh IX. 33. 45 (yāvanīm yonim) and 72 (jūtiš ca yāvanī).

¹⁹⁸ Dbh VII. 39, verses 7a, 8a, 9b, 10a, 11a, 13, 14a, 15a, and 26b-27a=Ker. I. 12, verses 244a, 244b, 245, 246a, 248b, 249, 251b and 257.

¹⁷⁷ Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 166-7.

Again, a Ms of the Devî-bhāgavata is dated Samvat 1848.738 Saiva Nilakantha,779 a disciple of one Sridhara who was different from Śridhara-svāmin, the famous commentator of the Bhagavata-p., wrote his well-known commentary Tilaka on the Devi-bhagavata not earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century A.D., and this commentary has been printed in the Bombay and Bengal editions of this work. The Śivārcana-dipikā, which was written later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., draws upon the Devi-bhagavata.700 Going to prove the authenticity of the Bhagavata-p. in the introductory portion of his commentary on the same, Śridhara-svāmin makes a remark which tends to indicate that in his days attempts had already begun to be made to estabilsh the reputation of the Devibhāgavata as the real Bhāgavata-p.*** In his commentary on the Dharma-samhitā of the Siva-p., Gangādhara quotes

ve See footnote 650 (xi) above.

⁷⁷⁹ In his introduction to his commentary Titaka Nilakantha informs us that he had the surname 'Saiva' (śaivopanāmaka), that he was born in a family of Saivas (iaivakulotpanna), and that both his father Ranganatha and mother Lakanii were staunch followers of Agamic Saivism (delikostama). He names Kādīnātha and Srtdhaca among his teachers (guru) and says that he was induced by one Ratnaji to write the Tilaka on the Devi-libigavata which was going without a commentary (vyškhyžna-rahita).

Saiva Nilakantha's mention of Sridhara as one of his teachers has led Farquhar to take this Schihara to be the same as Sridhara-syamin, the famous commentator of the Bhagavata-p. (see Farquhar, Outline, p. 359.) But the identification is perfectly wrong. Sridbara-svämin flourished between 1350 and 1450 A.D. (see ABORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 277-283; Farquhar, Outline, pp. 231, 269, 297, erc.; S. K. De, Vaistava Faith and Movement, p. 13; ABORI, XIV, 1932-33, p. 168; and snou), whereas Sniva Nilakantha, who cames Madhusüdana Saraswati (circa 1565-1672 A.D.—see ARORI, XXX, 1949, pp. 326-331) as the author of the Sarva-Matrha-sarpgraha and N3gojt-bhatta (1700-1750 A.D.) as a Dharmaillatra-writer (see Tilata, p. 1b), cannot be placed earlier than

Our Saiva Nilskantha must be distinguished from Nilakantha, the famous commentator of the Mahabharata. The latter was born of Govinda Suri and Phullambika and was a Brahmin scholar of Maharayra. He wrote his commentary on the Mahabhārata at Benares in the last quarter of the seventeenth century A.D.—See Mahābhīrata (ed. V. S. Sukthankar, Poona), Adi-parvan, Prolegomena, p. LXV, and P. K. Gode's Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. II, pp. 475-498; also Printz, "Ilhūṣā-worter, în Nîlakautha's Bhārata-bhāva-dipa", Einleitung, KZ. 44, 77ff.

na ASB Ma No. 2187, fel. 14a. - See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2853, p. 866.

¹⁸¹ See Sridhara-avamin's commentary on Bhagavata-p. I. 1, It is to be noted that the Devi-bhagavata begins with a Gayarri, contains the stories of the killing of Hayagriva, Vitra and others, deals claborately with Dharma, and consists of 12 Shandhas and 18000 verses.

from 'Padma-p., chap. 19' a line (also quoted in Saiva Nilakantha's commentary Tilaka on the Devi-bhāgavata) which includes the Devi-bhagavata among the Upapurānas.783 The name of the Devi-bhāgavata occurs in the verse

'devi-bhāgavatam nityam pathed bhaktyā samāhitah / navarātre višesena śridevī-prītaye mudā //

which was derived by Saiva Nīlakantha from Mahesa Thakkura's Durgā-pradīpa in which this verse was ascribed to the Devi-yāmala. These show that the Devi-bhāgavata must have preceded Śridhara-svāmin and others by a few centuries. Hence it cannot be dated later than 1200 A.D. Although the Devi-yamala has been mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka7838 and is thus a fairly early work, we cannot push the lower limit of the date of the Devibhagavata much farther up, because, in the absence of any Ms of the Devi-yāmala, we are not sure that the said verse really belonged to this work. On the other hand, it is much more probable that, like the line 'saivam adipuranam ca devi-bhāgavatam tathā' (which has been ascribed to the Padma-p. by Gangādhara and Śaiva Nīlakantha but is not found in the present text of that work) and many others (including those mentioned in connection with Durgā-pūjā towards the beginning of this Chapter), the above verse was

The facts that the Bhagavata-p, begins with a verse which can hardly be called a Gayatri and that it contains no mention of the Sarasvam Kalpa, must be due to the changes made in the original text of this work in course of time.

¹⁹³ Shastri, ASB Cat., V. No. 3550, p. 289-

^{....}kim tv asynpapurāņatvam eva pādme ekonavimie 'dhyāye upapurāņem 'izivam ādipurāņam ca devi-bhāgavatam tathā'

iti parigananād iti cen na / /"

⁽See also Saiva Nilakantha's commentary Tilaka, p. 1h-

tathil pildme bhāgavata-māhātmye ekonaviņie 'thyāye upapurāneņu 'taivam ādipurāņam ca devi-bhāgavatam tathā' iti /

The line 'saivam adipuranam to etc.' does not occur in the chapters on linkgavatamāhātmya in the Uttara-khanda of the Padma-p.).

⁷¹² See Tilaka, p. 3b-

tathā-'devi-bhāgavatam nityam pathed bhaktyā samāhitah / navarltre viicecna iridevi-prhaye mudă //"

iti maheia-piakkura-kṛta-durgāpradipa-dhṛta-deviyāmala-vacanena / Tess Ahnika III, p. 82 (verse 70), and Ahnika VIII, pp. 12 (verse 16) and 149 (verse 212).

only a later creation made with a definite purpose. The lines 'puranam bhagavatam daurgam nandi-proktam tathaiva ca' and 'saivam bhagavatam daurgam bhavisyottaram eva ca', ascribed by Śaiva Nīlakantha to the 'Gāruḍa Tattva-rahasya' and the 'Padma' Purana respectively,764 may be taken to mean the earlier Kālikā-p. or the Bhāgavatī-p., which, as we have already seen, was looked upon by some as the real Bhagavata. The value of these lines as well as the verses quoted by Saiva Nilakantha from the Aditya-p., Siva-p. (Umā-samhitā), etc.765 dwindles to nothing when we find that the Devi-bhagavata itself mentions the Vaisnava Bhagavata and includes it among the Upapuranas, thus presupposing this work and giving itself out as its younger rival

From what has been said above it is highly probable

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that the Devi-bhagavata was compiled in the eleventh or twelfth
     The See Tilaka, p. 1b-
         tuthă gărude tativa-rahasye dvitiyămie dharma-kânde prathamădhyaye
 ...uktam
               'puranam bhagavatam daurgam nandi-proktam tathaiva ca /
               paliupatyam rainukam ca hhairavam ca tathaiva ca //"
 iti / .... / taihā pādme takıma-pariksāyām
         designation and the track of the contract of the
         .
         vārīliem brahmavaivartam iakuneņu praiasyate /
         šalvam bhāgavaram daurgam bhavisyottaram eva ca // iti /
    The last verse (vărāham brahmavaivartam etc.) is the same as Padma-p. (Pătăla-
khanda )100.53,
    These verses are the following :
      (1) āditya-purāņe raktāsura-vadha-prastāve
               'yā jagbne mahişam daityam krūram ertrāsuram tathā /
               sādya raktāsuram hatvā svārājyam to pradāsyati //
iti vacanam / .... / annntaram ca tatzaiva purāna-dāna-prantāve
               'dadāti sūrya-bhaktāya yas tu bhāgavatam dvijāh /
               sarva-pāpa-vinirmuktah mrva-vyādhi-vivarjitah /
              jived varia-iatam sāgram ante vaivasvatam padam //
iti pathicam /
         (2) kim ca siva-purāņe umā-ramhitāyam
              brahmaņā samstutā seyam madhu-kaitabha-nāiane /
              mahāvidyā jagad-dibātri arva-vidy-ādhidevatā /
              dvādašyām phālgunasyaiva šuklāyām samabhūn nepa //
iti vacanāt phālguna-iukla-dvādašyām devyā udbhavas tad-dine eva sārasvata-kalp-
odhhavah, tad uktam hemādrau kalpa-irādiha-prakarzņe nāgara-khande
              'tārasvatas tu dvādatyām iuklāyām phālgunasya ca' iti /
And so on.
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period ranging from 900 to 1350 A.D. This date of compilation of this work is fully supported by its Tantric elements as well as by the non-utilisation of its contents by the commentators and Nibandha-writers.

T. N. Ramachandran places the date of the Devibhagavata 'not later than the 6th century A.D. '287 by taking the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa's penance, as given in 'Devibhāgavata, Skandha IV, adhyāyas 5-10',788 to be the basis of the scenes of penance of these two sages in the eastern niche of the Gupta temple of Deogarh in the Jhansi district. As the relief is of considerable antiquity, being dated 'about 600 A.D.' by Coomaraswamy786 and in 'the second half of the 5th century A.D.' by Smith and Codrington, and as an unduly early date for the Devi-bhagavata means not only the same for the state of religion and society reflected in it but also a better claim of this work to the status of a genuine Mahāpurāṇa than that of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata, which some scholars are inclined to date not earlier than the 8th century A.D., 782 it is necessary to compare the story of the Devi-bhagavata with the said relief a little more carefully to see whether this story can be taken as the basis of the relief and whether the date of compilation of the Devi-bhagavata can thus be pushed up to such an early period.

187 See IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 191-6.

¹⁰⁰ Farquhar, Outline, p. 269.

¹⁰⁰ As a matter of fact, the story of Nara-Nărăyana's creation of Urvail is narrated in Dhh IV. 5-6, 7 (verses 1-16), and 17, the intervening verses and chapters being given to other matters (such as the story of Nara-Nărâyana's fight with Prahlâda) which were introduced by way of exemplifying the had offects of shaptâns (pride).

A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art. p. 80, 100 Vincent Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 1930, p. 12.

⁷¹² K. de B. Codrington, Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Guptas with Notes on the Architecture and Sculpture of the Mediaeval Period, 1926, p. 61.

^{79:} See C. V. Vaidya in JBBRAS, 1925, pp. 144 ff.; Bhandarkar, Vaispavian etc., p. 49; F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradution, p. 80; Farquiar, Outline, pp. 229ff.; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 556; Durgashankar Shastri in Bharatiya Vidyā, II, pp. 129-139; J. N. Banerjea in IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 138-143.

Wilson, Mardonell, Colebrooke and Burnoul date the Bhagavata-p, in the 13th century A.D.

In order to explain some of the figures in the said relief Ramachandran gives a short summary of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devi-bhāgavata, but as his summary suffers from omission of facts and unwarranted stretch of imagination, we briefly narrate the story below with all its notable points. This story, as given in Devi-bhāgavata IV. 5-7 and 17, is as follows:

Brahmā's son Dharma was born from his father's heart. Dharma married Daksa's daughters and had four sons named Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nara and Nārāyana. Of these, the first two took to Yoga practices and the last two, who are said to be parts of Vișnu, went to Vadarikāśrama in the Prāleyādri (Himalayas) and practised severe austerities there on the bank of the Ganga for full one thousand years. The thousand-eyed Sakra got frightened at their activities. He came down to the Gandhamādana mountain by riding his elephant and tried to allure the two sages by offering to grant the best boon to them. As the latter could not be moved from their meditation, Šakra took to his magic power (mohinī māyā) and created wolves, lions and tigers and then rain, wind and fire for terrifying them. Finding that none of his attempts proved effective to the sages who were meditating on Ādi-śakti Mahāvidyā as well as on the Vāg-bīja, Kāmabija and Māyā-bija, Śakra (also called Indra) returned to heaven and sent Kāma (Cupid) with Rati, Vasanta (Spring), and the Apsarases such as Rambhā and Tilottamā to divert the sages (-chap. 5). Vasanta first made his appearance in the mountain, with the result that Amra, Vakula, Tilaka, Kimśuka, Madhuka and other trees and creepers were in full bloom, cuckoos gave out their sweet notes from treetops, the gentle southern breeze began to blow, and all creatures were smitten with passionate love for their beloved. Next, Kāma, with Rati and his five arrows fully prepared, took his abode in Vadarikāśrama, and Rambhā, Tilottamā and other Apsarases began to sing sweet songs. The sudden appearance of the spring season in all its splendour did not fail to attract the notice of the sages, but the latter, though astonished, could easily discover the machination of Indra

behind all these unexpected happenings. As soon as the sages looked at the well-dressed nymphs, who were 8050 in number,793 the latter bowed down to them, stood in their front, and sang love-exciting songs. The sages, however, were not moved. Nārāyaṇa calmly received the nymphs as guests. In order to show the power of his penance he struck his thigh with his palm and created a perfectly beautiful female who was called Urvasi due to her birth from Nārāyaṇa's thigh (uru) and was looked upon with wonder by the nymphs sent by Sakra. Next, for service of these nymphs Nārāyana brought into being the same number of extremely beautiful females, who put the celestial nymphs to confusion. Being struck with wonder to see the power of penance the celestial nymphs culogised the sages, admitting their own folly and giving out that they had come there not to serve them but to accomplish the work of Satakratu. The sages were pleased at their eulogy. They asked the nymphs to return to heaven, taking Urvasi as a present from them to Maghavat (Indra). But the nymphs refused to go to heaven and wanted to have Narayana as their husband. They earnestly requested Nărāyana to send Urvaśī and the other females created by him to heaven and to allow 1650 of them to remain there to serve him and his brother. But Nārāyaņa did not like to spoil his fame and austerities by giving indulgence to sexual passion (-chap. 6). He refused to have them as wives and intended to ward them off by taking to anger. Being, however, prevented by Nara from doing so (-chap. 7), Nārāyaṇa attained tranquillity of mind, explained the impossibility of what they wanted from him, and assured them that he would become their husband in the 28th Dvāpara when he would be born again for the accomplishment of the work of gods and the nymphs would be born as daughters of different kings. Feeling relieved at the words of Nārāyaṇa the nymphs returned to heaven and informed Indra of the whole situation. Indra was highly pleased with the sage and praised him at the sight of Urvasi (-chap, 17).

¹⁰⁰ Dbh IV, 6.28,

In the summary of the story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa given above, the following points are to be specially noted:

- (i) In his second attempt to divert the sages by terrorising them Sakra is said to have created wolves, lions and tigers by means of his magic power,744 there being no mention of deer anywhere in the whole story.
- (ii) There is nothing in the Devi-bhāgavata which may indicate that the wild beasts created by Sakra were 'subdued' by the sages.
- (iii) Cuckoos are said to have given out sweet notes from tree-tops with the appearance of Vasanta in the Gandhamādana mountain.
- (iv) Kāma is said to have taken his position in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows, there being no mention of Kāma's bow.
- (v) Nymphs, and no Gandharvas, are said to have been sent with Kāma to divert the sages.
- (vi) Nārāyaṇa is said to have created not only Urvasi but also a large number of beautiful females for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Šakra.
- (vii) The nymphs from heaven, and not Urvasi, are said to have eulogised the sages, and there is nothing in the whole story to indicate that Urvasi bowed down or in any way paid respect to the sages before leaving for heaven.

(viii) There is no mention of the presence either of any sages (other than Nara and Nărāyaṇa) or of Brahmā and other gods and goddesses in the hermitage.

The said Deogarh relief, on the other hand, has the following peculiarities:

(i-ii) It contains the figure of a single lion crouching indifferently with its front legs crossed in a pose of non-

The relevant verses of the Devi-bhāgavata are the following:

tato vai mohinim māyām cakāra bhayadām vṛṇaḥ //

vṛkān niṃhāṇā ca vṛāghrāṇā ca namntpādy-ābibhiṇayat /

varṣam vātam tathā vainim samutpādya punaḥ punaḥ //

bhiṇayāmāsa tau fakro māyām kṛṭvā vimohinim /

Devi-bhāgavata IV, 5,25b-27a.

It is to be noted that the face of the lion is turned away from the deer and his eyes are closed.

violence and also those of three deer lying at ease with an air of complete safety and tameness very near to the lion, to which they form a very favourite food. The presence of these two kinds of animals very near to each other without the least expression of violence in the one or fear in the others, clearly gives out the spirit of Ahimsā (non-violence) prevailing all around the two sages. It cannot be taken to indicate the submission of ferocious beasts sent by Sakra, because in that case the presence of a single ferocious beast (viz., lion) and three timid and innocent animals (viz., deer) lying unconcerned near it, cannot be explained satisfactorily.

(iii) There is no figure of any bird in the relief.

(iv) The male and female figures hovering to the right of Nārāyaṇa (the four-handed sage) must be those of Kāma and Rati. But Kāma has in his hand the stringless rod of the flowery bow (which indicates his absolute powerlessness), whereas according to the Devi-bhāgavata Kāma appeared in Vadarikāśrama with Rati and his five arrows.

(v) Of the two human figures hovering to the left of Nara (the two-handed sage) the male one is rather obscure and may be that of Vasanta. It is more probable that this male figure is that of a Gandharva carrying some musical instrument (Vasanta being represented in the relief by vernal beauty noticeable in the trees); and the female one, reclining beside him and showing signs of utter helplessness and disappointment, must be that of a celestial nymph who not only failed to tempt the sages but was discomfited by Urvaši's matchless beauty. These two seem to have been meant for representing the multitude of Gandharvas and Apsarases who came from heaven to divert the sages.

(vi) The female figure hovering between the two sages must be that of Urvasi, but beside her there are no figures of any other females who might represent those created by Nārāyaṇa for attending upon the celestial nymphs sent by Indra

(vii) It is Urvasi (and not the celestial nymphs, as said in the Devi-bhāgavata story) who pays respect to Nārāyaņa with folded palms. (viii) The two human figures standing behind Nara and Nārāyaṇa are undoubtedly those of two sages meant for representing the large number of sages who used to come to Vadarikāśrama to visit Nara and Nārāyana.

From the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa story of the Devi-bhāgavata on the one hand and the Deogarh relief on the other, it will be evident that the story has more points of difference from the relief than those of agreement with it. So, it can never be taken to be the source of the relief. As a matter of fact, this story comes from a very late period and is a definitely later version, with certain striking innovations and mention of Ādi-śakti and Tantric Bījas, than that found in Vāmana-p., chaps. 6-7, with which the Devi-bhāgavata has a good number of verses in common. As the present Vāmana-p. cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D., the Devi-bhāgavata must have been written later than at least 750 A.D.

It is difficult to say at present what exactly formed the basis of the Deogarh relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa. The story of the Vāmana-p. to which we have already referred, does not mention any wild animals or sages (other than Nara and Nārāyaṇa) being present in the hermitage, nor does it say that Kandarpa (Cupid) was accompanied by Rati or that Rambhā, whom Satakratu sent with Kandarpa and Mādhava (Spring) to disturb Nara and Nārāyaṇa, had with her any other Apsaras or Gandharva. There is also no mention of Urvaši's paying respect to her creator before leaving for heaven.

A story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is also found in the Skanda-p., Revā-khaṇḍa, chaps. 192-193. Although this story mentions 'lions, tigers and other wild beasts as leaving off their ferocity and moving about in the mountain with deer' it contains a number of other peculiarities which go definitely against its being the source of the relief.

Accounts of the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa as occurring in the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara, and some

¹⁰⁰ sispha-vyāghrādayah saumyās ceruh saha mṛgaic giran/ 192. 15a.

other works, do not meet all the points in the relief. So, it is probable that the sculptor of the relief used some early Purāṇic or epic story of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, which is now lost to us; or he derived his ideas from various sources then available to him, one of these sources being the Mahābhārata.

As regards the provenance of the Devi-bhagavata, there are several indications which appear to connect this work

with Bengal. These are as follows:

(1) The Devi-bhāgavata contains a number of words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(a) some un-Sanskritic idioms such as

'...duṣaṇaṃ kasya diyate'—Dbh I.17.24 (—cf. the colloquial Bengali expression— 'कार दोष दिश' — 'whom shall I blame?'—note the use of the sixth case-ending in 'कार'),

'...te sphotayisyāmi mūrdhānam'—Dbh IV.9.18 (—cf. Bengali— 'तार माना फाटाब' — 'I shall break your

head'),

'...tam vašam kuru'—Dbh IV.12.21 (—cf. Bengali

—'ताकं वस कर' —'win over him'),

'nāham gṛham kariṣyāmi'—Dbh I.15.1 (—cf. Bengali—'मानि घर करव ना'—'I shall not marry,' or 'I shall not become a house-holder'),

'mâna-cûrṇaṃ kariṣyāmi tava...'—Dbh IX.29.30 (—cf. Bengali— 'तोमार मान चूर्ण करिव' —'I shall crush your

pride');

(b) the word 'nikata' used generally with the seventh case-ending in the sense of 'to' or 'near'—

jātau pramuditau kāmam nikaļe gamanāya ca

—Dbh III.4.4. (cf. Bengali— 'निकटे गमन करिवार जन्य '), yakṣasya nikaṭe gatvā praṣṭavyaṃ kas tvam ity api

—Dbh XII.8.23 (cf. Bengali— 'यंत्रेर निकटे वाङ्या ');

(c) the word 'nā' (meaning 'not') used with the root 'kṛ' in the sense of refusing—

katham karomi nā-kāram...—Dbh VII.20.3 (cf. the colloquial Bengali expression—"ना' करि कंपन करिया"—"how can I refuse?");

(d) the word 'ai' (meaning 'yonder' or 'there') used in shouting out of fear—

ai ai iti bhayārtena dṛṣṭvā vyāghrādikam vane

—Dbh III. 9, 43;

(e) the word 'he' used in place of 'bhoḥ'—
 he nirlajje he sakāme svāmi-garvam karoṣi kim
 —Dbh IX. 6. 29,

dattaḥ samucitaḥ śāpo mahyaṃ mattāya he prabho
—Dbh IX. 40, 45;

(f) the word 'svikāra' used in the sense of 'consent' or 'promise'—

brahmaņo vacanam śrutvā jūānešo jūāninām varah / gaṅgā-toyam kare kṛtvā svikāram ca cakāra saḥ //

veda-sāram karişyāmi pratijñā-pālanāya ca //
—Dbh IX. 12. 72-74,

brahmaņo vacanam šrutvā svīcakāra ca sasmitā —Dbh IX. 13.119,

tulasim svakare krtvā svikāram yo na raksati —Dbh IX. 24.26,

šālagrāma-šilām dhṛtvā svīkāram yo na pālayet —Dbh IX, 24, 90,

rājā cakāra svīkāram pūjārtham ca priyavrataļi
—Dbh IX. 46. 42;

(g) the words 'prathame' and 'pare' (with the seventh case-ending) in the sense of 'at first' and 'afterwards' respectively—

kena vā pūjitā loke prathame kaiś ca vā pare —Dbh IX. 26.2.

brahmaņā veda-janani prathame pūjitā mune —Dbh IX. 26.3,

prathame pūjitā sā ca šamkareņa parātparā — Dbh IX. 47. 7.

prathame pūjitā devī šivena

-Dbh IX. 47.33,

prathame pūjitā sā ca kṛṣṇena ... — Dbh IX. 48. 22;

(h) peculiar ungrammatical compounds still used in Bengalsā ca bhūmiṣṭha-kālena jūānayuktā babhūva ha—Dbh IX. 16. 4 (the Benares ed. wrongly reads 'bhūyi-ṣṭha-'), veda-dhvaniṃ cakāra sā jāta-mātreṇa kanyakā—Dbh IX. 16.5, jāta-mātreṇa susnātā jagāma tapase vanam—Dbh IX. 16. 6, vipro daivajūajīvī ca vaidyajīvī cikitsakaḥ / yāti narakaṃ ghoraṃ / —Dbh IX. 35. 55, ... svāmi-garvaṃ karoṣi kim / adhikaṃ svāmi-saubhāgyaṃ vijūāpayitum icchasi // —Dbh IX. 6. 29;

(i) the word 'dvara (used at the end of a compound)

in the sense of 'with' or 'by'-

tām vārtām presayāmāsa dūta-dvārāmarāvatīm
—Dbh XI. 15.51.

[It is to be noted that although many of the instances given above occur in Skandba IX, which, as we have already seen, consists mostly of chapters derived from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the present Brahma-vaivarta, there are a few which have been taken from other Skandhas.]

(2) The Devi-bhagavata regards 'ks' as a separate

'varna' like 'a', 'ā' etc.-

In Dbh III. 30. 37 the letters of the alphabet have been said to begin with 'a' and end in 'kṣ' (a-kārādi-kṣa-kārāntaiḥ svarair varṇais ca yojitaiḥ / asaṃkhyeyāni nāmāni ... //); and in Dbh XII. 6. 10-154 Devī's one thousand and eight names have been arranged alphabetically from 'a' to 'kṣ'.

(3) The Devi-bhāgavata mentions the Padmāvatī (modern Padmā) as a holy river in many of its verses, and gives a long story to show that this river (Padmāvatī) is a part of Lakṣmī come down to the earth and is therefore as sacred as the Gaṅgā.¹⁹⁷

(4) It praises 'Kāmākhyā-yoni-maṇḍala' (in Kāma-

rūpa) as the best holy place.765

100 Dbh VII. 38, 15-18-

¹⁹¹ See Dith 1X, chaps. 6-B; 13, 3; 50, 48.

lehmat-tripurabhairavyāḥ kāmākhyā-yōṇi-maṇdalam / lehmandale kṣetra-ratnam mahāmāyādhivāsitam // nānaḥ parataram shānam kvacid asti dharātale / pratimāsam bhaved devi yatra sākṣād rajasvalā // tatratyā devatāh sarvāḥ parvatāmakatām gatāh / parvateṣu vasanty eva mahatyo devatā api //

(5) It mentions the word 'pungi' several times and takes it to mean those unchaste women who are guilty of adultery for the seventh or eighth time.⁵⁴⁹

[It is to be noted that the word 'pungi' is very popularly used in Eastern Bengal in the expressions 'पूजीर मार' (brother of a 'pungi') and 'पूजीर पूज' (son of a 'pungi'), which are applied there as terms of rustic abuse.]

(6) Just like the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhaddharmap. (which are undoubtedly works of Bengal) the Devibhāgavata refers to and describes the story of Rāma's worship of Durgā for killing Rāvana.***

(7) The story of Chāyā-Sitā, as given in Dbh IX. 16. 30ff., resembles, in idea, the story of Chāyā-Satī occurring in Mahābhāgayata, chaps. 11-12.

(8) Like the Mahābhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p., the Devi-bhāgavata contains a story of Gaṅgā's origin from the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā liquefied by Śiva's song about Kṛṣṇa (śri-kṛṣṇa-ṣaṃgīta).¹⁰¹

(9) In describing, in Devi-bhāgavata X1. 18, the results of bathing Devī with various articles during her special worship, the author of the Devi-bhāgavata mentions 'pauņḍr-ckṣu-rasa' saying: "One, who bathes Maheśānī with a hundred pitchers full of juice of sugarcanes growing in 'Pauṇḍra, is not born again." **

It is to be noted that in the Devi-bhagavata there is no mention of sugarcanes growing in any other place.

(10) Like the Mahābhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma-p. and other works of Bengal, the Devi-bhāgavata speaks of the

tamatya prihivi carva devi-rūpā smrta budhaih / nātah paratacam nhānam kāmākyā-yeni-mandalāt //

^{(**} Dbh IX. 35.5-10 (...... vesya ca panenne sasthe pungt en saptame 'stame /) and 26.

The word 'pungi' (as used in such abusive expressions of Eastern Bengal as 'T होर माइ' and 'पू होर पुत') may have originally been derived from the word 'phungi' used in Chinageng and the neighbouring districts of East Bengal to mean Buildhist mooks, who came to be looked down upon by the Hindus in later days.

¹⁰⁰ Dhh III, chaps, 27-30. See also Dbh IX, 1, 146.

⁴⁹¹ Dhh IX. 12, venes 18 and 456.

PF Dbh XI, 18, 7,

creation of siddha-pithas by the fall of Sati's limbs severed by Visnu and of Siva's making Daksa goat-faced.***

(11) Goddess Mańgala-caṇḍi has been praised as one of the forms of Devi and her worship advocated in Devi-

bhāgavata IX. 1, 83ff. and IX. 47.1-37.

[Mangala-caṇḍī figured as a prominent deity in Mediaeval Bengal, so much so that a good number of poetical works called Caṇḍī-mangala-kāvya was written there on her origin

and exploits.]

(12) The observance of the 'five parvans,' viz., Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, Rāma-navamī, Śiva-rātri, Ekādaśī and Ravivāra, has been highly praised in Dbh IX. 34, 46-47, and these 'five parvans', are particularly observed in Bengal even at the present day.

(13) A study of the Mahābhāgavata, Brhaddharma-p. and other works of Bengal shows that the people of this province had a very low opinion about Kikaţa (Magadha). In the Devi-bhāgavata also Kikaţa is referred to as an unholy

country. 804

Against the above evidences may be adduced a few others which tend to show that the Devi-bhagavata was written outside Bengal. These evidences are as follows:

(1) Mss of the Devi-bhagavata are very rare in Bengal. The great majority of the Mss of this work, hitherto dis-

covered, was found in provinces other than Bengal.

(2) Unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhaddharmap., the Devi-bhāgavata says that Rāma performed the 'Navarātra-vrata'. The procedure of this Vrata, as given in this work,*** agrees with that followed in Western and Southern

^{***} Dbh VII. 30.

In Rhagavara-p. IV. 2, 22-23 and 7.3 Daksa has been mentioned as 'goat-faced' (vasta-mokha, aja-mukha). But in this work the crason for such change of Daksa's fore has been given as Nandikeisara's curse, and there is no mention of the creation of 'Siddha-pithas.'

ms Dbb III 26ff.; V. 34.

India but is quite different from the method of Durgā-pūjā described in the Mahabhagavata and the Brhaddharma-p.

and followed in present-day Bengal,

(3) Though, like the works of Bengal, the Devi-bhagavata (VII. 30) speaks of the creation of 'siddha-pithas' by the fall of Sati's limbs, it gives the number of these pithas as 108 and not 51, as traditional in Bengal and Assam. Moreover, of these 108 siddha-pithas it is only 'Pundravardhana' which is situated in Bengal, the rest belonging mostly to the western part of Northern India. The list of these 108 holy places, which the Devi-bhagavata calls 'siddha pithas', has been taken from the Matsya (or the Padma-p.) and not from any work of Bengal.

(4) None of those scholars who supported the claim of the Devi-bhagavata to be the real Bhagavata-p., belonged to Bengal. Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Durjanamukha-capetikā, was an inhabitant of Benares. Šaiva Nîlakantha, who wrote the commentary Tilaka on the Devi-bhāgavata, was a non-Bengali. So also was Gangādhara, who, in his commentary on the Dharma-samhitā of the Siva-p., quotes, from the 'Padma-p.', a line which includes the Devi-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas. The Śivārcana-dīpikā, which draws upon the Devi-bhāgavata, is a non-Bengal work.

(5) Most of the holy places and rivers, mentioned in the Devi-bhagavata, belong to Northern India. Except Pundravardhana, Gangā-sāgara-sangama, Kāmākhyā-yonimandala and the river Padmävati, none of the holy places and rivers of Bengal have been mentioned in this

work.

(6) According to Devi-bhāgavata VIII, 24, 36ff., Devi is to be worshipped in a Madhūka tree on the Sukla-tṛtīyā Tithi of every month from Caitra; and Devi-bhagavata III. 20, 56 refers to the decoration of the bride with a 'madhûka-mālā' at the time of marriage. The 'Bubūla' tree, mentioned in Devi-bhāgavata VI. 27. 10, is unknown in Bengal.

Further, the Devî-bhāgavata praises Benares as the best

place of residence for a Devi-worshipper*** and says that king Subāhu first worshipped Durgā at Benares and that it was from this place that the worship of this deity spread out among the members of different castes in different parts of India.***

From all the evidences adduced above we may conclude that the author of the Devi-bhāgavata was a Smārta Šākta Brahmin of Bengal and that he migrated to Benares (probably because it was the best place of residence for a Deviworshipper), lived there for a long time, and then wrote the Devi-bhāgavata. The repeated mention and praise of Puṣkara in the Devi-bhāgavata need not be taken to go against the above conclusion. The reason for such mention and praise is as follows. The author of the Devi-bhāgavata tried to popularise the Vedas as authorities in all matters as well as to infuse Śākta ideas into the followers of the Śrauta and Smārta religions. So, he deified gāyatrī, the soul of the Vedas, and made her a partial incarnation of Devi and the Śakti of Brahmā. Consequently, he had also to praise Puṣkara, which was sacred to Brahmā.

The author of the Devi-bhāgavata seems to have been a well-read scholar. He mentions the Sāma-veda (Dbh XI. 20, 49), Yajurveda (Dbh XI. 19.13), Atharva-veda (Dbh VI. 2, 33), 'Jāvāla-śruti' (Dbh XI. 5, 18), Mahābhārata, Kāma-śāstra, Kāma-śāstra, Sāstra' (Barhaspatya-pranita Śāstra' (Dbh I. 11, 57), 'Śaiva-śāstra', Sāstra' (Sakti-tantras' (Dbh VII. 40, 12), and the Dharma-śāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others (Dbh I. 4, 16; IV, 21, 12). He utilises the contents of the Kēna-upaniṣad and the Caṇḍista and plagiarises verses

¹⁰ Dbh VII, 3n. 326-335-

athavā sarva-kṣcṇāṇi kāiyāṇ santi nagottana tatra nityaṃ vastu nityaṃ devl-bhakta-parāyaṇaḥ []

¹⁰t Dbh 111, 25, 41-44,

¹⁰⁰ Dbb X1, 20, 20; 11, 11, 61; 11, 12, 53.

on Dbh I, 11, 32; V, 11, 21 and 47; so on-

⁶⁸ Dbh VII. 32, 10-

vimaria iii tātņ prābuh iaiva-iāstra-viāšradāh / avidyām hare prābur veda-tauvārdia-cintakāh //

an Dish XII. B (containing the story of Uma Haimavati)

¹¹¹ See footnote 764 above,

from the Švetāśavatara, Mundaka, Mahānārāyanīya and other Upanisads as well as from the Bhagavad-gîtă, 816 the Matsya (or the Padma-p.), 816 the Kürma-p., 816 the Saivaśāstras and the Šakti-tantras. He must have studied the Mimāmsā-sūtras, 517 the Vedāngas (such as Šikṣā, Kalpa etc.) and Păṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, from which he quotes the rule 'vrddhir ād aic' (Pāṇini 1, 1, 1).810 In poetics also our author was widely read. He speaks of 'Rasa' (especially Śringāra) in many places of his work and refers to 'the experts in the works on poetics' (rasa-grantha-vicakṣaṇa).*26 Following the rhetoricians he defines 'Rasa' thus; kavibhih kathitam śāstre sthāyī bhāvo rasah smṛtah (Dbh. IV. 17. 12), and says that Rati is the sthayî bhava of Śringara-rasa (Dbh IV. 17, 11). He enumerates the Rasas as nine, actually mentions the Śrugāra, Vīra, Hāsa (i.e. Hāsya), Raudra, Adbhuta and Santi Rasas, reckons the Sringara and the 'Santi' as chief of all, 122 and speaks of 'Rasabhasa', 822 'Hava,' 'Vakrokti', 828 etc.

Skandha I of the Devi-bhāgavata contains some proverbial lines, viz., 'jātasya hi dhruvo mṛṭyur dhruvaṃ janma

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610 Dlih VII, 29, 10b-11 = Svet3ivatara-upanisad 1, 3a.
          ., VII. 34, 34
                           = 9. 20.
          " VII. 36, 2-14 - Mundaka-upanisad II. 2, 1-11.
         n VII. 31. 45 = Mahūnārāyaṇīya-upaniṣad 6, 3.
    nd See Dish IH, 13, 42h; VII, 34, verses 2, 32-33 and 35; VII, 39, 10 and 22h-23a;
and so on,
    sis See footpoie 683 above.
    ser footune 775 above.
    <sup>607</sup> Cf. Dbh XI. 20. 10—athāto dharma-jijhārā athāto brahma ity api.
    10 Dhh XI, 20, 9,
    120 Dbh XI, 20, 8,
    am Dlik V. 11, 28,
    <sup>435</sup> Dhh V. 9, 54—árúgára-víra-hánadhya ramir-ádbhura-rasánvíra, Dhh V.
24, 7; 27, 56-57a; 27, 60b-61a.—For the texts of these verses see footnote 770 above.
See also Dish V. 30, 18 (for mension of Randra Rasa) and V. 10, 22 (śrógāre tad virud-
dham hi rma-bhangad bibbemy aham),
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Obh V. 23. 33-34—
upāyau dvau prayoktavyau kāntām auvicakṣaṇaiḥ /
ulma-dānāv iti prāḥuḥ trāgāra-rava-kovidāḥ //
bhede prayujyamāne 'pi rasābhāsai ra jāyate /
nigrahe rasa-bhangaḥ wāt tasmāt tau dūņitau budhaiḥ //
ere Dbh V. 11. 20—

hāvo 'yam māninloām vai tam vetti rasa-vittamah / vakroktir esā kāminyāh priyam prati parāyanam //

mṛtasya ca' (Dbh I, 5, 98), 'aputrasya gatir nāsti svargo naiva ca naiva ca' (Dbh I. 4. 15 and I. 14. 29), 'jalūkeva sadā nārī rudhiram pibatīti vai' (Dbh 1, 15,18), etc.; and Skandha IX (which must have been written in Bengal) informs us that Daivajňas, Gaņakas, Vaidyas, Devalas and Rajakas were looked down upon, Asi-jīvins (professional fighters), Masi-jīvins (scribes) and Dhāvakas (washermen) were regarded as sinners, selling of daughters {kanyāvikraya) was considered as a grave social crime, eating of fish was decried, and Brahmins were strictly prohibited from rendering service to Sūdras by officiating as priests, carrying their dead bodies, cooking their food, and so on. Females wore an upper and an under garment, used bracelets made of conch-shells and decorated their cheeks with lines of sandalpaste and drops of safron and their nails with red lac (alaktaka).

CHAPTER II

THE NON-SECTARIAN UPAPURANAS

Hinduism is certainly to be extolled for its exceptional catholicity and spirit of religious syncretism, but sectarian rivalry has, from early times, formed a dark blot on its reputation. We sometimes read of the different sectaries reviling each other and belittling each other's deity and even hear of kings who were guilty of perpetrating religious persecution on the people. Thus, the Māgha-māhātmya1, as preserved in the Bengal Mss,3 records a story of Citrasena,1 a Kṣatriya king of 'Drāvida viṣaya', according to which Citrasena ruled over a tract of land lying on the coast of the southern ocean and attained great fame by his performance of Vedic rites and munificence to Brahmins. Once he met some extra-Vedic (veda-bāhya) pāṣaṇḍa Saivas who had matted hair and besmeared their bodies with ashes. These Saivas, who were undoubtedly Agamic, denounced the Vedas and the caste system, excited anti-Vaisnava feelings in Citrasena, and initiated him to their own faith. At the instigation of these Saivas Citrasena prohibited the worship of Vișnu in his realm, ordered his officers to persecute the Vaisnavas, and had the images of Visnu thrown into the ocean. As a result of such tyranny some of his subjects turned Saivas and others left the country bag and baggage. Equally violent attitude is shown by the Linga-p. (I. 107, 41-42) when it declares:

¹ It claims to be a part of the Untara-khands of the Padma-p.

¹⁻⁴ See Dacea University Ma No. 931 (feb. 44ff., chaps. 10ff.), No. 2332 (feb. 22b ff., chaps. 10 ff.), and No. 2675 (feb. 32b ff., chaps. 21ff.).

In some places of these Mes the name of Girasena has been given as 'Gira' or 'Mitrasena.'

In the AnSS ed. of the Padma-p. (Uttara-khanda, chap, 250, versea 1ff.) the story of Citrasena (who is named there simply as 'Citra') is given in a concise form.

The Cola king Kulottunga I started persecution against the Variouvas in 1000 A.D.; and Kulottunga II, who reigned about 1140 A.D., is said to have uprooted the image of the god Govindaraja (of the Visins temple at Cidambarams and thrown it into the sea.

"śrutvā nindām bhavasyātha tatkṣaṇād eva saṃtyajet / sva-dcham tam nihatyāśu śiva-lokam sa gacchati // yo vā cotpāṭayej jihvām śiva-nindā-ratasya tu / triḥ-sapta-kulam uddhṛtya śiva-lokam sa gacchati //"

"That [man], who, after hearing the dispraise of Bhava, at once forsakes his own body after murdering

the censurer, passes to the region of Siva.

"Or, one, who tears out the tongue of a habituated censurer of Siva, goes to the region of Siva after delivering

twentyone generations."

It is hardly necessary to say that these excesses were due, on the one hand, to the growing importance of personalised deities or deified persons and their exclusive devotional worship as the best means of attaining final release, and, on the other, to the hazy conception of the principles of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta as related to the origin and nature of these deities and a lack of capacity for bringing about a perfect compromise between these principles and the mental discipline required for the practice of unswerving devotion (aikāntiki or avyabhicāriņi bhakti) for the realisation of the Self. Fortunately, references to such sectarian excesses are not of frequent occurrence in the Puranic literature, but it can hardly be denied that in spite of high idealism inspired by the Upanisads there were many cases of regrettable outburst of practical narrowness in religious outlook, so much so that these concerned many of our best thinkers and prompted them to devise means for the eradication of these social evils. It was most probably for some such reason that the daily worship of the group of the five deities Ganesa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Durgā, which is popularly known as 'pañcāyatana-pūjā', was started at a fairly early date, firmly established on a Vedantic basis, and popularised with great zeal. Tradition adds the credit of inventing this new system of worship very often to Samkarācārya and sometimes to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, but a study of the Purāṇic works

⁶ Kane, History of Dharmachura, 11, pp. 716-7. Farquhar, Ombre of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 179-180.

shows that even earlier than the introduction of the pañcāyatana-pūjā the worship of a particular deity had to be attended with that of other prominent deities also. For instance, Kürma-p. II. 18, which is to be dated about the beginning of the eighth century A.D., says that after bath a Brahmin is to worship Brahmā, Śamkara, Sūrya, Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) and other favourite deities with the citation of their respective Mantras and the offer of flowers, leaves and water.4 In Matsya-p., chaps. 266, 52 and 58, which must be dated earlier than 650 A.D., we are told that in erecting an image of any of the deities such as Nandi-mahākāla, Bhrngiriti, Guha, Devi, Vināyaka, Visnu, Brahmā, Rudra, Šakra, Jayanta, Lokapālas, Apsarases, Gandharvas, Guhyakas, etc., the erector is to think of the rest as surrounding the principal deity, that in worshipping Siva with the offer of cows, land, gold, clothes, scents, garlands etc. one is to look upon this deity as identical with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Arka (the Sun), the Rudras and the Vasus,7 that Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mārtaṇḍa (the Sun), Vṛṣa-vāhana (Śiva), the eight Vasus, the eleven Gaṇādhipas, the Lokapālas, the Pitṛs, the Matrs, and others are to be regarded as the manifestations (vibhūtayah) of Vāsudeva,* that the four principal

nispldya snāna-vastraņi in samāramya ca vāg-yatah / svair mantrair arcayed devān puspaih patrair athāmbuhhih // brahtnāṇaŋi iantkaram sūryam tathuiva madhmēdanam / anyāmi cābhimatin devān bhaktyā cāktodhano naraḥ //

Kür. II. 18. 90-91.

* nhāpayet yam tu deveiam tam pradhānam prakalpayet / taya pāriva-nhitān anyān samemaret parivāritāh // gaņam mandi-mahākālam vijam hhpāgiritim guham / devān vināyakam cuva viņum hrahmānam eva ca // rudram šakram jayantam ca lokapāda samantatāh / tathaiv-āptarasah sarvā gandharva-gana-guhyakān // yo yatra uhāpyate devas tatya tān paritāh amaret //

Mat. 266, 41-44a.

go-bhū-hiranyu-vāmbbir gandha-mūly-odakena ca /
pūjayed brahma-visuv-arka-righra-vasv-ātmakatp fivam //
Mat. 52, 19.

^{*}väundevo jagan-mūriis tavya santhhūtayo by amī // brahmā viinjus ca bhagavān mārtando vysa-vāhanab / astau ca vasavas tadvad rkādaia ganādhipāh / lokapālādhipās caiva pitaro mātaras tathā //

deities, viz., Brahmā, Sūrya, Visnu and Šiva, are to be worshipped without making any distinction between them," and that in consecrating a pool one is to place Brahmā, Śiva, Visnu, Vināyaka, Kamalā and Ambikā on the alter.10 From these and similar other statements made in the Puranas it is evident that the attempt to create a sense of unity and the spirit of religious toleration among the sects worshipping different deities had begun much earlier than Samkarācārya and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. That in early times the difference between the various Purāņic gods was much less than in later days, is shown by the names of the four Samhitas of the Kürma-p., which are given in Kürma-p. I. 1. 21-23 as Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Sauri and Vaisņavī and are thus connected with the four deities Brahmā, Bhagavatî, Sûrya and Vișnu respectively." That a similar naming of parts was also made in the earlier form of the present Bhavisya-p. is shown not only by this Purana itself which claims to have consisted of five Parvans named Brāhma, Vaisņava, Šaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga¹³ but also by the Nāradīya-p. (I.

> imā vibhūrayal) proktāi carācara-samanvitāl) / brahmādyāi carino mūlam avyakt-ādhipatih imṛtalı // Mat. 52, 20c-22.

brahmană cătha săryena viștum-ătha ăvena vă / abhedăt păjirena syat păjitam sa-carăcaram // Mat. 32. 23.

^{*} vedyāš copari /

brahmāņam ca rīvam viņum tarraiva ethāpayed budhah // vināyakum ca vinyasya kamalām ambikām tathā / iāmy-artham sarva-lokāmām bhūta-grāmam nyaset tatah // Mat. 58, 23-27,

If The contents of these four Sandtitās, as given in Năradiya-p. 1, 100, 1-72, show that the Brāhmi Sandtitā, as known to this Purāna, comisted of 5000 verses and was exactly the same as the extant Kürma-p., that the Bhāgavati Sandtitā, which was termed 'Pañca-padi' for its five Pātas or parts, contained 4000 verses and deah, separately in these five parts, with the means of livelihood of the Brahmina, Ksatriyas, Vailyas, in these five parts, with the means of livelihood of the Brahmina, Ksatriyas, Vailyas, Sūdras, and the mixed castes, that the Sauri Samhitā had an extent of 2000 verses and consisted of six parts dealing with the 'six acts' (ast-karma), viz., vailkarana, mārana, uccājana, etc., and that the Vaijuavi Samhitā consisted of 5000 verses and four Pādas dealing with mokya-dharma for the twice-born people.

The above contents of the four Sandinas point definitely to a late age and do not appear to represent the Kürma-p. in its original forms.

¹⁶ Sec Bhay, 1, 2, 2-3.

100), which differs from the Bhavisya only in that it names the 'Tvāstra' Parvan as 'Saura'. According to Nāradīya-p. I. 105 the Vāmana-p. consisted of two parts, of which the second was divided into four Samhitas, of which the first was associated with Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers, the second with Devi and her incarnations, the third with the Sun-god, and the fourth with Ganesa. From the nature of these and similar other Puranas it is evident that a broad and liberal outlook characterised a number of the early Puranas which did not attach themselves to any particular sect but inculcated with equal zeal the worship of the different deities of the Hindu pantheon. These works aimed chiefly at creating harmony among the rival sects and organising them mainly against the heresies by infusing their ideas, rites and practices with Brahmanical elements. The tradition of catholicity, set up by these mostly lost Purāņas, has found appreciative expression in many places, but of the extant Puranic works it is only the Bhavisyottara and the Brhaddharma-p. which are found to carry this tradition into practice. In order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of these works we shall examine and analyse them below.

1. The Bhavisyottara.

Though the Mss12 of the 'Bhavisyottara', which have

¹¹ For Mas of the Bhavipyottara are— (1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 33-36.

[[]No. 76.—This is a Devanagarl Ms beginning from Bhav. IV (Uttara-parvan). 1.4 and containing, among others, the following chapters which are not found in the Uttara-parvan of the printed Bhaviyya:

Chaps. 166 (on guda-dhena-dàna), 167 (on krira-dhena-dàna), 168 (on dadhi-dhena-dàna), 160 (on madha-dhena-dàna), 170 (on iarkarā-dhena-dàna), 174 (on phala-dhena-dàna), 172 (on kārpāra-dhena-dāna), 173 (on naumita-dhena-dàna), 174 (on ran-dhena-dàna), and 173 (on ganeta-durgă-viann-gangh-stuti-varnama).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Umara-pareau do not occur in this Ms:

Chapa, 24 (on Rambhā-vrata to be observed in a different way), 50 (on Kamalā-saptami-vrata), 51 (on Subha-saptami-vrata), 52 (on Suapana-saptami-vrata), 64 (on Aiā-daiami-vrata), 75 (on Sravana-dvādaii-vrata), 144-150 (on Gaṇanātha-sānti, natsatra-koma, Aparādha-inta-vrata, Raficanapuri-vrata, kaņai-praddas, Brāhmaṇa-inirūṣā, and ego-ddas), 206 (on Robini-candra-iayama-

been discovered up to the present time, are all found to exist independently and are not attached as parts to the Mss

versta), 207 (on Kṛṇṇa's start for Dvārakā), and 208 (list of contents, and conclusion).

It is to be noted that chaps, 166, 170, 172 and 175 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Utaga-parvan nor in the Ms noticed by R. L. Mitra.]

(2) Mitra, Notices, VIII, pp. 36-39.

(No. 2582.—This is a Nāgara Ma dated Sm. 1626. It begins from verse 5 of Bhav. IV. 1; and its colophon rum as follows; in bhavisymtare dâna-dharme sarvva-sāstus-dithṛte sarvva-dānāni samāpiaḥ (? sarva-dāna-niyamaḥ samāpiaḥ).

The following chapters of this Ms are not found in the printed Uttara-parvan;

Chapa. 38 (on Săndilya-vraia), 49 (on Somâștami-vraia). 117 (on laire-dhena-dăna=chap. 167 of Aufrecht's Ms), 118 (on dadhi-dhena-dăna=chap. 168 of Aufrecht's Ms), 119 (on madhia-dhena-dăna=chap. 169 of Aufrecht's Ms), 121 (on phala-dhena-dăna=chap. 171 of Aufrecht's Ms), 122 (on naranita-dhena-dana-chap. 173 of Aufrecht's Ms), 123 (on raia-dhena-dăna-chap. 174 of Aufrecht's Ms), 126 (on kṛṣṇa-go-dāna), 130 (on aira-dāna), 131 (on kartarga-niraga), 132 (ou pretatra-parihāraka-dāna-ridhi), 133 (on irāddha-tattra-naragari, 134 (on irāddha-ridhi), 135 (on Brāhraa-vivāhādi-laiṣaṇa), 173 (on the names of tratar), 174 (on Matsya-purāgokta-tila-pātra-dāna), 175-177 (on Rpi-paheami-vraia).

On the other hand, the following chapters of the printed Unara-parvan do not occur in this My:

Chaps. 9 (on Ašokā-vrata), 11-12 (on Kokilā-vrata and Bihat-tapo-vrata), 14 (on Yama-dvitlyā-vrata), 16-18 (on Madhūka-tṛṭṭyā-vrata, Meghapāli-tṛṭlyāvrato, and Rambbā-utīyā-vrata), 56 (on (Dūrvāsjami-vrata), 60 (on Bilvanavami-vrata), 65 (on Tāraka-dvādasī-vrata), 70 (on Govinda-šayanouhāpanadvādašī-vrata), 73 (m. Malla-dvādašī-vrata), 76 (m. Vijaya-iravaņa-dvādašīvrata). 79 (on Akhanda-dvādasi-vrata), 87-88 (on Ahādhaka-vrata and Mandara-nimb-ārku-karavīra-vrata), 95-97 (on Śravanikā-vrata, naktoparāseidhāna, and Siva-caturdasi-venta). 101 (on Yugādi-uthi-venta), 109 (on Sivanaksatra-purusa-vrato), 112 (on Vrmāka-vrata), 114-113 (on Sanalicara-vrata and Aditya-dina-nakta-vidhi), 119 (en Abbinava-candrarghya-vrata). 125 (on eandr-fidilya-gruhann-snina), 128-129 (em 17ksodylipann and Devn-piijä-phalaventa), 133 (on andolaka-ridhi), 137 (on irdiana-pikraina-rakja-bandhana-ridhi), 139-140 (on Mahendra-dhvaja-mahousava and Dipālikotsava), 144-150 (on Gananātha-iānti, vekņatro-huma, Aparādha-iata-vrata, Kāncanaputī-vrata, kanyri-pradina, Brahmana-suscusa and eya-dana), 153-154 (on jala-dhena-dina and ghrta-dheun-dina), 158 (on ubhasa-mikhi-go-dina), 161 (on kapila-dina), 162-163 -(on makipt-dâns and svi-shina), 167 (on apaka-dâns), 182 (on inpla-săgara-dâns), 186 (im hiranydica-dána), 194 (im iaróha-dána), 202 (im ratnárala-dána), 206 (im Rohini-candra-kayanu-vrata), 207 (on Kṛṣṇa's start for Dvārakā), 208 (on the list of contents, and conclusion).

It should be mentioned here that chaps, 38, 49, 126, 130-135 and 173-177 of this Ms occur neither in the printed Uttara-payvan nor in Anfrecht's Ms described above.]

(3) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1255-56.

[Not. 3450-51 (Min. Nos. 2562 and 1328 respectively).—The former of these two Min is written in Devanagari characters and ends with chap. 207 of the printed Uttara-parvan, It contains chap. 206 (on Robint-candra-fayana-vrata) of the Uttara-parvan.]

(4) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 134-7, No. 468.
[In this Ms the work styles itself 'Bhavisyottara-profina' and consists of 199

of the Bhavişya-p., the 'Bhavişyottara' has not yet been printed separately with its real title but is found to form the fourth part, named Uttara-parvan, of the Venkateśvara Press edition of the Bhavişya-p. That this Uttara-parvan

chapters, of which chaps. 11 (on Nara-venta), 36 (Mahatapah-saptami-venta), 50 (Uma-saptami-venta), and 158-162 (on Ardhodaya-venta, Gurvastami-venta, etc.) do not occur in the printed Uttara-parvan. On the other hand, chaps. 9-10, 13-17, 112, and 159-160 of the printed Uttara-parvan are not found in this Mr. J

- (5) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 151.
- (6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 207.
- (7) Benarcs Sam. College Cat., p. 304.
- (8) Burnell, Glassified Index, p. 190.
- (9) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6897-6899, Nos. 10037-38.

The Mi of the libavisyottara - Půrvabhāga, as described by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V. pp. 443-446 (No. 3752), shows that it contains a work which is of late origin and quite different from the Bhavisyottara preserved in the Msz mentioned above.

For the short texts (on statra, dana, withitmyo, vente, venta-katha, pajd, etc.), claiming to be parts of the Bhavisyottara, see

- (i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1256-58, Nos. 3452-56.
 - (a) No. 3457 Sūrya-sahasra-nāma-atotra.
 - (b) Non. 3453-55-Aditya-hedayn-statra.
 - (c) No. 345ti-Sorlaia-cola-caritra,
- (ii) H. P. Shauri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 446-487, Nos. 3753-3815 (Matsyadesantargatatirtha-māhātmya, Svapnādhyāya, Tulad-vivāha, Ananta-vrata, Ananta-vrata, Ananta-vrata, Kathā, Haritālikā-vrata-kathā, Rṣi-pañtamd-vrata-kathā, Budhāṣṭami-vrata, Yama-dviñyā, Maṅgalā-gauri-vrata (Mangala-vrata, Viṣm-pañtak-vrata, Anuktāhbaraṇa-vrata, Dašāphalā-vrata, Šivāmoṣṭi-vrata, Somavati-amāvāṣṣṣū-vrata, Vattiši-pūrnimā. Dašaratha-lalitā-vrata, Gaja-gauri-vrata and kathā, Vāmana-jayanti-vrata-kathā, Go-trirātri-vrata and kathā, Janmāṣṭami-vrata and kathā, Vara-kakṣmī-vrata-kathā, Maḥālakṣmī-vrata-kathā, Annapūrṇā-vrata-kathā, Holikā-vrata-kathā, Vaṭa-sāvitri-vrata-kathā, Indrākṣi-stotra, Āditya-hrdaya-stotra, Gaṇcia-stotra, Sūrya-sahasra-nāma-tiotra).
- (iii) Keith, Ind. Off. Gat., II. ii, pp. 948-954, Nos. 6689-6705 (Ananta-vrata, Aśva-tiba-vivāha. Āditya-hṛdaya-notra, Rū-pańcami-vrata-kathā. Kamalācala-māhātmya, Ghṛta-snāncivara-māhātmya, Cola-vaṇtāvali, Daiāphala-vrata-kalpa, Bhāgavata-māhātmya, Vara-lakṣmi-vrata-kalpa, Kedāra-vrata-kalpa, Ananta-padmanāhta-vrata, Saligrāma-ntotra, Sarasvati-pūjā, Siddhi-vināyaka-vrata-kalpa, Haritālaka-vrata-kathā).
- (iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 146 (Mukuteivara-māhātmya) and p. 148 (Sangameávara-māhātmya).
 - (v) Chakravarti, Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Cat., pp. 81-82 (Aditya-hpdaya).
- (vi) Stein, Jammu Gat., pp. 207-8 (Acalā-saptami-vrata, Ananta-vrata, Rṣi-pan-cami-vrata, Gancia-caturthi-vrata, Candana-paṣihi-vrata, Janmāṣṭami-vrata, Dhārāṇa-pāraṇa-vrata, Bhāvi-rhja-nirāpaṇa, Bhāvia-cna-kathō, Mala-māsa-vrata, Mahālakṣmi-vrata, Vaṭa-tāvirti-vrata. Haritālikā-vrata).
- (vii) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cau, XV, pp. 6899-6912, Nos. 10039-59 (Agnisvara-māhātmya, Alakāpuri-māhātmya, Jūānānkurapura-māhātmya, Pattišvara-māhātmya, Papavana-māhātmya, Brhadišvara-māhātmya, Brahmapura-māhātmya, Bhūmišvara-māhātmya, Veňkatagiri-māhātmya, Veňkateivara-rahasya, Saktīvana-māhātmya, Siva-bhakta-māhātmya, Siva-bhakti-māhātmya—Pūrva-bhāga, and Siva-bhakti-māhātmya—Uttara-bhāga).

is the same as the 'Bhavisyottara' known to and drawn upon by the Smrti-writers of different climes and ages, is shown definitely by the facts that this 'Uttara-parvan' calls itself 'Bhavisyottara' in more places than one," that it agrees very closely with the extant Mss of the 'Bhavisyottara', 15 that the large majority of the verses ascribed by the Smrtiwriters to the 'Bhavisyottara' occurs in the present Uttaraparvan,18 and that in none of the Mss of the Bhavisya-p. there is even a single mention of any 'Uttara-parvan' as forming a part of the Bhavişya-p., which, in its Brāhmaparvan, is said to have consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brahma, Vaisņava, Šaiva, Tvāstra and Pratisarga.17 So, we have often referred to the Uttara-parvan (of the Bhavisya-p.) under the title 'Bhavisyottara' and have used it in these pages for our analysis of the Bhavisyottara-p.

By way of explaining why he did not utilise the contents

Some of these texts once did occur in the Bhavisyottara. Fer instance, in his Caturvarga-cintămeni, II. ii, pp. 303-8 Hemādri quotes from the 'Bhaviqyuttara' a whole chapter on Go-triratri-vrata, but at present this chapter does not occur in the Bhavisyottara but exists in separate Mss (for which see Shastri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 471-2, Not. 3792-93}.

Bhav. IV. 2. 7 (bhavisyottaram etat te kathayami yudhişihira); 207. 4 (bhavipyottaranı etat te kathitam pändu-nandana); 207, 10 (khyütam bhavisyottara-nâmadhr-

yanı maya purananı tava sauhidena). For the title 'Bhavisyottara' see also the colophons of the Mas of the Bhavisyottara described by Eggeling (Ind. Off. Cac., VI, p. 1255), R. L. Mitra (Notices, VIII, p. 37). Weber (Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 468, p. 137), P. P. S. Sastri (Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6897-99), Stein (Jammu Cat., p. 207), and others.

It is only in the chapter-colophons of the so-called Uttara-parvan of the Venkal. ed, of the Bhaviyya-p, that there is no mention of the title 'Bhaviyyottara'. These colophons run thus: iti iribhaviyye mahāpurāņe uttara-parvaņi......adbyāyab.

11 Sec footnote 13 above.

44 A complete list of these verses will be given at the end of the final Volume of thin work.

W Bhav. 1, 2, 143. See also Năradiya-p. 1, 100, 5-11.

For Mss of the Bluevisya-p. see H. P. Shustri, ASB Cal., V. pp. 424-430 (No. 3730, which consists of five Parvarts-Brahma, Vaisgava, Saiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratitaega; No. 3739; and No. 3740, which is divided into two parts-Pürva and Upari, the former part consisting of the Brahma and Vaiquava Parvam and the latter containing the Madhyama-tantra), and Notices of Samkrit Mss, Second Series, Vol. 11, No. 151 (same as ASB Cat., V. No. 3740); Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1234 (No. 3447); Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 30-31 (No. 75); Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 94-96 (No. 176, which speaks of three parts-Vaisquava, Siya and Sakti, gives the lives of Jiva Govedmin and other followers of Caitanya, and thus resembles the Prainageapurvan of our printed Bhavisya-p.).

of some of the Purănic works in his Dānasāgara, Vallālasena says regarding the 'Bhavisyottara':

"bhavişyottaram ācāra-prasiddham avirodhi ca / prāmāṇya-jñāpak-ādṛṣṭer granthād asmāt pṛthak kṛtam //"

"Though the Bhavisyottara is famous for its customary laws (or, is popularly followed) and is not contradictory [to good customs], it is avoided in this work for want of [sufficient] evidence to prove its authority."

As a matter of fact, the name of the 'Bhavisyottara' is not included in any of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas known to us. But this exclusion has not stood in the way of its recognition as an authoritative work. Although, like Vallālasena, Lakṣmīdhara also does not utilise its contents in his Kṛṭya-kalpataru, evidently for the same reason, most of the remaining Smṛṭi-writers of prominence (such as Jimūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Madanapāla, Sūlapāṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and others) are found to draw profusely upon this work without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and authority.

In spite of its exclusion from the lists of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas the Bhaviṣyottara (which, as we have already said, has been printed as the Uttara-parvan of the Venkat, edition of the Bhaviṣya-p.) calls itself a distinct 'Purāṇa named Bhaviṣyottara', 'Barti-writers also regard it as a Purāṇic work. For instance, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Anantabhaṭṭa and Mitra-miśra call it a 'Purāṇa', Barti and according to Narasiṃha Vājapeyin it is an Upapurāṇa and a part of the Bhaviṣya-p. In most of

¹⁰ Dânasāgara, p. 7 (vene No. 61)

b Bhay, IV, 207.10 - khyāram bhavişyotmez-nāmadheyam mayā purānam tava auhrdena.

^{*1} Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19.

the short texts on vrata, pūjā, māhātmya etc., which attach themselves to the Bhaviṣyottara for authority, this work is called a 'Purāṇa', 22 and in some of these texts it is even called a 'Mahāpurāṇa' 23 and an 'Ādi Mahāpurāṇa'. 24

Though from the title of the Bhavisyottara-p. we are tempted to suppose that it is a continuation of the Bhavisya-p. and though Narasimha Vājapevin expressly calls it a part of the latter,45 the present Bhavisyottara does not attach itself to the Bhavisya-p. for authority.14 Its distinct character is further established by the facts that most of the Nibandhawriters draw as profusely upon the 'Bhavişyottara' by naming it independently as upon the 'Bhavisya-p.' and that none of the verses, ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.' or 'Bhavisya' by the comparatively early commentators and Nibandhawriters except Hemādri and the author of the Samvatsarapradîpa, is found in the Uttara-parvan, although it is full of various Smrti materials. The few cases, in which the verses ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.' in the Caturvargacintāmaņi and the Samvatsara-pradipa are found in the Bhavisyottara or vice versa, must be due to the confusion, made either by the authors of these works or by the scribes, between the titles of the 'Bhavisya' and the 'Bhavisyottara' (of which the latter work was probably taken by them to be a part of the former). For instance, in Caturvargacintâmaņi, I, pp. 432-4 and 1031-33 and II. i, pp. 537-543 and Samvatsara-pradipa, fols. 13a-14a, 15b-16b and 17a-18b long extracts (which really belong to the Bhavisyottara, in which Kṛṣṇa speaks to Yudhisthira) have been ascribed to the 'Bhavisya-p.'; on the other hand, in Caturvargacintāmaņi, II. i, pp. 604-5, 669-671 and 705-717 and II. ii,

²² For these texts ser foomote 13 above.

³⁰ P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 6905, 6909, 6910, 6916. Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II. ii, p. 951.

²³ Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., 3 I, p. 1258.

³ Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19— bhavişyottaram bhavişyapurānasy-aikadeiab

The chapter-colophone (via., iti iribhavaye mahapurane uttara-parvani...... adhyāyah) of the Uttara-parvan of the Venkat, ed. of the Bhavaya-p., in which the Bhavayottara has been called the 'Uttara-parvan' of the 'Bhavaya Mahapurana', cannot be supported by any of the Mm of the 'Bhavayottara'.

pp. 526-7, verses, which really belong to the Bhaviṣya-p., have been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣyottara'. In the Saṃvat-sara-pradipa, a metrical line has been ascribed to the 'Bhaviṣya-p.' in one place (viz., fol. 2b) and to the 'Bhaviṣyottara' in another (viz., fol. 56a).

The present Bhavisyottara begins with salutations to Gaņapati, Vāgadhidevatā (goddess of speech), Vāsudeva, Siva, Paramesthin (Brahmā) and Bhānu (the Sun) and says that once Vyāsa, Mārkandeya, Māndavya and other sages came to see Yudhisthira after he had ascended the throne. Yudhisthira, with Krsna and Dhaumya as well as his own brothers in his train, received the sages with due respect. When the sages took their seats, Yudhisthira, who deemed himself guilty of causing the death of his own kinsmen, asked Vyāsa to narrate to him, in a general way (avisesataḥ), the essence of the entire Dharma (-śāstra),38 so that he might expiate the sin he had committed. He also added that none but Vyāsa and Kṛṣṇa was able to give him proper instructions in this respect. Vyasa referred him to Kṛṣṇa and departed for his own hermitage. (-Chap. 1). Yudhişthira then requested Kṛṣṇa to speak on the origin of the universe, the geography of the earth, the final destruction of the world, the causes of worldly prosperity, and so on. In answer to these questions Krsna spoke out the 'Bhavisyottara' (-purāṇa), the contents of which, Krsna said, had already been narrated by 'the lord of Luminaries' (i.e. the Sun) to the sage Yājñavalkya, when the latter asked the former about futurity.

Bhav, IV. 1. 20b—mamādya dhar a-sarvawam prajūti-dipena dariaya.

²⁷ In Müdhaväcürya's com. on the Pacisara-mryo, 1, i, p. 180 and 11, ii, p. 216 and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani, 11, i, pp. 381-2 and 604-5 some verses have been ascribed to the 'Rhavisyottara', but these verses are found not in the Uttara-parvan but in the Brähma-parvan of the printed Bhavisya-p. On the other hand, the verses, which have been ascribed to the 'Bhavisyo-p.' in Camevarga-cintāmaṇi, 1, pp. 663, 671 and 673, are found not in the Brähma-parvan but in the Uttara-parvan. We may explain these cases by taying that either these Smṛṇi-writers made mutakes in naming the sources of the verses becaused above, or the 'Bhavisyottara', known to these Smṛṇi-writers, had these verses becaused from the Bhavisya-p. (We shall see beremafter that the present Bhavisyottara has incorporated a good number of chapters of the Bhavisya-p.).

Consequently, the contents of the Bhavisyottara are as follows.

Chap. 2 (verses 7ff.)—Unity of the three gods—Brahmā, Vișnu and Siva, who are distinguished from one another only due to their different names and functions, 38 The four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Anuşanga, Upodghāta and Upasamhāra) and the five characteristics (viz., sarga, pratisarga, etc.) of the Puranas. Description of the origin of the world mostly according to the principles of Samkhya philosophy, and Aditya's appearance in it as Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra under the influence of the three gunas; origin of the nine Brahmās (Marīci, Atri, Angiras and others) as well as of Dakṣa and Prasūti from Prajāpati; Dakṣa's sons and sixty daughters. The temples of Brahma, Vișnu and Siva on the three peaks of the mountain Meru; the kula-parvatas of Jambu-dvipa; the names of the seven dvipas and of the seven oceans surrounding them; the names of the fourteen lokas (worlds) and the residents of these lokas. The names of different Manus. The gods in the Vaivasvata Manvantara. The four kinds of dissolution (laya).

Chap. 3.—Description of the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā which deludes the world, and Kṛṣṇa's narration, in this connection, of the story of Viṣṇu's assumption of the form of a Brahmin named Yajñaśarmā, his coming down, with Nārada, to the city of Vaidiśa on the Vetravatî, where he blessed a resourceful Vaiśya farmer named Sirabhadra with a long and prosperous life and a large number of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, his meeting, in the village Veṇikā on the Bhāgīrathī, with a poor but highly hospitable Brahmin agriculturist named Gosvāmin, who was tired out by the work of cultivation and pressed hard by a 'methi' (a post for binding cattle with) and other agricultural implements and whom he blessed to be relieved of his farming, because, he said, a ploughman acquires in a day the same amount of sin as that carned by a fisherman in

brahmā viņur vyūnkai ca trayo devāh satām matāh / nāma-bhedaih kriyā-bhedair bhidyante nātmanā wayam /i thav. IV. 2. 9b-10a.

a year, his arrival, with Nārada, at Kānyakubja and bath in a beautiful lake, Nārada's transformation into an extremely charming lady immediately after his bath, the marriage of this beautiful lady with king Tāladhvaja, her bringing forth of a pumpkin from which fifty powerful sons were born, her mourning for the sudden destruction of these sons and their descendants, Viṣṇu's appearing in the form of a Brahmin and explaining the nature of Viṣṇu-māyā, and Nārada's regaining his previous form.

Chap. 4.—Karma-vipāka (the results of actions, with a grim description of the manifold troubles of life from birth to death).—Birth of creatures (—stages in the development of the child in the mother's womb till delivery; sufferings undergone by the child in the womb; impurity of the body; the child's retention of the power of remembrance of the events of the previous birth, while residing in the mother's womb); troubles in childhood, youth etc.; insignificance of the pleasures arising from enjoyment of women; inevitability of death.

Chap. 5.—Different kinds of sins which lead one to hell. Classification of sins into manasa, vacika and kayika. Classification of sinners into (a) mahāpātakins (such as those who kill Brahmins, drink wine, and do similar other acts), (b) brahmaghnas (such as those who refuse to give anything to a poor needy Brahmin after calling him with a promiseverse 11; those who, being proud of their learning, do not show proper respect to Brahmins in a meeting—verse 12; those who create obstruction to those hungry or thirsty Brahmins who are cager for food or drink-verse 14; those who make false reports of other's faults to the king-verse 17; those who misappropriate the landed property already dedicated to gods, Brahmins or cows-verse 18; and so on), (c) pālakins (such as those who do not marry their marriageable daughters to proper persons-verse 14), (d) upapātakins (such as those who sell their wives or children-verse 34; those who do not pay their debts, and those who accept interests on food materials lent out to others-verse 36; teachers who accept remuneration, and students who read

with such teachers—verse 38; and so on), and (c) other greater sinners—pāpatarāḥ—who go to hell (such as those who fight unfairly; the manufacturers of bows, arrows and other weapons, as well as the dealers in these things—verse 53; those who do not support their wives, children and other dependants with maintenance—verses 55-56; those twice-born men who enjoy Śūdra women or smell wine intentionally—verse 48; those kings who are bad rulers—verses 67-71; and so on).

Chap. 6.—The ways in which the donors of different articles (such as shoes, umbrellas, clothes, bed, gardens, temples, poor-houses, ** lamps, asylums, medicine, land, food etc.) proceed comfortably to the region of Yama and thence to heaven. Praise of anna-dâna (gift of food). The paths by which the sinners go to Yama's residence. Description of hells as well as of the sufferings of the sinners

there.

Chaps. 7-126, 129-130, 132-140, 146-147 and 206 .--Praise of donations (dana) and vows (vrata) as the only means of attaining happiness, power, peace and prosperity and getting rid of the sufferings in hells. Description and praise of various kinds of vratas which are to be observed on different lunar days from Pratipad and in which various deities, viz., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvati, Kārttikeya, Vināyaka and other gods and goddesses, are to be worshipped. (These viatas have been arranged in the Uttara-parvan in the order of the Tithis on which they are to be observed). Description and praise of various kinds of festivals, such as Nīrājana-dvādašī (chap. 71), Phālgunapūrņimotsava (chap. 132), Andolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133), the Sun's Ratha-yatra (chap. 134), Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135), Bhūtamātrutsava (chap. 136), Mahānavami (chap. 138), Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139), and Dīpālikā (chap. 140). Methods and praise of various kinds

[&]quot; Bhav. IV. 6, 10-

devāyaram-kartā tā yarīnām listamasya ca / anātha-mandapānām ta krīdan yāti grhottamaih //

of bath, viz., māgha-snāna (bath in the month of Māgha), nitya-snāna, rudra-snāna (a special kind of bath meant chiefly for progeny), and grahaṇa-snāna (bath during eclipses).

Chaps. 127-128.—Methods and benefits of dedicating wells, pools and tanks and of planting trees for the good of others.

Chap. 131.—Dedication of bulls especially for the good of the departed forefathers.

Chaps. 141-145.—Methods of performing ayuta-homa, lakṣa-homa, kaṭi-homa, mahāśānti and nakṣatra-homa for the pacification of planets. Methods of pacifying Vināyaka for allaying impediments and getting rid of evils indicated by bad dreams.

Chap. 148.—Praise of giving one's own daughter or a helpless girl in marriage to a worthy bridegroom either of the same easte as that of the girl or of a higher one, without accepting any money from the bridegroom.

Chap. 149.—Praise of Brahmins as the highest gods on earth as well as in heaven. They are said to be the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods, and the sources of origin of the universe.³¹

Chaps. 150-204.—Methods and praise of making various kinds of donation, viz., gifts of cows, bulls, female buffaloes, sheep etc. and of cows made of gold, gems, sesamum, water, ghee, salt, etc.; gifts of ploughs fitted with bulls, and of houses, food, utensils, maid-servants, and manuscripts of the Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc. after having them copied by scribes; donation of hillocks made of gold,

³¹ Blav. IV. 149, 2-3-

adevam daivatam kuryuh kuryus devam adaivatam/

brāhmanebhyah samuspannā devāh pūrvam iti sortili / brāhmanebhyo jagat sarvam tasmāt pūlyātamā dvijāh //

⁽For praise of Brahmins see also chap. 69, in which years 25 runs as follows:

brāhmaņāi caiva gāvat ca kulam charp dvidhā kṛtam / ckatra mantrās tighami havir anyatra tighati //].

The Bhavipyottara emphasizes the necessity of maid-servants for comfort and clearliness and says (in verse 8) that the house which lacks gold, maid-servants, sufficient food and give as well as milk is a veritable hell.

silver, gems, rice, salt, sesamum, sugar etc.; bigger donations, such as those of tula-purusa, hiranya-garbha, brahmanda, hiranyāśva-ratha, hema-hasti-ratha etc.; donation of one's own iron statue after decorating it with proper ornaments and furnishing it with various articles; and so on.

Chap. 205.-Good manners, customs and usages. (Of the numerous prescriptions and prohibitions the following are noteworthy: One, who wants a long life, should not see one's image in a mirror at night; one may dine at the house of a goldsmith but must never believe him or make friends with him; one should not take food from a dish placed on a stool; while taking one's meal one should cat mild things first, pungent things in the middle, and liquid things at the end; one should not take fried rice and barley at daytime and curd and barley meal-saktu-at night; one, who wants freedom from disease, should sleep with the head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south; one should maintain in one's house pigeons, parrots and sārikās but not cockroaches, because the presence of the first three brings in wealth, whereas the last are creative of evils).23

Chaps. 207-8.—Kṛṣṇa's departure for Dvārakā. Enumeration of the topics dealt with in the Bhavisyottara, Conclusion.

The above contents of the Bhavisyottara show clearly that it is practically a work on vows (vrata), festivals and donations and has almost nothing of the five characteristics of the 'Purāṇa'. The vows dealt with in this work are various and numerous, some being Vaişņava, some Saiva, some Śākta, some Gāṇapatya, some Saura, and so on. There is also a good number of vows in which lesser deities like Sarasvati, Kārttikeya, Yama, Varuņa, Budha, Nakṣatras, and the Earth,34 and even trees, grass and animals,34 are

²³ See Bhay, IV, 205, 915-93a, 109-112, 122, and 1435-144a.

as See Bhav. IV. 35 (Sūrasvata-venta), 42 (Kārniikeya-pūjā-pasthi-venta), 89 (Yumadariana-trayodad-venta), 91 (Phil-venta), 54 (Budhāṣṭami-venta), 65 (Tāruka-dvādavivrata), and 105 (Visuka-pūrņimā-vrata). In the Tilaka-vrata (chap. 8) the figure of a man is to be painted on the ground to represent the year and then worshipped.

In connection with the worship of Karttikeya (in the Karttikeya-pājā-sasthi-vrata) the Bhavisyottara says:

to be worshipped, but there is not a single vrata which requires the worship of Brahmā as the principal deity. Among the Vaisnava pratas there are some which seem to be Pāñcarātra and some appear to be Bhagavata. This distinction seems to be indicated by the Müla-mantras mentioned in connection with them. For instance, in the Govinda-śayanotthāpana-dvādašī-vrata (chap. 70), Sukṛta-dvādašī-vrata (chap. 82), Dharaṇi-vrata (chap. 83) and Kāma-dāna-veśyāvrata (chap. 111) the Mūla-mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' is directed to be used, but in the Bhīşma-pañcaka-vrata (chap. 72), Śravana-dvādaśi-vrata (chap. 75) and Śanaiścaravrata (chap, 114) the Mûla-mantra to be used is 'om namo vāsudevāya' or 'om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. The Saura Vratas, on the other hand, differ in their media of worship of the Sun-god. Thus, in the Visoka-sasthi-vrata and the Kamala-sasthi-vrata the medium of worship is a golden lotus (kāñcana padma, haima-padma);24 in the Kalyāņa-saptami-vrata and the Śarkarā-saptami-vrata, as described in Bhav. IV. 48 and 49 respectively, the figure of an eight-petalled lotus has to be painted on the ground with powdered rice dried in the sun or with saffron for the worship of the Sun-god in the different petals and the pericarp with

> "kārnikeyād rie nānyo rājňāny pūjyah pravakyyate // samgrāmam gacchamāno yah pūjayet kņulkā-autam / sa sarvanji jayaie viro yathendro dânavân rane //"

(Bhay, IV. 42, 246-25...

"No [deity] other than Karnikeya it said to deserve wombip by kings.

"That here who, when going out for war, worships the son of the Kratikia, conquers all, just as Index defeats the Danavas in war."

is For instance, in the Asoka-vrata, Karavira-vrata and Madhûka-vrata the respective trees (Aioka, Karavira and Madhūka) are to be worshipped (chaps. 9, 10 and 16); in the Dürväntami-vrata Dürvä grass has to be worshipped (chap. 56); in the Kokilsveata the form of a female cuckoo it to be made with powdered sesumum, furnished with eyes of germ and usings of gold, placed on a copper dish, duly worshipped, and then given to a Brahmin (chap. 11); in the Go-vatas-dv3dosl-vrata a cow is to be regarded as Gaurt herself and worshipped (chap. 69); in the Mandara-timb-arka-karavira-vrata Sveta-mandåra, Nimba, Sveta-arka, and Rakta-karavira plants are to be worshipped (chap, 88), and so on.

24 Ser Bhav. IV. 38, 6-

kjivā tu kāncanass padmam arko 'vam iti pūjayet'. karavirena raktena rakta-vastra-yugena ca //

Bhav. IV. 39. 2 (sasthim uposya kamalam kūraylivā nikāncanam), and 10 (karkarā-kalaiam dadyāddhaims-padma-phalānvitam).

the mention of his different names; and in the Mandāra-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata an image of a male, made of gold and furnished with a golden lotus in one of its hands, is to be placed on an eight-petalled lotus made with black sesamum, and the Sungod is to be worshipped in the eight petals with Mandāra flowers with the mention of his eight names (Bhāskara, Sūrya, Arka, Aryaman, Vasu-dhātṛ, Caṇḍa-bhānu, Pūṣan and Ānanda) and in the pericarp as Puruṣa (Bhav. IV. 40).

Though there are a few water in which sectarian spirit is noticeable, there are many which are free from all kinds of narrowness and in which more deities than one are to be worshipped or respected. For instance, in the Aviyogavrata Hari-and-Lakşmi, Hara-and-Gauri, Brahmā-and-Sāvitrī, and Ravi-and-Rājītī are to be worshipped in a maṇḍala (chap. 68); and in the Nīrājana-dvādašī, as described in chap. 71, first Hari and then Lakṣmi, Brahmā, Caṇḍikā, Āditya, Śaṇkara, Gaurī, Gaṇeśa, Nāgas, planets, cows, buffaloes etc. are to be lustrated.

The powers of these wratas have been shown by means of stories, some of which are based on those of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the most of which are later fabrications. In these fabricated stories even, the central figures are in most cases some renowned princes or princesses of the epics or the Purāṇas [viz., Nahuṣa, Ila, Sagara, Aja, Dilīpa, Yayāti, Haihaya, Kārtavīryārjuna, Kuśadhvaja (of Mithilā), Sītā, Sāvitrī, Damayantī and others] or some ancient sages or their wives. The fabricators of these stories have, in many cases, cared very little for the limits of possibility. For instance, in chap. 13 the story of a Vaiśya is given in connection with the Bhadropavāsavrata. It is said that this Vaiśya was reborn as the son of Sañjaya, king of Kuśāvatī, and his spittle, stool, urinc etc.

Wiz., Brhat-tapo-vrata (chap. 12), Umā-mahetvara-vrata (chap. 23), and Ramhhā-trityā-vruta (chap. 24), all of which are Saiva. In these mates the devotees of Siva are given preference.

Wiz., the stories of Vinata and Kadrū and of Jaratkāru in chap. 36; the story of the abduction of Tārā by Soma in chap. 99; the story of Sāvitrī in chap. 102; the story of the birth of Agastya, and his exploits, viz., his consumption of the demon Vātāpi, his drinking of all the waters of the oceans, etc.; and so on.

turned into gold as soon as these fell on the ground. So he was named Svarnasthivi. He was later on killed by the robbers from the Deccan but was revived by Nārada. Among the other stories of interest the following may be mentioned: Nărada and Parvata's mutual curse for the former's marrying the daughter of king Samjaya of Kuśāvati with the promise that he would cause to be born to the king a son whose spittle, stool and urine would turn into gold (chap. 13); indifference of Indumati, a harlot of Magadha, to her sinful life, her approach to Vasistha for religious instructions, and the latter's advice to her about the observance of the Acalā-saptami-vrata (chap. 53); Datta* Ātreya's practice of Yoga in his hermitage on the Vindhya mountain, his saving of the gods from the hands of Sumbha, Jambha and other Daityas, and his granting of four boons to Kartaviryārjuna, who, consequently, became extremely powerful, performed numerous sacrifices at Māhişmatī, his capital, and introduced the Anaghāṣṭamī-vrata (chap. 58); and Indra and other gods' defeat in a war with the demon Raktāsura and coming down to the city of Karacchatrā (?) for seeking the shelter of Devi Bhagayati, who, as a virgin deity having twenty hands and a lion as her mount, resided there with Camunda and the nine Durgas named Mahalakşmî, Nandā, Kşemaiņkarī, Sivadūti, Mahātuņḍā, Bhrāmarī, Candramandalā, Revatī and Harasiddhi, 20 and who saved the gods by killing the demons and snatching away their flags for the gods (chap. 61-Dhvaja-navamivrata).

An examination of the viatas dealt with in the Bhavisyottara shows that though some of these viatas and worships might have a popular origin, many of them are the productions of the fertile brains of the Brahmins who are rightly

He was also called Anagha.—Bhav. IV. 58. 2b-Ja datto nama mahayogi conor améo mahitale / dvitivo nama toke 'iminu anaghaé cui viérusah //).

[&]quot; For the names and description of their deiries see Bhav. IV. 61, 9-21.

The names 'Mahātuṇdā' and 'Candramandalā' occur in verses 17b and 19h respectively, but in verse 10a these two names have been given as 'Mahārundā' and 'Candramangalā'.

called 'the makers and unmakers of gods and non-gods'. In some cases the Brahmins support popular victure by fabricating relevant stories, but there are numerous cases in which they are found to take the advantage of Purāṇic stories for the creation of new victure.

Though these violates might be observed by all without distinction of caste or sex, they were meant mainly for women, is probably because it was through women, or rather mothers, that the teachings of the epics and the Purāṇas could be successfully spread among the people. It seems that the violates were multiplied and encouraged by the Brahmins not only to counteract the influence of Buddhism and Jainism on the varṇāśrama-dharma, but also to facilitate the distribution of wealth especially among those who were engaged in intellectual pursuits, to make the mothers painstaking and fit for giving birth to healthy children, to raise the moral standard of the people, and to make the family and the social life more enjoyable.

Among the festivals described in the Bhavişyottara there are a few which were to be observed in the spring season, viz., Phālguna-pūrņimotsava (chap. 132), Āndolaka-mahotsava (chap. 133) and Madana-mahotsava (chap. 135). During

⁴⁴ See, for instance, the Hara-käli-trilyñ-vrata, which is based on the following story: Käli, daughter of Daksa, was married to Sica. Once, being mortified at the mention of her dark complexion by Siva, she burnt herself in a fire and was reborn to Honflaya as Gauri. (Chap. 20).

⁴ Sec, for instance, Bhav. IV. 29, 15-2a

[&]quot; Jainiam is indirectly described as 'venta-bhūyistha' in Devi-p. 13, 10.

⁶ All the trains are to be followed by gifts to Brahmins and the poor. Sometimes these gifts are very contly.

¹⁰ Various kinds of anstericies were to be observed in the outer. (See, for instance, chaps, 11, 26 and 70°. So, the performers of these cours had little appartunity to give themselves up to havery and to have a fatty and case-loving body.

Festivities, interdining, songs, dance etc. formed parts of some of the cratic. Sec. for instance, the Beliat-rapo-vrata, Bhadropaväsa-vrata, Yama-dvitiyä-vrata, Scipaŭ-canti-vrata, Dürvästami-vrata, Anaghästami-vrata and Aranya-dvätlasi-vrata, in which the devotres were to dine with their friends and relatives as well as employees and guests. (See Bhay, IV, chaps. 12-14, 37, 56, 58 and 65).

Bhav, IV, 50.68 refers to music and dancing by experts; and in the Devi-yratas (such as Dhvaja-navami and Ulkā-navami) virgin girk are to be fed (see, for instance, Bhav. IV, 61.5) and 62.6).

the Phalguna-pūrņimotsava, which was also called Holika and which was to be observed in every town and villages at the close of the winter, " a cottage was to be constructed with posts and straws and burnt. Children were to rush out of their houses with pieces of wood in hand, go thrice round the fire, shout, laugh and sing. It was believed that these acts of children brought about the destruction of the female goblin (rākṣasī) Dhauṇḍhā (also called Aḍāḍā). In order to explain who this goblin was and why she was defeated by turbulent children, the Bhavisyottara gives the following story. During the reign of king Raghu a goblin named Dhaundha began to give trouble to children, although his subjects were otherwise very happy. Being informed of this trouble Raghu asked Vasistha as to who this goblin was and how she could be got rid of. Vasistha said that this Dhaundha worwhipped Siva and received from him a boon that none but unruly children could overpower her. He then described the method in which this Dhaundha could be killed. (It may be mentioned here that the goblin Dhaundha is nothing but the personified spirit of the winter season which troubles children with diseases and of which the latter get rid at the advent of spring). During the Andolaka-mahotsava, which was enjoyed equally by men and women, a swing was to be set up at the side of a tank, and the image of the deity to be worshipped was placed in it and swung. People threw dusts of saffron and took part in water-sports which they considered to be due to the influence of Cupid. 10 In the Madana-mahotsava, Madana was to be worshipped in temples, and wives were to worship their husbands by identifying them with Cupid. The worshippers were to pass the night without sleep, have feasts, present scented betels, and see dances and dramatic and other performances. Besides these spring-festivals mentioned above, the Bhavisyottara describes a few more which seem to have been widely observed. Of these, the most interesting

O.C. Bhav. IV. 132. 1b— utsavo jäyste loke grāme grāme pure pure.

⁶ Of. Bhav. IV. 132. 24b - Sta-kālo viniskrāntah protar gromo bhaviyyati. u Bhay, IV. 133, 55-56.

one is that of Bhūta-mātā ('mother of evil spirits', also called Bhrātṛ-bhāṇdā) who is said to have originated from Pārvatī's urine. The image of Bhūta-mātā, who had a very ugly and hideous look and was believed to be a form of Bhagavatî herself, was to be worshipped under an old tree, in order that no trouble could be caused to children by evil spirits. While taking the image to the tree, people were to make various interesting demonstrations⁵¹ such as those of taking a murderer to the place of execution for impaling him, and of a cruel Sabara with jet-black complexion and blood-shot eyes. This Bhūta-mātrutsava, which must have had a popular origin, was to be observed in every town and village, and during this festival people were to behave like wild men, sing, laugh and dance at random, distort their faces and cover their bodies with mud. The Nīrājana-dvādaši (chap. 71) was a festival to be observed by kings. The Mahanavami-vrata (or Durgotsava-chap. 138) was to be performed in every house, especially in royal palaces. Even the Miecchas and others are said to have celebrated it. During this festival the worshipper was to pass the night, on the Astami Tithi, by hearing songs and seeing dances and theatrical performances. On the Navami Tithi he was to worship the virgin Vindhyavāsini with the offer of 100, 50 or 25 buffaloes and sheep and of pitchers full of winc. After the worship had been over, the image was to be taken out in a procession in which the king himself and his army were to take part. The Mahendra-dhvaja-mahotsava (chap. 139) also was a state festival, in which all people took part. This festival was to be observed for nine or seven days, and during it people were to amuse themselves by witnessing dramatic performances, wrestling competitions, etc. and by

For description of this librar-mata are fibrar. IV, 136, 10-14-

krana karála-vadaná pingākvā mukta-mūrdhajā / kapāla-mālābharaņā buddhu-pinglordhva-pinglakā / khatvānga-kankātadharā mudrānkita-karā šivā // vyāghra-carmāmhara-dharā raņat-kinkiņi-mekhalā // damad-damud-damankā phūtkārāpāritāmharā // etc. etc.

[&]quot; For description of these demonstrations see Bhay, IV 136, 26ff.

gambling to their heart's content. During the Dipālikotsava (chap. 140) lamps were to be lighted in the evening in every house and monastery, in the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Siva, Siddhārtha-Buddha, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhairava and others, in gardens, in stables, and so on. In the following evening the king was to make a declaration permitting his subjects, both male and female, to enjoy themselves according to their own choice. Consequently, people decorated their houses as well as their own persons and enjoyed the pleasures of gambling, drinking, etc.

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Bhavişyottara is not a work of any particular sect. It is for this reason that at the beginning of chap, 8 we find Yudhişthira to request Kṛṣṇa to speak on the Vratas relating to Brahmā, Iśa (i.e. Śiva), Keśava, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sūrya, Agni, Soma and others. As a matter of fact, the present Bhavişyottara deals with the *eratas* on almost all these deities.

Though the Bhavişyottara tries to pass as an independent Purāņa, it has got little which it can claim as its own. In the final colophon of R. L. Mitra's Ms the Bhavişyottara is described as 'sarva-śāstroddhṛta' (collected from the entire jāstra). As a matter of fact, it is a loose collection of chapters taken from different sources, and its indebtedness to some of these sources has been clearly admitted in several places. For instance, in chap. 1, verse 20 Yudhiṣṭhira requests Vyāsa to narrate to him the essence of the entire Dharma (-śāstra), and in chap. 8, verses 1-2 he requests Kṛṣṇa to speak to him on eratas relating to Brahmā, Iśa, Keśava, Gaurī, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sūrya, Agni, Soma and others which are found in other works; being requested by Yudhiṣṭhira to describe an easy method of attaining the proximity of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa promises, in chap. 8, to teli

¹³ See footnote 13 aliene

Drahmeta-kevavirinām gauci-gaunpuer unbā durgā-sūryāgni-somāuām vratām mailmandama (ilstrāmtare)u drytāmi tava buddin-gatāmi ca/tāmi sarvāti me deva vada deyaki-napiana).

him what the Earth did in ancient times, when she lay immersed in water;54 the eighty-five wratas, dealt with in chap. 121, are said to have been 'collected from the Bhavisya, Mātsya, Mārtanda and Vārāha Purāņas (and as a matter of fact, most of these cratas have been taken verbatim at least from Matsya-p., chap. 101); in chap. 128 (on wrksodyapanavidhi) Kṛṣṇa is said to have described after Caraka, Atri and the Puranas the sacraments of the trees to be planted by the dedicator;50 in chap. 131 the method of dedication of bulls, especially for the good of one's departed forefathers, is said to have been described after Garga; the method of tiladhenu-dāna, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar (Varāha) in ancient times;50 being requested by Yudhisthira, in chap. 161, to speak on the method and results of kapilā-dāna, Kṛṣṇa reproduces the speech of Vinatâsva, in which the latter reported to his royal patron (whose name is not given in the Bhavişyottara) the interlocation between the Boar and the Earth on this topic;50 regarding

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** Bhav. IV. 83. 6-7 (... dharanya yat ketam pinyam majjantya sasudha-tale /...).
           senu bhārasa vaksyāmi pañcāshi-vratāni ca /
           noktāni yāni kasyāpi monibhir dharma-daršibhih //
           hhaviya-manya-mārtanda-parāneşu eu varnimm/
           vārābans caiva sangghya kathyante tāni pāodava //
                                                Blary, IV, 121, 1-2,
         14 játa-karmádikás tasya yáh kriyáh kila buddhiman /
           carak-ātri-purāmiktās tāli irmujva yodlslijthira //
                                                Blany, IV, 120, 18.
         is yad uvāca parā gargo gokule 'nagha-pāņdava /
            tat te 'ham ca pravakyvāmi vidhitu garga-pracoditam //
                                                Bhay, IV, 131, 3b-la.
           ity uktam garga-muninā vidhānam viņa-mukram II
                                                Bhuv. IV. 131, 13a.
         utila-eiltenum pravaktyūmi iņņu pārthiva-sattama /
           vārāhena purā prokrām mahātsātaka-nāšinim //
                                                Bhav. IV. 152. 5.
  The Bodleian Me reads 'varahena' for 'varahena', -See Anfrecht, Bod. Clat.,
  p. 35a.
40 yudhindaira nyāca-
            kapilā-dāna-māhātmyatu kathayasva jagatpate /
           punyani yat sarva-dānānāni tarva-pātaka-nājamam //
  irikgan uvāra-
            iat to 'ham sampravakryami vinathicena yai pura /
            kathitani kapila-danam tao thrinova mahamate //
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the method and results of 'adi-varaha-dana' Krsna says in chap. 194, "I shall speak to you, Oh Yudhisthira, on the donation of Adi-varāha which was described to the Earth by myself in the form of the Boar"; 40 being requested by Yudhisthira, in chap. 195, to speak on the praise of donations Kṛṣṇa proposes to report what Rudra said to Nārada in ancient times and the Fish said to Manu.44 From these references it is evident that the present Bhavisyottara utilised the contents of the Matsya-p., Bhavisya-p., Mārtaṇḍa-p., Varāha-p, as well as the works of Atri, Garga and others. (It should be mentioned here that in the Matsya-p. the Fish speaks to Manu and reports to the latter, in chaps. 83-92, what Rudra said to Nārada on the different kinds of gifts, and in the Varāha-p. the Boar speaks to the Earth). A comparison between this Bhayisyottara, on the one hand, and the Matsya-p., Bhavisya-p. etc., on the other, shows how extensively the former has incorporated the chapters and verses of the latter. The chapters common to some of these Puranas are the following:

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vinatáwa uváca-
           atah param maháraj-ohhayamukhyah sambamh j
          vidhānam yad varāheņa dharanyai karhusip piurā //
           tad aham sampeavakyyāmi nava-punya-phalam ca yat //
 Шагару пуёсь —
          yat wayā kapilā nāma pārvam mpādicā prabho-
           ..... etad jechāmy aham śrotom vistarān madhosādana //
       irpuyva bhadre tattvena pavitrām pāpa-nāšinim /
                cic.
                                     etc.- Blue IV. 161, 187,
  See also Bhay, IV, 161, 80b-81-
          idam rahasyam rājendra varāha-mukha-nitgatam /
          diaranyai kashitam pürvam satva-päpa-pranaianam //
         ** ādi-varāha-dānam te ķathayāmi yudhişthira (
          dharanyai yat purā proktam varāha-vapuņā mayā /
                                             Bhpv. IV. 194. 1.
*1 yanihisibura uvaca-
          bhagavañ chrotum icchămi dăna-măhătmyam uttamam /
          yad akşayam pare loke devarsi-gana-pûjitanı (†
 srikpan avāca—
          sudrepa yat pură proktam năradăya muhărmane /
          mauyena manave tadvat tae chipunyva kurildvaha //
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Dhay, IV. 195, 1-2.

| | | 1 | | |
|---|--------|----------------------------------|--------|------------|
| 1 | | Bhavişyottara | Matsy | ya-p. |
| | | (i.e. Bhav. IV), | | |
| (| Chap. | 25 (Saubhāgyāstaka-tṛtiyā-vrata) | Chap. | 60 |
| | 71 | 26 (Ananta-tṛtiyā-vrata and | | 40 |
| | · ' ' | Rasa-kalyāṇinī-vrata) | Chaps. | 62-63 |
| | 13 | 27 (Ārdrānandakarī-tṛtiyā-vrata) | Chap. | 64 |
| | 35 | 35 (Sārasvata-vrata) | 23 | 66 |
| | 11 | 48 (Kalyāṇa-saptami-vrata) | 33 | 74 |
| | 37 | 49 (Śarkarā-saptami-vrata) | 23 | 77 |
| | 12 | 50 (Kamalā-saptamī-vrata) | 22 | 78 |
| | 33 | 51 (Subha-saptami-vrata) | 2.2 | 80 |
| | 17 | 52 (Snapana-saptami-vrata) | 13 | 68 |
| | 12 | 84 (Višoka-dvādašī-vrata) | Chaps. | 81-82 |
| | 33 | 85 (Vibhūti-dvādaši-vrata) | 51 | 99-100 |
| | 33 | 86 (Madana-dvādašī-vrata) | Chap. | 7 |
| | 77 | | (V6 | rses 8ff.) |
| | 25 | 97 (Śiva-caturdaśi-vrata) | 27 | 95 |
| | 17 | 98 (Phala-tyāga-caturdaśi-vrata) | 72 | 96 |
| | 17 | 108 (Nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata) | 3.5 | 54 (cf.) |
| | 73 | 111 (Kāma-dāna-vešyā-vrata) | 17 | 70 |
| | 17 | 115 (Aditya-dina-nakta-vidhi) | 12 | 97 |
| | 28 | 116 (Saṃkrānty-udyāpana) | 2.7 | 98 |
| | 93 | 121 (Vrata-pañcāšīti) | 92 | 101 |
| | *1 | 125 (Candrāditya-grahaņa-snāna) | 33 | 67 |
| | 13 | 141 (Ayuta-homa-vidhi and | | |
| | | Lakṣa-homa-vidhi) | 22 | 93 |
| | | | (ver | ses 1-118) |
| | ++ | 157 (Ratna-dh enu-dāna) | 9.7 | 288 |
| | 17 | 159 (Go-sahasra-dāna) | 23 | 278 |
| | 12 | 165 (Sauvarņa-pṛthivi-dāna) | 12 | 284 |
| | 25 | 166 (Hala-pańkti-dānā) | 12 | 283 (cf.) |
| | Chaps. | 100 | | |
| | | Hiranya-garbha-dana, Brah- | | |
| | | māṇḍa-dāna, Kalpa-vṛkṣa- | | 004 007 |
| | | dāna) | Chaps | |
| | Chap. | 182 (Sapta-sagarā-dāna) | Chap. | |
| | 12 | 183 (Mahābhūta-ghaṭa-dāna) | 25 | 289 |
| | | | | |

| 360 | STUDIES IN THE UPAPURANA | 5 | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| | Bhavişyottara | Matsya-p. | |
| Chap. | 186 (Hiraņyāśva-dāna) | Chap. | 280 |
| 17 | 187 (Hiraņyāśva-ratha-dāna) | 22 | 281 |
| 19 | 188 (Kṛṣṇājina-dāna) | 77 | 206 |
| in | 189 (Hema-hasti-ratha-dana) | 23 | 282 |
| 31 | 190 (Viśva-cakra-dāna) | 5.9 | 285 |
| Chaps. | 195-204 (Dhānyācala-, Lavaņā- | | |
| | cala-, Gudācala-, Hemācala-, | | |
| | Tilācala-, Kārpāsācala-, | | |
| | Ghṛtācala-, Ratnācala-, | | |
| | Raupyācala-, and | | |
| | Sarkarācala-dāna) | Chaps. | 83-92 |
| Chap. | 206 (Rohiņi-candra-śayana-vrata) | Chap. | 57 |
| | etc. | etc. | |
| | | | |
| | II | | |
| 1 | Bhavişyottara | Bha | vişya-p. |
| | The chapter on Puspa-dvitiya- | 1 | |
| | vrata, though not found in the | | |
| | Bhavisyottara at present, has | 1. 19 | (Puspa- |
| | been ascribed to the 'Bhavi- | } | dvitivā- |
| | syottara' in Hemādri's Catur- | | vrata) |
| | varga-cintāmaņi, II. i, pp. 381-2 | | , |
| Chap. | 15 (Aśūnya-śayana-vrata) | 1. 20 | |
| Chap. | 31 (Angāraka-caturthī-vrata) | I. 31 | |
| 11 | 36 (Nāga-paňcami-vrata, con-) | L 32 | |
| | taining the stories of Vinata | | |
| | and Kadrū and of Jaratkāru) | | |
| 17 | 43 (Vijaya-saptami-vrata) | 1. 81 | |
| | elc. | etc. | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

III

Chap. 83 (Dharaṇi-vrata, in which the Chaps. 39
ten incarnations of Viṣṇu arel (verses 15ff.)-50
worshipped)
,, 161 (Kapilā-dāna) Chap. 111

IV

| | Bhavisyottara | Vișnudharmottara |
|-------|------------------------|------------------|
| Chap. | 152 (Tila-dhenu-dāna) | III. 308 |
| 23 | 153 (Jala-dhenu-dăna) | III. 309 |
| 11 | 154 (Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna) | III. 307 |

(It is, however, not known definitely whether the Bhavisyottara derived chaps, 152-154 from the Visnudharmottara

or from some other source). According to Weber's Ms, chaps, 146 (on Aparadhašata-vrata), 147 (on Kāncanapurī-vrata), and 161 (on Kapilādana-mahatmya) were derived from the Brahma-p., Garuda-p. and Ādi-vārāha-p. respectively.41 Bhavisyottara, chaps. 32 and 144 consist mostly of verses taken from the Gaṇapati-kalpa-prakaraṇa of the Yajñavalkya-smṛti (Ācārādhyāya). Verses 7-8a, 10b and 12a of Bhavisyottara, chap. 140 are found ascribed to the 'Lainga' in Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūdāmaņi's Kṛtya-tattvārņava (fol. 69). So, at least chap. 140 might have been derived from the Linga-p. In his Smrti-tattva, I, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes from chap. 55 of the present Bhavisyottara a few verses which, he says, were common to the Garuda-p. and the Bhavisyottara. Hence chap. 55 of the present Bhavisyottara seems to have been taken from the 'Garuda-p.', which must be the earlier one. In his Caturvarga-cintāmani, III. i, p. 1079 Hemādri quotes an extract which he found common to the Vișnudharmottara, Bhavișvat-purăna, Brahma-vaivarta, Brahma-purāņa, Vāyu-purāņa, Prabhāsa-khaņda and Bhavisyottara, and on p. 1095 he ascribes an extract to Yama, Yājūavalkya, Visņudharmottara, Brahma-vaivarta, Bhavisyottara and Kūrma-purāņa. Hence it is probable that the Bhavisyottara incorporated verses of many more Purānas than those already mentioned. In Weber's Ms the sources of some of the chapters have been named.

The Martanda-p., mentioned in Bhavisyottara, chap. 121, must be different from the present Saura-p., because not even a single of the numerous viatas described in the

[&]quot; Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 468, p. 136.

Bhavişyottara is found in the latter. This Mārtaṇḍa-p., was most probably the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p. But as none of these two last-mentioned Purāṇas is now found to exist in Mss, we cannot be sure about the identification of the Mārtaṇḍa-p.

We do not know which works of Atri and Garga have been utilised in Bhavisyottara, chaps. 128 and 131 respectively.

The Bhavişyottara has borrowed chapters from different sources not without any alteration. The chapters derived from the Matsya-p. have, in most cases, been developed with relevant stories concocted for glorifying the vows or donations dealt with in those chapters. Reverse is the case with regard to the chapters now traced in the present Varāha-p. These chapters have been shortened by the elimination of the stories.

Though Bhavisyottara, chaps. 83 and 161 have their parallels in the Varāha-p., we have reasons to feel inclined to believe that these chapters were taken from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now extinct. These reasons are as follows: (1) The eighty-five vratas described in Bhavisyottara, chap. 121 are said to have been 'collected from the Bhavisya, Matsya, Mārtaṇḍa and Vārāha Purāṇas', but not a single of these vratus is found in the present Varāha-p. (2) The method of tila-dhenu-dana, as given in chap. 152, is said to have been described by the Boar in ancient times, but the present Varāha-p. has a chapter on tila-dhenu-dāno which is quite different from chap. 152 of the Bhavisyottara. (The Bhavişyottara, used by Aparārka, contained a chapter on tila-dhenu-dana which was quite different from the present chapter on the same topic and in which Vinitāśva spoke to a king.—See Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmrti, p. 306). (3) The method and results of ādi-varāhadāna, as found in chap. 194, are said to have been described originally by the Boar; but no chapter on adi-varaha-dana is found in the present Varāha-p. (4) In Bhavisyottara, chap. 161 Vinatásva reports to a king the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth on kapila-dana. Vinītāśva,

as speaking to a king, is also found in the sections on tiladhenu-dana and śarkarā-dhenu-dana, ascribed to the 'Bhavisyottara' in Aparārka's commentary, pp. 306 and 312-3 respectively. But in Varāha-p., chap. 111 (which corresponds to Bhavisyottara, chap. 161) one Hotr is the speaker. This Hotr is introduced in Varaha-p. 99. 75 ff. as speaking to his royal patron Vinītāśva. Now, as Bhavisyottara, chap. 161 has its parallel in Varāha-p, chap. 111 and as the verses on sarkarā-dhenu-dāna, ascribed to the 'Bhavisyottara' in Aparārka's commentary, pp. 312-3, are found in Varāha-p., chap. 103 (in which Hotr is the speaker, and not Vinitāśva), it is highly probable that Vinitāsva was the speaker in the earlier Varāha-p., that the Padma-p. (Sṛṣṭi-kh., chap. 31, verses 105ff.) borrowed some portions of this earlier Varaha-p. and changed the position of Vinītāśva to a king to whom his priest spoke on the different kinds of donations, and that the present Varāha-p. borrowed these portions from the Padma-p. and developed these borrowed portions with further additions. We have already said elsewhere that chaps. 99-112 of the present Varaha-p. seem to have been added later. So, we may hold that the present Varāha-p. derived its chap. 111 not direct from the earlier Varaha-p. but through the Padma-p. (Srsti-kh.).

As regards Varāha-p., chaps. 39 (verses 15ff.)-50, which agree with Bhavisyottara, chap. 83 and which were added to the present Varāha-p. at the time of its composition, or rather compilation. we may suppose that they were taken direct from the earlier Varāha-p., from which verses must have been retained in the present Varāha. It is, however, more probable that Bhavisyottara, chap. 83 was taken at a later date from the present Varāha-p., because in Mitra and Aufrecht's Mss of the Bhavisyottara we find a few chapters which have been taken from the present Varāha-p.

⁴⁸ For the probable indebtetines of the present Variha-p, to the Padma-p. (Spit-kh.), see Hazea, Purkpic Records, p. 101.

[&]quot; Hazra, Puranic Records, p. 101.

[&]quot; Ibid., p. 101.

[&]quot;Sec Vol. 1, pp. 237-8.

¹¹ For these chapters see infra.

As the Bhavisyottara is a loose collection of chapters derived from various sources, it is very difficult to find out the spurious portions. However, a comparison of the printed Uttara-parvan with Mitra and Aufrecht's Mss of the Bhavisyottara shows that chaps. 144-150 and 206-208 of the Uttara-parvan occur neither in Aufrecht's Ms nor in that noticed by Mitra. These chapters are also not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Hemādri, who draws profusely upon almost all the chapters of the present Bhavisyottara, is silent about them. Hence these chapters must have been added in later times. The spurious character of chap. 206 (on Rohinī-candra-śayana-vrata) is also proved definitely by its position as well as by the speaker Nărada who begins to speak without any introduction.

Chaps. 166-174 of Aufrecht's Ms deal with the donations of cows symbolically represented by molasses, milk, curd, honey, sugar, fruits, cotton, butter and juice of sugarcanes. These chapters do not occur in the printed Uttara-parvan. Of these, chaps, 167-169, 171 and 173-174 are respectively the same as chaps. 117-119 and 121-123 of Mitra's Ms. It is highly probable that these chapters were derived at a later date from the present Varāha-p, in which chaps, 101-107 and 109 deal with the same topics. Chap. 175 (dealing with 'gaņeśa-durgā-viṣṇu-gaṅgā-stuti-varṇana') of Aufrecht's Ms occurs neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Mitra's Ms. Similarly, chaps. 173-177 (dealing with the enumeration of the names of vratas etc., and the description of the methods of giving a pot full of sesamum and performing the Rsi-pañcamî-vrata) of Mitra's Ms are found neither in the printed Uttara-parvan nor in Aufrecht's Ms. There are also a few more chapters (viz., 38--on Sāṇḍilya-saptamīvrata, 49-on Somāstamī-vrata, 126-on kṛṣṇa-go-dāna, and 130-135-on aśva-dāna, kartasya-nirnaya, śrāddha, and brāhmūdivivāha-lakṣaṇa) in this Ms which are peculiar to itself. Of these chapters, all, except those on sraddha, seem to be later additions. Verses on śrāddha are found quoted from the 'Bhavisyottara' in some of the Nibandhas, especially in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi.

We shall now proceed to determine the date of composi-

tion of the present Bhavisyottara.

It has already been said that the present Bhavisyottara has been drawn upon profusely by the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India. Of these, Anantabhatta quotes almost all the verses of chaps. 124 and 142 in his Vidhanapārijāta I, Gadādhara quotes verses from chaps. 18, 24, 55, 70, 72, 94, 117, 122, 138-140 and 172 in his Kālasāra, Raghunandana from chaps. 18, 36, 55, 56, 70, 76, 94, 138, 139 and 141 in his Smṛti-tattva and Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Govindananda from chaps. 36, 55, 70, 94, 102 and 118 in his Varsa-kaumudī, Vācaspati-miśra from chaps. 15, 54, 55, 70, 102 and 103 in his Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chap. 138 in his Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņī, Śūlapāņi from chap. 55 in his Tithi-viveka, from chap. 102 in his Vrata-kāla-viveka, and from chaps. 141(?) and 138 in his Durgotsava-viveka, Mādhavācārya from chap. 100 in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti and from chaps. 8, 40, 55, 99 and 117 in his Kāla-nirņaya, Caņdešvara from chap. 55 in his Tithi-nirnaya, Hemādri from chaps. 8-10, 13-21, 23, 24, 28-30, 37-42, 44-45, 53, 54, 57-67, 69, 72-76, 87-90, 93, 94, 96, 99-103, 111, 113, 114, 119, 121, 130, 132, 135-138, 154, 155, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 181, 184, 185, 190, 191, 193-199 etc. in his Caturvarga-cintămani, Aparārka from chaps. 130, 155, 160, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 184 and 192 in his commentary on the Yājňavalkya-smṛti, and Jīmūtavāhana from chaps. 55, 75, 118, 138 and 139 in his Kāla-viveka*s. In his Smrti-tatīva, 1, pp. 44-45 Raghunandana quotes from chap. 55 of the present Bhavisyottara a few verses which, he says, were quoted in the Rājamārtaņda and the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (garuḍa-bhavisyottara-vacanāni rājamārtaņda-kṛtyacintāmaņi-dhṛtāni..). The Samvatsara-pradipa has a large number of verses from chaps. 15, 42, 46, 54-56, 70, 94, 102 and 140. Vallalasena, though not quoting any verse from this work, mentions it

^{*****} Complete lists of these verses will be given in the final Volume of the present work.

in his Dānasāgara and testifies to the fact that it attained the position of an authoritative work in his time? Hence the present Bhavişyottara must be dated earlier than 900 A.D. As this work is remarkably free from Tantric influence?, it should be dated not later than 800 A.D., because from an examination of other Purāṇic works we have found that Tantric influence began to be imbibed appreciably by the Purāṇas from about 800 A.D.?

Again, the Bhavişyottara mentions the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśaṇ, knows the names of the zodiacal signs (rūśi)ṇ and the week-daysṇ, and gives the list of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations (including Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin) in more places than oneṇ. (From an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu's incarnations we have seen that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu from about 550 A.D.ṇ). In Bhav. IV. 8. 1-2 Yudhiṣṭhira requests Kṛṣṇa to speak on the viatas relating to Brahmā, Iṣʿa, Keśava, Gaurī and others, but in the present Bhavisyottara there is not even a single viata in which Brahmā figures as the principal deity. On the other hand, he is found to occupy a secondary position in many of the vows and donations. So, at the time of compilation of the present

b Dönaságara, p. 7 (verse fil)—bhavísyottaram ácára-prasiddham avirodhi ca / prámánya-jñápak-ádrster granthád asmát prthak ketam //

²⁾ The mantens to be used in worships connected with vowo, donntions etc. are, in all cases, Vedic or Puranic or both. In a few cases the use of the securian mantens such as 'on passo narrayanaya' and 'ont name bluggwate vasualevaya', has also been prescribed, but in no case there is even a single mention of any Tuntric mantes. Performance of spinut has been prescribed only in one place, viz., in Bhav. IV. 83, 14, but we have already taid that this chapter (83) might have been taken at a later date from the present Varabu-p.

is Hazra, Purănic Records, pp. 260-261.

¹⁸ Bhav. IV. 58. 63 (pradyumnādi-putra-vargam hurivamie yathodium); 74. 47 (harivamiādikam sarvam.....haupamikam athākhyānam bhāratākhyānam eva ca//); 140.71 (rāmāyanam iva subhagam....); 174. 15 (putānam bhūratam vāpi rāmāyanam athāpi vā).

⁷⁴ Bhav. IV, 55, 15-16; 70, 4, 118, 56b-57a; 122, 20; 125, 2; (39, 13; and so on.

⁹ Shav. IV. 30. 5; 82. 12; 59. 2; 75. 4; 89. 25; 103. 28; 111. 49; 113. 2; 115. 3-4; 170. 21; and so on.

Bhav. IV. 63, 23 (this list excludes Parasurāma but includes Rāma i.e. Balarāma); chap. 63; 190. 5h-7a. See also Bhav. IV. 85, 10 (daiāvatāra-rūpāņi...........); and 76, 44 (in which all of the ten incarnations, except Buddha and Kaikin, have been mentioned).

is See Haera, Purăpie Records, pp. 41-42.

Bhavisyottara Brahmä seems to have been thrown into the background. Bhav. IV. 4, 95b-97a (yasya yavad bhaved āyur dehinām pūrva-karmabhih / tasyārddhamānuso (? -ārddham āyuşo) rātrir harate mṛtyu-rūpiṇi // bāla-bhāvena mohena vārdhakye jarayā tathā / varṣāṇāṃ viṃśatir yāti dharma-kāmārtha-varjitā //) secm to be based on Bhartrhari's Subhāṣita-triśatī 3. 49 (āyur varṣa-śatam nṛṇām parimitam rātrau tadardham gatam etc.); and Bhav. IV. 4. 121 (arthasy-opārjane duḥkham arjitasyāpi rakṣaṇe / âye duhkham vyaye duhkham arthebhyas ca kutah sukham //) was most probably taken from the Pancatantra (I. 163)78. We have already seen that the Bhavisyottara not only mentions the Matsya-p. and the Bhavisya-p. as sources of some of its chapters but derives a large number of chapters from these two Puranas79. Hence the date of compilation of the present Bhavisyottara cannot be placed earlier than 700 A.D.

Thus the date of this Purana falls between 700 and 800 A.D. It is highly probable that it was compiled towards the end of the 8th century A.D. The catholic spirit, which this Purana entertains regarding the different deities, and the secondary position to which it lowers Brahma, tend to support this date, because it was at this time that Samkaracarya began his activities and the pancayatana-pūjā was gaining ground.

The present Bhavisyottara has not only gained by incorporating new chapters but has also sustained loss. For instance, this work does not contain any chapter on Ekâdaŝi-vrata, although in chap. 8 (verses 1-3) Yudhiṣṭhira requests Kṛṣṇa to describe the vratas of different gods in the order of the Tithis (beginning with the Pratipad—pratipat-krameṇa) on which these are to be observed. That the Bhaviṣyottara once contained one or more chapters on Ekādaŝi-vrata is proved by the fact that Hemâdri, Mādhavācārya, Govindānanda and others quote a large number of

²⁸ As we have not yet been able to trace Bhavigentara, thup, 4 in any other work, it seems to have been written by the compiler bimself.

[&]quot; For dates of the Matsya-p, and the Bhavinya-p, are Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 26ff, and 167 ff.

verses on Ekādaśi-vrata from the 'Bhavisyottara'. Besides these, there is mention of Mahālakşmī-vrata, Haritālikā-vrata, Somavārānvita-amāvāsyā-vrata, Ravi-rotā-vrata, Dharmakarma-vrata, Saptama-dhūlikā-vrata, and Nāga-pañcamivrata (of a different type) in Rudradhara Upādhyāya's Varsa-krtya, of Ratha-saptamî-vrata and Phala-sasthi-vrata in Mādhavācārya's Kāla-nirņaya (pp. 137 and 190), and of galantikā-dāna, manikā-dāna, Jaya-pañcamī-vrata, Sūryasasthī-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata, Tapaś-caraṇa-vrata, Amuktābharaņa-saptamī-vrata, Ratha-saptamī-vrata, Vaiśākha-navamī-vrata, Vaitaraņī-vrata, Ubhaya-dvādaśīvrata, Guhyaka-dvādašī-vrata, Caturdašī-vrata, Santānadavrata, Go-trirâtri-vrata, Jāti-trirātri-vrata, Kaumudīmahotsava, Sadā-vrata, Sukha-yrata, Candikā-vrata, Tripura-sūdana-vrata, Nandāditya-vrata etc. in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintămani. But no chapter on these vows and donations occurs in the present Bhavisyottara, some of them being found to occur in separate Mss.

Except chap. 112 (on Vrntāka-vrata) and a few lines here and there, the whole of the present Bhavisyottara is

written in verse.

2. The Brhaddharma-purana.

This work, 80 which richly deserves careful study for the

Vanga. cd.

Pürva-khanda, chapa. 1-30

Madhya-khanda, chapa. 1-36

Uttara-khanda, chapa. 1-14

chaps. 15-21

ASB cd.

ASB cd.

Chaps. 1-30 (called Pürva-khanda).

Chaps. 31-60 (called Madhya-khanda).

Uttara-khanda, chaps. 1-14.

Though both these editions show numerous signs of careless editing, we have preferred the Variga, ed. mainly for two reasons, viz., (i) the ASB ed. does not contain the last seven chapters (i.e. chaps. 15-21) of the Uttara-khanda of the Variga, ed., and (ii) it does not number the chapters of its Pürva-khanda and Madhya-khanda separately.

Chaps. 15-21 of the Ustara-kh. of the Vanga. ed., which are wanting in the ASB ed., must not be taken as spurious. They occur in almost all the Mm of the Brhaddharma-p. Moreover, the final chapter of the ASB ed. (which is the same as chap. 14

Only two editions of this Upapurāna have hitherto been printed, viz., the Vangavani edition printed in Bengali characters and the ASB ed. printed in Devanagari. These two editions differ in readings in numerous cases. Their corresponding chapters are the following:

reconstruction of the social and religious history of Bengal, calls itself a 'Dharma-samjñita' or 'Dharma-nămaka' Purăņa in three of its verses (viz., I. 1. 12 and 22, and III. 21. 1) and is thus liable to be confused with the Dharma-p., st which is a quite different work. But its real title is 'Bṛhaddharma-p.', and this title occurs in all its chapter-colophons as well as in many of its versesst.

Though the Brhaddharma-p, calls itself an Upapurāṇa and claims the highest position among the Upapurāṇic works⁶⁰, it is included in no list of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that contained in chap. 25 of its Pūrva-kh. Yet, we

of the Uttara-kh, of the Vanga, ed.) clearly shows that it is not the concluding chapter of this Upapurana. It does not contain a single word on the praise of this work, nor does it mention Suta who is the main reporter. On the whole, this chapter (14) shows no sign of conclusion of the work.

For Mas of this work, sec

Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-9, No. 3402 (Mr. No. 1313a).

[[]This is a complete Ms written in 'modern Devanagari' script. In coments are the same as those of the Vanga, ed.]

⁽ii) Dacea University Mu Nos. 319, 4199 and 4649.

[[]All these Ms are complete and are written in Bengali characters, and the number of their chapters and their contents are the same as those of the Vanga, ed. Of these, Ms No. 319 consists of fish, 1-164 and is dated Saka 1763, and the chapters of its first two Khandas are numbered continuously; No. 4199 consists of fols, 1-239 and appears to be much older than the preceding Ms; and Ms No. 4649 consists of fols, 1-347 and must be the oldest of these three.]

⁽iii) Mitra, Notices, 1, pp. 235-6, No. 414.

[[]This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script.]

⁽iv) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 781-4, Nov. 4123-7 (Mas Nov. 4590, 2537, 4406, 4464 and 4505 respectively).

[[]All these Mis are written in Bengali characters. Of these, No. 4127 is complete and contains all the seven concluding chapters of the Variga, ed., and No. 4126, which is incomplete, contains only three of these seven chapters.]

[[]r] Chakravarti, Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Cat., p. 116 (Ms No. 309).

[[]This is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali script and dated 1212 Vangabda.]

⁽vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 205.

[[]This Ms is written in Devaoligari script and dated 1801 Vikrama Era.]

⁴¹ For Mss of this Dharma-p., which also is an Upapurana, see Shastri, ASB Gat., V. pp. 777-781, Nos. 4121-2 (Mss Nos. 3309 and 3657 respectively); Roth, Tübingen Cat., 13; Mirra, Notices, VI, pp. 244-7, No. 2182; Hiralal, Cat. of Sans, and Pkt. Mss in the Central Provinces and Berar, p. 217; and so on.

This work is found incorporated in the Spatiskhanda of the Padma-p, as published by the Anandairama Press (Pouna), Venkagaivara Press (Bombay) and Vangavädi Press (Calcutta). More detailed information about this Upapurāna will be given later in course of our analysis of this work.

⁴³ Brhaddharma-p. 1, 25, 26, and 30, 50; 111, 20, 17 and 24; 111, 21, 1 and 11.

¹⁴ Mid., 1-30, 49-50; 111, 20, 17 and 20; 111, 21, 6.

should not neglect this work for reasons which we shall see hereinafter.

The present Brhaddharma-p. consists of three Khandas or parts, viz., Pūrva, Madhya and Uttara. The Pūrva-khanda begins with the gāyatrī adapted to Viṣṇu and states in its introductory chapter that once Sūta, 'son of Romahar-ṣaṇa', came to the Naimiṣa forest where Saunaka and some other sages were engaged in performing a long-continued sacrifice. At the sight of Sūta the sages as ked him why he came there, what holy discourses he had hear d from Vyāsa 'born of the son of Saktrī', and who were Vyāsa's audience. In reply to their question, Sūta said that being requested by Jāvāli at Vadarikāṣrama to speak on topics relating to dharma and artha, Vyāsa spoke out to Sūta and other sages the 'holy Purāṇa named Dharma' (puṇyaṃ purāṇaṃ dharma-saṃjnitam) which was characterised by the following topics:

Description of varņāśrama-dharma; praise of dharma, and its nature in the different ages; enumeration of gunus; eulogy of parents; enumeration and praise of holy places; praise of different gods and their worship; benefits of performing religious ceremonies on particular Tithis; enumeration of eighteen Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas; glorification of cows and Brahmins; dialogue between Suka and Jaimini on creation etc.; stories on the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahesa; description of luminaries; glorification of the Ganges; summary of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa; various relevant stories. Next, at their request to narrate this 'Dharma-nāmaka Purāṇa' (purāṇaṃ dharma-nāmakam), Sūta saluted Vyāsa and reproduced what Vyāsa had said to Jāvālī at Vadarikāśrama on the above-mentioned topics.

Thus the subject-matters of the Bṛhaddharma-p, have been introduced. As a matter of fact, the Bṛhaddharma-p, deals with all the above-mentioned topics, and this will be evident from the following analysis of its contents³⁴.

et We shall see bereinafter that the Brhaddharma-p, is a work of Bengal and reflects the condition of Haula religion and society in this province in the days of its author. So, the contemp of this work have been given a his elaborately in the following pages.

Pūrva-khanda.

Chap. I—Praise of dharma, and the necessity of its practice. Advice to people not to forsake their own dharma even under great difficulties. The four constituents of

dharma, viz., satya, dayā, śānti and ahimsā.

Chap. 2—Qualities to be classed under each of the categories satya, dayā, śānti and ahimsā. Relatives (viz., mother, father, elder brother, paternal grandfather, father-in-law, maternal uncle, maternal grandfather, paternal uncle, elder sister, father's sister, mother's sister, and wives of paternal grandfather and others) who can be called gurus. Eulogy of father and mother (pitr-stava, mātr-stava), who are given the highest position among the gurus. Manifold benefits of implicit obedience and service to parents.

Chap. 3.—Story of a fowler who attained knowledge of distant things and events by rendering whole-hearted service to his parents and who referred a Brahmin named Kṛtabodha to another pious fowler named Tulādhāra at Benares for instructions on dharma after reproaching him (i.e. Kṛtabodha) for practising austerities by forsaking his old parents and young wife at home and for feeling proud of being able to burn, by means of his angry glance, a crane which passed stool on his body. Story of Tulādhāra who, being inspired by the sight of a bird's attainment of a divine body as a result of giving water to its dying father, rendered respectful service to his parents and attained divine knowledge. Tulādhāra's instructions to Kṛtabodha to return home, serve his parents, and do the duties of a house-holder.

Chap. 4—Praise of a spiritual preceptor (i.e. Tantrika gum), who is to be regarded as superior even to parents and who should preferably be a householder belonging to the Brahmin caste. Acceptance of mantras by generations from the members of a single family⁸⁵. Respect to be shown to a

^{**} tamiad guror vamia-jūram vayo pam api pauditam!
gurum kuryār in džioāyām avicūrya guroh kulam!/ (Vesec 10).

spiritual preceptor by drinking the water with which the feet of the preceptor are washed, by regarding him as the same as the Tantra and the deity, and by various other acts. Permission to women to be gurus. Strict secrecy to be observed with respect to one's guru, Tantra and mantra. Three births of Brahmins, viz., saukra (i.e. natural birth from the parents), savitra (i.e. investiture with the sacred thread), and daikṣa (i.e. initiation to Tantric worship); and two births of women and Šūdras, viz., saukra and daikṣa. Bad effects of distinguishing between the spiritual guide (guru), the (relavent) Tantra and the deity to be worshipped (devatā) and also between Gangā, Durgā, Hari and Isa. Religious and household duties of an ideal wife. Duties of a widow.

Chap. 5.—Being requested by Jāvāli to speak on tīrthas Vyāsa says that tīrthas exist in various forms, viz., speech, water, land, body, limbs, time, trees, places resorted to by gods, places where there are images of gods, and so on. He then reports in chaps. 5-30 the interlocution between Devi and her attendants Jayā and Vijayā. This interlocution was made on the following topics:

Praise of Ganga (the Ganges) as the best of all tirthas. Jayā and Vijayā's culogy of Gangā (gangā-stava), who is described as moon-white, four-handed, three-eyed, dressed in white garments, seated on a shark, and holding a lotus and a golden pitcher of nectar in two of her hands and assuring safety and conferment of boons with the other two. Origin of all holy places from Gangā. Eulogy of Gangā by these holy places.

¹⁰ Cf. garam tantra@ devarâm ca lihedayan narakani vrajet. (Vene 22a).

⁵¹ striyas tu guru-sambandhad gurur apy neyate dvija. (Verse 19b).

^{**} gurus tantras ca mantras ca gupaniyab prayamatah/ prakāsāt sidihi-hānih syād ny āhu bhagavān chivah// Verse 20).

¹⁰ śaukram tathā ca ^{va}vitram dasham ca jamna sammatam/ jamna-trayam brāhmanānām stri-löslrānām dvi-jamnatā// (Verse 21).

gurun tanuan devadan ca bhedayan narakan vrajet/ ganga-durga-hartianan bhedakn naraki yatha// (Verse 22).

dhyāye rive rvāņi faij-fukla-varbāņi caturbhujām padmavarābhayāmgaih/

[In this chapter Gangā is called abheda-buddhi-rūpā, abheda-buddhimat-priyā, mahāmallā, kokāmukhī, vişaharī, daša-harā, hrīm-warūpinī etc. and is identified with Brahmānī, Vaiṣṇavī, Rudrānī and Kālī, the last being said to be foud of fish, meat and wine. She is also identified with the river Sītā on the east, Bhadrā on the north, Vaṃkṣu on the west, and Alakanandā on the south.]

Chap. 6.—Names of different holy places including Sitālaka (on the east), Alakālaka (on the south), Vaṃkṣu-bhadra (on the west), Bhadrottara (on the north), the four Gaṅgā-dvāras, Prayāga ('where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī fall into the Gaṅgā with the Padmāvatī (i.e. the river Padmā of Bengal), Triveṇī (where the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī are separated from the Gaṅgās, the Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṃgama (where the Gaṅgas falls into the ocean by dividing herself into a thousand streams)²², and the houses of Brahmins, the temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva, and the seats of Devi (devi-piṭhāḥ) situated on the banks of the Gaṅges.

Chap. 7.—Sanctity caused to a place by the presence of lotus-plants, Tulasi plants and Bilva trees. Story of the origin of the Tulasi plants at Vṛndāvana from the dead body of Vṛndā (wife of Dharmadeva residing on the Kailāsa mountain), who became a Rākṣasī as a result of her husbands' curse and died by fasting for a week and listening all the while to the names of Hari sung by the Brahmins. Praise

yuktām ca fukļe makare vasantīm trilocanām deva-matām alamkstām//
namah tivāyai tāmtāyai gangāyai te namo namah/
namo makara-vāsinyai koti-candra-ruce namah//
caturbhujāyai padmena vārenāpy abbayena ca/
piyūna-pūrna-kanaka-ghatena ca virājitām//
sarvālamkāra-bhūnādhyām trinetrām daivatair nutām/
amitāsyām gaura-vasanām sthira-nūpura-sinjinim// (Verses 44-47).
(See also Brhaddharma-p. 11, 12, 21-22, and 19, 11-12).

** tato 'pi kathitam tīrtham padmāvatyāh samāgamah /
trivent nāma tīrtham ca prihagbhūt ca yatra vai//
sarasvatī ca yatmunā prayāga-phala-dāyakam//
gangā-sāgara-tangas ca tīrtham paramakam mutam//
yatra dhārā-sahaartun gangā sāgaragā bhavet/ (Verses 53-35a).

of the Tulasi plants, in every leaf of which the twelve-syllabled mantra 'om namo bhagavate väsudeväya' is said to remain.

Chap. 8.—First origin of the Tulasi plant on the Kärttiki Amāvāsyā. Description of Tulasi as a youthful goddess adorned with various kinds of ornaments and a vermilion-red garland and having a dark-blue complexion (śyāmāṅgī), a beautiful face covered with swarms of bees, and two hands, in which there are a conch-shell and a lotus²⁶. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with Tulasī-leaves during the different months of the year. Praise of the Tulasī plant and of service rendered to it.

Chap. 9.—Going to narrate the story of the origin of the Bilva tree Devi speaks on the unity of Siva and Visnu and the respect shown to each other by these two gods on their way to each other's residence.

[In this connection the following regions have been mentioned as being situated one above the other, viz., Brahma-loka, Śiva-loka, Vaikuṇṭha, Durgā-loka and Goloka, the highest position being said to be occupied by the last-mentioned one. Of Durgā-loka and Goloka it has been said that on earth 'the former exists under the name of Kāma-rūpa which is the best of all places', and the latter is known by the name of Vṛndāvaṇa³¹.]

Chap. 10.—Viṣṇu's confession to Lakṣmī that Śiva is not only dearest to him but is identical with himself. Names of flowers with which Śiva is to be worshipped. Lakṣmī's worship of Śiva with a thousand lotuses, of which two, being found missing, were going to be replaced with her own breasts. Origin of the Bilva tree from that breast of Lakṣmī which was severed by her and offered to the Śiva-linga, Lakṣmī's eulogy of Śiva.

^{**} cyāruāngi rām-vudanā dvi-bhujā mita-bhājint iankha-padma-karā iveta-vasanā yuvad sadi/ nānālamkāra-bhūjādhyā sipdūrāruma-mālikā;

madhupair gandha-tammugilhair állátha-vadanámbujá, Venez 5-6).

[&]quot;durgā-loksi tātai cordhvam yatra sarvāh striyah subhāb//
yah prihivyām kāmarūpa iti deiottamah sakhi/
tata firdhvam ca goloko lasat-tejomayah parab//
yah prihivyām samākhyām nāmnā vradāvanābhidhah (Venes 50-7a).

Chap. 11.—Origin of the Bilva-tree on the Vaisākhaśukla-tṛtīyā. Praise of the Bilva tree and of service rendered to it. Benefits of worshipping Śiva with Bilva-leaves. Holiness of Haridrā-nagarasa (where Śiva resides as Vaidyanātha), Kāmarūpa, Kāsī and Kāncīpura in consequence of

the presence of Bilva trees there.

Chap. 12.—Origin of four Āmalaki trees, on Māghasitaikādašī, from the four clear drops of tears (amalāni kāni) fallen from the eyes of the joyous Devī and Lakṣmī who wanted to worship Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively with things selected by themselves (sva-kalpitena dravyeṇa). Praise of Āmalakī trees, and the results of using their leaves in the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Chap. 13.—Names of holy places, viz., Prabhāsa, Prthūdaka, Vindusaras, Brahmatīrtha ('where the Sarasvatī flows towards the east'), and Naimiṣāraṇya. Story of the origin of the Vaiṣṇava holy place Naimiṣāraṇya from the disappearance of the divine being named Nimiṣa who was

born of Brahmä.

Chap. 14.—Names of holy mountains, rivers and places. The names of the holy places include the following:

Gokarna, which is called 'Śiva-sthala'; Kāmarūpa, which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada and where Devi's female organ fell; 'the pitha named Mangalakoṣṭhaka" in the city (purî) of Ujjayini where Devi dwells as Mangalacandi and grants boons to her worshippers'; the place where one's paternal blood-relations live"; Vaidyanātha; Vakreśvara, where there is the sacred river named Pāpaharā and which is said to have been dealt with elaborately in the

³⁵ It is the same as modern Deoghar in Santal Parganas.

iniha mangalacaniyakhya yatraham wara-daymi/

jastayo bahavo yatra matam tat tirtham uttamam/ (Verses 14-15a).

The city of Ujjayini, mentioned above, is the same as the ancient town of Ujånt which comprised the modern villages of Kogrām, Mangallott and Aral situated on the bank of the river Ajaya in Katwa subdivision in the district of Burdwan in Bengal. Ujāni, which is one of the fifty-one pithas, is mentioned in Trikandasesa, Tantra-codamani, etc.

For further information about this buly place see Chap, I, foremet 125 above.

'Brahmāṇḍākhya Purāṇa'; Śrīpuruṣottama situated on the side of the salt-ocean; and Kāmākhyā, which is one of the best tīrthas.

Chaps. 15-16.—Mention of various other tirthas, viz., feet of a Brahmin, the back of a cow, the limbs of one's own wife, one's own eyes and the right ear, and so on.

Description of Kala-tirthas (i.e. tirthas in the form of auspicious time), which are said to be Vaisnava, Śākta Saiva, Saura etc.-Identification of kālu (time) with Nărāyana; division of kāla into bhūta, bhavisyat and vartamāna, as well as into paramāņu, kṣaṇa, daṇda (sixty of which make one human day-and-night) 16, ahorātra, tithi, pakşa, māsa, rtu, ayana and samuatsara; counting of māsas from Āśvina, and their classification into saura and candra"; description of four months, viz., Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaišākha, as tīrthas100. Benefits of the performance of various pious acts during these four months and of residence at Kāśī in Vaiśākha, at Śrīpurusottama in Āṣāḍha, at Kāmarūpa in Kārttika, and at Prayāga in Māgha. Praise of death in these four months at Kāśī, Purusottama, Kāmarūpa and Prayāga, and especially in the Ganges. Description of various religious rites and ceremonies to be observed on particular Tithis in different months (especially in Vaišākha, Kārttika and Māgha), viz., Akṣaya-tṛtīyā, Jahnu-saptami, Nāga-pañcami, Dyūta-pratipad, Bhrātṛdvitīyā, Raṭantī Caturdaśī, Śrī-pañcamī (in Māgha and Caitra), Mākarī Saptami, Bhīsmāstami, Siva-caturdasī, Mahāstamī, Aśokāstamī, Rāma-navamī, Damana-caturdaśi, Daśahara, Mahajyaisthi, Asadha-kṛṣṇapañcami (for upākarman of the Vājasancyins), Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī, Śravaṇadvādašī, and many others. Methods of worshipping Visnu (under different forms and names), Gangā, Sūrya, Nāgadevi, Šiva, Yama, go (cow), Laksmi, Mahākāli, Sarasvatī, Devi,

dangā manusya-mānena papti rātrinulivam masam (1, 15, 10a).
 davinādyā matā māsāh saura-cāndra-pramānatah (1, 15, 15b).

ratrājādhab kārttikas ca māgho vaikākha eva ca/ tirthāny uktāni māsā vai catvām 'libihta-dāyakāb') (1. 15. 17).

Rămacandra, Kāma, Umā, Indra-and-Śacī, and Agastya in different parts of the year.

Chap. 17.—Performance of śrāddha on the different

Tithis in Aśvina-kṛṣṇapakṣa.

Chaps. 18-22.—Devi's brief narration of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (up to Rāma's return to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā with Sītā) in order to explain the introduction of the autumnal worship of herself.

[This story contains some innovations such as Hanumat's talk at Lankā with Caṇḍikā (also called Kālī and described in a hymn as having two, four, six, eight, ten or eighteen hands), who protected Lankā but left for Kāmarūpa as soon as Hanumat set fire to Lankā, god's invocation of Caṇḍī on a Bilva tree according to Caṇḍī's advice, and Caṇḍī's consequent blessings on Rāma and description of the method of her own worship in the month of Āśvina.

The method of Devi-worship, as given in chap. 22, consists of the following operations: bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree on the Krsna-navamī Tithim; worship of Devī in the Bilva tree up to Sukla-sasthī; bringing of Devi to the house constructed for her worship, on the Sukla-saptami Tithi, and her worship; fasting, Devi-worship, performance of homa, sacrifice of animals, and keeping awake at night on on 'Mahāstami' Tithi; samdhi-pūjā at aslami-navami-samdhi; performance of homa, Devi-worship, animal-sacrifice, and sitting up at night during the 'Mahānavami' Tithi; and singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female generative organs and sexual intercourse, on the 'Vijayā Dašamī' Tithi102. The Brhaddharma-p. states that though this festival is to be continued for fifteen days, Devi should be specially worshipped on two days, viz., on the Mahāṣṭamī and the Mahānavamī Tithi, and that during this festival people should, without distinction of caste and

¹⁰¹ In Brhaddh, 1, 22, 14 Brahmā 1231;

aim rāvaņasya vadhārthāya rāmasyānugrahāya ca / akāle tu sive bodhas tava devyāh brto mayā // bhaga-lingābhidhānais ca imgāra-vacannis tathā / gānam kāryam bhojayec ca brāhmaṇāms toṣayet striyab // (L. 22, 35).

sex, give up their usual works (such as teaching, study, trade, agriculture etc.), be liberal in spending money, and have brotherly feelings¹⁰⁵.]

Chap, 23.—Description of a few more religious rites and festivals, viz., worship of Laksmi during the Aśvina-paurnamāsī; Dīpānvitā, to be performed on the Amāvāsyā following the Āśvina-paurnamāsī; Rāsotsava (Rāsa festival) on the Karttiki Paurņamāsi; (holy) baths, donations, and funeral ceremonies to be performed during Ardhodaya-yoga (in the months of Agrahayana, Pausa and Magha under particular naksatras); Govinda-dvādašī-vrata (which is to be performed on the Phâlguna-śukla-dvādaśi and in which Vāsudeva is to be worshipped under the names of Govinda, Nārāyana etc. with the use of the twelve-syllabled mantra. the performance of home twelve times, the offer of twelve kinds of flowers, twelve Tulasi-leaves and twelve kinds of offerings, and the citation of a hymn of twelve verses, and twelve Brahmins are to be fed with twelve kinds of palatable food); observances during the Phälguna-paurnamäsi (called Manyantară), Caitra-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī (called Vārunī, Mahāvārunī and Mahā-mahāvārunī under different conditions), and Caitra-śukla-trtīvā (called Manvantarā).

Story of Varuņa's determination to worship Govinda on the Bhādra-dvādašī Tithi, his fruitless search for 'Bhādrīyā Dvādašī' all over the world, his consequent threat to Dvādašī to flood 'the whole earth' every year on the Bhādra-dvādašī Tithi¹⁶⁴, his meeting with Dvādašī Devi (who is described as 'gaurāngī,' 'pīta-vasanā', 'dvi-bhujā' and 'syāma-

196

narvasvair api me pājā kartavyā tu dina-dvayam / brāhmanah kustrīyo vaiiyah iūdro vā bhakti-annyutah // tyaktvā vijaya-karmāņi himsā-kalaha-matsarān / svaccha-cittā aparaye lāhha-buddhi-yutāh adā // nādhyāpanām nādhyayanam na yuddham kraya-vikrayan / na cārgho oa ca karjādi kartavyam tatra vai kvacit // (1. 22. 30-32)

tithe dvkdati re mürkhe kim na jänäsi mäm api /
tvad-dine dharanim saeväm plävaye prativataaram /
yathä tvayi na püjä syäddhareh sarveivarasya hi //
(Verse 49).

pṛṣṭhikā'100) in the bright half of Phālguna, and his worship of Govinda on that Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī, with the result that the custom of the worship of Govinda on the Bhādra-śukla-dvādaśī was changed thenceforward to that of his worship on the Phālguna-śukla-dvādaśī.

[In this chapter the methods of performing Laksmipūjā, Dīpānvitā and Rāsotsava have been described as

follows:

In Laksmi-pūjā, Laksmi is to be worshipped at dusk (pradoşa), and the worshippers are to fast at daytime, drink the water contained in cocoanuts after worshipping Laksmi,

and avoid sleep at night.

During the Dipānvitā lamps are to be lighted and goddess Kāli (also called Śyāmā and Mahākālī) is to be worshipped in an image at dead of night. The description of the goddess¹⁰⁶, as given in this chapter, shows that she has a dark complexion, dishevelled hair, a lolling tongue, heaving breasts, and four hands, in two of which she carries a sword and a severed head and with the other two she assures safety and the conferment of boon. She stands naked on Śiva who remains lying on his back like a dead body¹⁶⁷. She has

pújayeyur muhákálim íyámán cáru-caturbhujám /
varübhaya-karám viime daksine 'si-nr-mundakám //
sambára-kála-nívida-dhvánca-káyám digambarím /
půpa-kutitara-dhvánnam sambarantim ivojivalám //
íava-růpa-mahádeva-hydaye paramásane /
tisthantīm mukta-keitm ca lalaj-jitvám hasan-mukhim //
vravad-raktim spikantibhyám dánavánům bhayávahám //
satva-růpām sadá fuddhám kevalám niskalám ívám //
pinonnata-standm devim něná-bhūsana-bhūsitam //
ppinonnata-vianv-indra-káláti-pranatám kála-růpinům //
yoginibhib pacivytám nyyantibhir itastatab //
dadatibhib pibantibhib jonitam madim cásavam //
(Verses 12-17).

¹⁰⁷ Going to explain why Siva lies prostrate under the feet of Käll, the Brhaddhaonap. says that when, at dead of night on a newmoon day, Käll came down to the earth for killing the Asuras, the earth trembled under the weight of her feet, and consequently Siva, as a corpse, held her on his bosons.

(rātrau nifitha-vyāptāyām amāvāsyām iliaiva tu / pṛthvl-tslam samāyātā kālī dig-vasanāmbikā // astrānām vadhāṛthāya bhavāya ca suparvaņām / yathā cakampe pṛthivi tad-bhārāvahanena hi //

W Verse 51a.

³⁹⁴

a smiling face, and is engaged in drinking wine and blood, so much so that blood trickles from the ends of her lips. She is adorned with ornaments and is surrounded by Yoginis who dance and drink blood and wine. During the worship of this goddess, which is to be performed 'either after the method followed (in worshipping Durgā) on the Mahāṣṭami Tithi or according to the Tantric method' (mahāṣṭami-vidhānena vidhināgamikena vā), the worshippers are to sing 'Mālasī songs'108, and utter words expressive of male and female generative organs, animals are to be sacrificed, clothes, ornaments, pāyasa etc. are to be offered, and music, dancing etc. are to be held. In the following morning the image is to be immersed in water at the brāhma muhūrta, 100 and fees are to be paid to the priests for worshipping the goddess for four praharas (12 hours).

During the Rāsa festival¹¹⁰, the devotee is to observe fast at daytime, and at nightfall worship Kṛṣṇa along with the gopis. In this worship, juvenile Kṛṣṇa, having 'ujjvala bhāva' (ujjvalaṃ bhāvam āśritam) and eager to strip the gopis of their garments out of passion,¹¹¹ is to be represented by as many images as there are images of the youthful and passionate (rasāḍhyā) gopis, and all these images are to be placed alternately and arranged into a circle, so that every image of Kṛṣṇa may have an image of a gopi on each side. The images of Kṛṣṇa must be adorned with garlands (called

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tadā üvah šavo bhūtyā tārp dadhāra tridocanām /
tadā taryo athiribhūtāh kūrma-šesa-dhariblayah //
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⁽Verses 6-8). mātasi-gāma-niratā bhaga-lingābhisabdinah / jirendriyā jitāhārā jita-nidrā mahājavāh //

pāryayeyur mahākālim * [(Verres 11-12a), Particular kinds of songs about goddess Kāli ure popularly called 'Mālsi gān' (Mālsu gāna) in Bengal.

¹⁰⁰ The 'brithma muhiters' is the third of the four perts of the last quarter of the night,

^{&#}x27;zhtrei ca pusicime yame muhūrto yas trityakah /
ta brahmya iti vikhyāto vihitah samprahodhane //
(ascribed to Sumanto in 'fibuvadeviya-niroayāmṛta'.—See Suṇṇi-tauva I, p.

¹⁰⁰ Sec verses 21-34,

¹¹¹ kāma-bhāvena sītkāra-vīna-thalana-tālasam. (Vene 21b).

vanamālā), armlets, anklets, tilaka marks etc., dressed in yellow garments, and furnished with an amorous look. During this worship Brahmins are to be honoured with clothes, ornaments etc., and songs, music and dancing are to be enjoyed. After the payment of fees to the priests, the images are to be immersed in water on the following day with merriment, and Brahmins are to be fed.]

Chap. 24.—A few more days and occasions which may be regarded as *kâla-tīrtha*, viz., Varāha-dvādašī in Mārga-śīrṣa-śukla-pakṣa, Ananta-caturdašī in Bhādra-śukla-pakṣa, the day for the worship of Kārttikeya in the month of Kārttika, the time for study of the Purāṇas, and so on.

Chap. 25.—Brahmā's first creation of words (vācaḥ), letters and fifiy-six languages and his subsequent authorship of grammatical works, philosophical treatises, Purāṇas etc. Classification of Purāṇas into Upapurāṇas and 'Mahat Purāṇas': Brahma-p., Pādma, Brahmāṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brahma-vaivarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhaviṣya, Gāruḍa, Laiṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-purāṇa, Āgneya, Vāyavya and Śrī-bhāgavata¹¹. Names of the

123 The verses containing the list of eighteen 'Mahat Puranna' are given in the Vanga, ed. (I. 25, 20-22b) as follows:

šilau brahma-porānam ca pādmam brahmāndam eva cu / vaisnavam brahma-vaivortam upsimham ca tatah param // bhavisyam gārudam laingam šaivam vārāham eva ca / mārkandēyam tathā skāndam kautmam mātsyam purānakam // tathāgneyam ca vāyuvyam šel-bhāgnvatam eva ca / evam astādašaivāluh purānāni mahānty uta //

It is to be noted that the reading 'unsimham ca tatab param' in the second line is erroneous, because the 'Nārasiṇtha' has been included in the list of Upapurānas given in verues 23-27. (For this list see Vol. 1, Chapter 1, p. 10). As a matter of fact, this erroneous reading of the Vanga, ed. is found replaced by the correct reading 'mahābhāgavatam tathā' in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Mm of the Brhatdharma-p, preserved in the Dacus University Library. (See Ms No. 319, fols. 43b-44a; Ms No. 4199, fols. 71b-72a; Ms No. 4649, fol. 96a-b). The Iodia Office Ms (No. 1313a) also reads 'magābhāgavatam tathā' (see Eggebing, Iod. Off. Can. VI, p. 1229). The words 'iri-bhāgavatam eva ca / evam aptādataivāhuh', occurring in the last two lines, are wanting in the ASB ed.

In the Dacra University Mss of the Rehaddhamms-p, the following variations in readings are found in their bits of 'Mahat Purānas'; 'tingam' (for 'laingam' in line 3) in Ms No. 319; 'skandam' (for 'skāndam' in line 4) in Ms No. 319; 'matsyam purānakam' (in line 4) in Ms No. 319 and 4649; 'mahāmate' (for 'mahāmty ma' in line 6) in Ms No. 4199.

eighteen Upapurāņasus as well as of other Samhitās such as Mārīca, Kāpila etc. which are said to be equally authoritative in all matters concerning dharma'. Praise of Vālmīki's Rāmāyana as the first 'Mahākāvya' and as the source of all Kāvyas as well as of the Itihāsa, Purāņas and Samhitās in which dharma has been dealt with. Vyasa's composition of the Mahābhārata by taking the Rāmāyaņa as the model. Brahmā's creation of grammars and the metres such as Jagati, Anustubh etc. Origin of Sarasvati, who is said to be richly adorned with various kinds of ornaments and to have a white complexion, three eyes, and four hands having sudhā (nectar), vidyā (book), mudrā and aksa-guna in them." Brahmā's advice to Sarasvatī to live in his four mouths as well as in those of poets. Sarasvati's taking her residence in the mouth of Valmiki as soon as the latter was overpowered with grief at the sight of the sad plight of a female bird whose male mate was killed by a fowler. Valmiki's utterance of a śloka, and his composition, in the Treta-yuga, of the 'Mahākāvya' called Rāmāyana at Brahmā's advice. Brahmā's praise of poets as creators.114

Chap. 26.—Vālmīki's Rāmāyaņa of seven Kāṇḍas—a code of the duties of the four castes and stages of life (varṇā-śrama-dharma). Praise of the study of the entire Rāmāyaṇa or its different parts on different occasions (including the Śāradīya-mahāpūjā) and in different months. Names of all the Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa, except that of the second.

Chap. 27.—Brahmā requested Vālmīki to compose the Mahābhārata, but the latter refused to do so saying that

its For the names see Vol. I. Chap. I, p. 10.

in Ser verses 39b-10-

tatah sarawati jätä tukla-varnäksarätmikä / näuälamkära-bhüşädhyä trineträ tati-maulini / caturbhujā uidhā-vidyā-mudrāksuguņa-dhāriņi //

¹¹¹ Vone 81-83-

kavir brahmā kavir visemb kavir eva svayam šivah / kavir vai dharma-vaktā ca kavih sarva-rasaikavit // na kaver varmanam minliyā kavih sratikarab parab / sarvopary eva pašyanti kavayn 'nye na caiva bi // kavinām vaiagā devā indr-opendra-yamādayab / kavinām vaiagā marryāh kavayo deva-gočarāh //

the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed in the Dvāpara-yuga by Vyāsa, to whom he would give the seed of poetry. Brahmā mentioned the Rāmāyaṇa as consisting of seven Kāṇḍas and 25000 ślokas, and wished to know who, among the sages present in his assembly, was able to compose the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇic works. Nārada mentioned the name of Vyāsa, who, he said, was capable of doing this work. The other sages protested against Nārada's selection, and claimed to be authors of the Purāṇas. Brahmā, therefore, referred the sages to Janaka for decision of their dispute.

Chap. 28.—Janaka tested the capacities of the sages by asking them to describe the glory of the name of Bhagavat (god) and decided that none but Vyāsa should compose the Mahābhārata. He narrated to them what Vālmīki had already said to Brahmā regarding the composition of the Mahābhārata and the thirty-six Purāṇic works and advised

them to have Vālmiki's opinion on this point.

Chap. 29.—The sages met Vālmīki on the bank of the Tamasā, narrated to him what Nārada and Janaka had said to them regarding their point of dispute, and requested him to make all of them poets. Vālmīki praised Nārāyaṇa as the highest god and said that it was Nārāyaṇa who created Vyāsa and destined him to become the author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vālmīki added that Veda-vyāsa would write the Mahābhārata first of all, then Parāśara would become the author of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Vyāsa would then write the Mahāpurāṇas, and Vyāsa and some other sages would compose the Upapurāṇas, that all the ślokas of all the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas would be composed by Vyāsa, that the other sages would copy, reproduce or explain these verses, and that, of the twenty sages, viz., Manu, Atri and others, ris some were to write Dharmašāstras, some were to

¹⁸⁸ Verses 24-25-

many-atri-visnu-hārita-yājūavalky-ošano-'ngirāh / yamāpastamba-samv-rīāh kātyāyana-bṛhaspati // parāšara-vyāsa-šankha-likhitā dakṣa-gautamau / tātātapo vasiṣihai ca dharma-iāstra-prayojakāb //

These two verses are the same as Yaj, I. 4-5.

reproduce them, and some were to elucidate them, and the rest were to write different kinds of sastras according to their own choice. Valmiki then sent these sages off by saying that he would impart the seed of poetry to Vyasa, so that they might become poets by Vyasa's favour.

Chap. 30.—Being requested by Vyasa to speak on the nature of the Mahabharata and the benefits of studying and possessing it, Valmiki referred to the origin and duties of the four castes as well as to his versification of the Ramayana which Brahmā, after receiving it from Nārāyaṇa, had given to Vālmīki. He then advised Vyāsa to compose the Mahābhārata on the model of the Rāmāyaṇa, praised the possession and study of the Mahābhārata, enunciated the Mahābhārata-kavaca (armour in the form of the Mahābhārata), and assigned the Śrī-bhāgavata and the Bṛhaddharma-p. to the highest position among the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāņas respectively.115 Vālmiki requested Vyāsa to write the Puranas also. Vyasa agreed and read the Rāmāyana with Vālmīki. The Mahābhārata and the Purāņas appeared in forms before Vālmīki and bowed down to him. Vyāsa saw these and then went to Vadarikāśrama with the sages.

Madhya-khaṇḍa

In this Khanda Vyāsa reports to Jāvāli what Suka said to his pupil Jaimini. Its contents are as follows:

Chap. I.—Origin of Brahmā, Visnu and Šiva from Supreme Brahma when connected with Prakṛti of three guṇas, viz., suttva, rajas and tamas. Prakṛti (also called Bhagavatī) tested the force of penance of these three gods by turning herself into a dead body. Šiva and Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of a linga and a triangular yoni respectively for the sake of creation. Prakṛti's assurance to Brahmā and Viṣṇu to be born as Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

mahāpurāneju mune ietbhāgavatam uttamam / brhadelharma-purānam ca porāneju itarēju ca //

Chap, 2.—Brahmā's residence in the great lotus issuing from Visnu's navel, and his creation of the elements as well as of the bodies, in which Visnu, having egoism under the influence of Prakrti, dwelt as creatures. Classification of Prakṛti into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former consisting of Ganga and others. Brahma's creation of the ten mind-born sons, viz., Vasistha, Atri, Dakşa and others. Origin of Satarūpā and Svāyambhuva Manu from the two parts of Brahmā's body, and of Kandarpa from Brahmā's heart (hrt). Descendants of Svāyambhuva Manu and Šatarūpā who took to sexual intercourse for multiplication of creation. Dakşa's descendants, of whom Satī was given in marriage to Samkara. Descendants of Daksa's daughters. Brahmā's passion for his mind-born daughter Samdhyā, and his rage against Cupid. Origin of the dreadful Mahārudra from Brahmā's rage. Division of this Mahārudra into eleven Rudras. Dakşa's pacification of these Rudras by means of his Yogic power.

Chap. 3.—Being asked by Daksa to choose her husband from among the gods present. Satī was disappointed at not finding Siva there. So, she placed the garland on the ground by pronouncing the mantra 'namah sivāya'. Siva suddenly appeared and accepted the garland. Daksa got enraged at Satī's conduct and denounced Siva against

Dadhici's protest.

Chap. 4.—Siva's appearance in Dakşa's house in the form of an old beggar and denouncement of Siva. Story of the transformation of Nilakuntalā (a female attendant of Satī) into Siva's bull. Siva's boon to Nandin (a logician and attendant of Dakşa) to become his own constant attendant.

Chap. 5.—Siva's escape with Satī through the sky. Dakṣa's lament for Satī's bad choice of husband. Dadhīci's praise of Siva. Dakṣa explained why he looked down upon Siva.

Chap. 6.—Hearing from Nārada that Śiva would create disturbance in his city, Dakṣa determined to prevent Śiva, made arrangements for the performance of a sacrifice,

and invited all the gods and goddesses except Siva and Sati. Though uninvited, Sati wanted to attend the sacrifice, but Siva tried to prevent her by referring to Daksa's attitude towards him. 118 Consequently, with a view to showing her own power of destroying Daksa's sacrifice Satī took the form of Šyāmā (also called Mahākāli) who had four hands, a dark complexion, shining eyes, heaving breasts and dishevelled locks, and was young and naked. Siva got frightened and tried to escape. Sati assumed ten forms called Mahāvidyās in order to surround Siva. Sati then narrated the story of the origin of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva and explained her true self as the Mula-prakrti to the confounded Siva. She named these ten Mahāvidyās as Kālī, Tārā, Şoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvari, Bhairavi, Chinna-mastā, Sundari, Vagalāmukhi, Dhūmāvatī and Mātaṅgī, m and said that these Mahāvidyās confer on their devotees final release as well as other desires such as the power of māraņa, uccūtana, ksobhaṇa, mohana, drāvaņa, jīmbhana and stambhana. She then asked Siva to speak out mantras, tantras, kavacas etc. for the worship of her own different forms (viz., Kālī, Tārā, etc.). She added that the Agama and the Veda were her two splendid hands, with which she supported the three worlds.

Chap. 7.-After reassuming her previous form, Sati came to Daksa's house where her mother received her with great affection and narrated to her a dream in which she had seen some goblins killing Dakşa and Satī saving him by assuming the form of Syama. Sati then went to the place of sacrifice and urged her father to invite Siva. Dakşa refused to do so and reproached Satī. He decried Siva and called him 'vasta' (he-goat). Consequently, Daksa had the face and voice of a he-goat through Sati's curse. Sati then went to the Himalayas and quitted her body.

Chap. 8 .- Hearing from Nārada about Sati's death, Siva assumed the extremely dreadful form of Mahārudra, went to Daksa's sacrificial pandal, and asked for Sati. Being

in For an idea of the behaviour which a son-in-law expects in his father-in-law's house, see verses 24-32.

¹¹⁰ Verges 125-126.

refused and insulted by Dakşa Siva destroyed the sacrifice with the help of the eleven Rudras living in Dakşa's house as well as of Vîrabhadra born from Siva's sighs. Being pleased with the devotion of Dakşa's wife Prasūti, Siva revived Dakşa, to whose headless body the head of a he-goat

was already set by Nandin.

Chap. 9.—Dakşa pleased Siva with a long eulogy, in which he called himself 'paśu' and styled Siva Kālī-pati, Nandin, Kālāgnirudrātman, Końka-veńkaṭavāsaka etc. Being favoured by Siva, he completed the sacrifice by allotting two shares of the sacrificial offerings to Siva and Sati in accordance with the instructions of Brahmā and Viṣṇu who said, "Kālī and Siva—these two are regarded as being composed of all the gods. People should not worship any other [god], after these two have been worshipped. Hence one should worship these two at the end, after worshipping all other gods....."

Chap. 10.—Dakṣa, Prasūti and Śiva lamented for Sati (also called Kālī). After proceeding northward Śiva found Satī's dark body lying uncovered on its face, took it up on his head, and began his tāndava dance, în great joy. Finding the whole world jeopardised by Śiva's dance, Viṣṇu, with his Sudarśana disc, cut Satī's body into pieces, which fell in different places and created siddha-piṭhas. "The best tīrtha (tīrtha-cūḍāmaṇi) arose at the place where [Satī's] female organ fell. That [tīrtha] is situated on the bank of the [river called] Brahmanada and is a place of great yoga-practice. An account of this [place] can be known from the Kālī-purāṇa. None but Viṣṇu knows its glory." When Śiva felt lighter at the removal of Satī's body, Nārada approached him, informed him how and why Viṣṇu cut Satī's body into pieces, and pointed out to him 'the mahā-

³⁰⁰ Verses 51h-54.

¹⁵¹ Verses 37-38-

tirtha-cüdümanis tatrı yatra yenih papāta ha /
tire brahmanadākhyasya mahāyoga-sthalatı hi tat //
kālipurāne vijūeyatı mune vivaranatu tatah /
māhātmyam taaya deisaya visuur jānāti nāparah //

pithas such as Kāmarūpa etc.' which were created by the fall of Sati's limbs. At the sight of Sati's female organ at Kāmarūpa Šiva turned himself into a mountain and supported it. He also resorted, in the forms of lingas, to those places where Sati's limbs fell. Nărada then requested Siva to remain at Kāmarūpa, and went to find out Sati. Brahmā, Indra and other gods went to Visnu and eulogised him.

They as well as Visnu then came to see Siva.

Chap. 11.—Brahmā and Visnu met Šiva at Kāmarūpa and consoled him. They described themselves as well as Śiva as Paramātman and Satī as Mūla-prakṛti, and said that it was Műla-prakrti who vested them (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) with guṇas and that Sati resorted to Śiva in her fullness and to the other two in parts. Then, in order to find Sati at 'the mahāpitha named Kāmarūpa' without delay, Brahmā, Vișņu and Śiva culogised Sati as 'cid-rūpiņi', 'paramasūksmatarā' etc. Consequently, Sati appeared before them first in a thousand enchanting female forms and then in one single body and cursed Brahmā to be subject to death again and again, Visnu to remain asleep continually for four months every year, and Siva to become poor and fond of cemeteries. Sati again granted boons to Brahmā to become a creator, and to Visnu to establish the varnāśrama-dharma and to be incarnate as Brahmacarin (during the Kṛta-yuga), Nārada (for writing many Tantras), Varāha (for killing Hiraņyākṣa), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (for the promulgation of Sāṃkhya-yoga), Dattātreya, Yajña (son of Ruci and Kṛti), Rṣabha, Pṛthu, Saphara (for saving the Vedas), Kūrma, Dhanvantari (for preaching Āyurveda), Narasimha, Rāma (for killing Rāvaņa and Kumbhakarņa), Vāmana, Bhargava-rāma, Vālmiki (for writing the Mahākāvya), Vyāsa (for writing Purāṇas etc.), Buddha (for deluding people), and Kṛṣṇa-and-Rāma (for killing Putanā, Kaṃsa and others, for upholding the Govardhana mountain, for fulfilling the desires of the gopis eager for spingara-rasa and for doing many other similar acts, which have been mentioned in the Brhaddharma-p). Next, Sati gave a list of the different names of Kṛṣṇa, spoke on the unity of Brahmā,

Viṣṇu, Śiva and herself, and said that as she dwells in all females, no Śākta, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva should misbehave with them, that Śiva would speak out the Tantras and mantras, and that she would again resort to Śiva after being reborn to Himālaya as Umā and Gaṅgā. Śiva waited for Nārada at Kāmarūpa and practised austerities there.

Chap. 12.-At mid-day of Vaišākha-šukla-tṛtīyā Satī was reborn as Gangā to Himālaya's wife Menā. This Gangā was seated on a shark (makara) and had three eyes, a white complexion and four hands carrying nectar and a lotus in two of them and assuring the conferment of boon and safety with the other two.15x She revealed herself to Himālaya in a dream, requested him to hand her over to the gods who would come to take her to heaven, assured him that she was none but Sati reborn in a half and that Sati's other half also would be born to him as a daughter, and advised him to give this second daughter in marriage to Siva. Accordingly, Himālaya gave Gangā to those five gods who came to take her to heaven. As Gangā did not take Mena's permission before going to heaven she was cursed by the latter to be compelled to come down to the earth as a river and to be known as Gangā. Nārada informed Šiva of the whole matter regarding Ganga and accompanied him to heaven.

Chap. 13.—Śiva met Gangā in heaven and held on his head the garland offered by the latter. Śiva explained to the gods why he did so with regard to the garland and promised to hold Gangā always on his head. Gangā then promised to the gods to remain, with her invisible part, in Brahmā's kamandalu and then followed Śiva to Kailāsa with her formal part (mūrti-bhāgena).

Chap. 14.—After Siva had gone to Kailāsa with Gangā on his head, Nārada went to Vaikuņṭha and saw Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī at his sides. Nārāyaṇa (also called Hari, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa) learnt from Nārāda all about Gangā but was unable to decide whether he himself should

¹¹¹ Verses 6, 21-23 and 73,

Name of the

go to Kailāsa to sec Šiva and Satī or the latter should come to him. Nārada suggested that Šiva and Satī should come to Vaikuņṭha. Nārāyaṇa then requested Nārada to sing a song, and, at the latter's request, spoke on the number and classification of nādas (sound) and svara with the mention of their respective places of origin. Nārāyaṇa further spoke on the names and classification of the rāgas and rāgiṇīs (in which Gauḍī is one of the Rāgiṇīs of 'Kāmada' Rāga, and the Rāga called Gauḍarāja is one of the attendants of Gāndhāra-rāga).¹²² Thus instructed by Nārāyaṇa on the

Names of his wines

| principal Raga | Names of the words | Names of his wives' | Name of his |
|----------------|--|---|--------------------|
| I. Kümada. | Māyūrī, Tojikā, Gaudī, Varādī, Vilolikā, Dhānā- šrk. | Váglivari, Šáradi, Šyāmā, Vrndāvani, Vaijayanti, Jayanti. | |
| II. Vasanta, | Kedārī, Kalyāni, Sin- dhurā, Suhayā, Aivā- rūdhā, Kārnāji. | Syāmakeli, Devakeli, Mālinī, Kāmakelikā, Sambhāwati, Sambarā, | Hillola, |
| III. Mallara, | Nuti, Surahatti, Pāhidi, Cāmuūpini, Līlū, Jaya- jayanti. | Cakravāki, Candramukhi, Rusikā, Vilāsikā, Yāmini, Syāmaghatikā. | |
| IV. Vibhāşa. | Rāmakelī, Lainā, Kodarā, Kaumudī, Rhairavi, Sarvarl. | Tarangini, Nāgini, Kilori, Hemahhūyaņā, Kallolini, Bhīmanetrā. | Syāma- ghotaka. |
| V. Gändhära. | Šrl, Rūpavati, Gauri, Dhānasi, Mangalā, Gāndbarvi. | Pațamañjari, Mañjiră, Mahāpadmāvatī, Velāvali (v.1, 'Velāvati' in the Dacca University Ma), Bhūpāli, Gandhini. | Gaudarāja |
| VI. Dipaka. | Uttari, Pürvikä, Gurjari (v.l. 'Gurjari' in the ASR ed., and 'Guñjari' in the Docea University Mas Nos. 4192 and 4649, Kala-gurjari' (v.l. '-gurjari' in the ASR ed., and '-guñjari' in the Dacea University Mas Nos. 4199 and 4649), Goodakari, Málā. | Dipakarığ, Dipavarığ, Dipakarığ, Pradipiki, Dipakşi, Dipavakırı. | Pendipa- nübha. |

¹⁸⁶ According to the Brhaddharma-p, there are tix principal Râgas, viz., Kâmada, Vasanta, Mallâra, Vibhâşaka, Gândhâra and Dipaka. Each of these Râgas has his wives, servant and maid-servants, as the following table will show:—

science of music Nărada began to sing but marred the Rāgas and Rāgiņīs and was laughed at by Sarasvatī. Nārāyana then encouraged the confused Nārada and showed him the different parts of Vaikuntha. At a certain place Nārada found some deformed beings, whom he learned from Nārāyana to be the Ragas distorted by himself. He then returned to Nārāyaṇa's assembly hall, and took his seat. Being remembered by Nārāyaṇa Śiva came there with Gangā. Brahmā and other gods also attended the meeting. At the request of Nārāyana Šiva first extolled the names of Krsna (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) as the only means of attaining bliss and then sang Kṛṣṇa-nāma-māhātmya with the Gāndhāra-rāga, which consequently appeared in the assembly by assuming a form. At that very moment a female messenger (dūtikā) of Kṛṣṇa came in and began to sing the 'dhruva' (i.e. a line of a song meant for being sung in a chorus) "keśava kamalamukhi-mukha-kamalam etc." (which is concerned with Kṛṣṇa's sport with his gopikā at Vṛṇdāvana). So, Šiva sang "surucira-hema-latānavalambā etc." When Siva's song charmed all in the assembly and compelled the wife of the Gandhara-raga also to present herself there, the dutika, already mentioned, took the form of Hari's beloved (priyā) and began another dhruva "rasikeśa keśava he/ rasa-sarasim iva mām upayojaya rasamaya rasam iya he //". Hari was so much moved by the song that he turned into rasa, of which his own self was constituted (raso 'bhūd rasa-tādātmyāt). Finding that Hari, thus liquefied, flooded Vaikuntha, Brahmā touched him with the kamandalu containing Gangā. As a result of this touch, liquefied Hari entered into Ganga and made her watery and sanctifying. Brahmā then returned with his kamandalu (containing Ganga) to Brahmaloka; and Siva and other gods repaired to their respective places of residence.

Chap. 15.—Bali, grandson of Prahlada, attained supremacy and wrested the kingdom of heaven from Indra. Finding that Aditi began to practise penance for delivering Indra and other gods from the domination of Bali, the Daityas first tried to dissuade her but, being unsuccessful in their attempt, set fire to the forest in which Aditi was living. Hari saved Aditi and granted her a boon that he himself would be born to her as Vāmana for reinstalling Indra in his former position. As Aditi deemed herself quite incapable of carrying Hari in her womb, the latter encouraged her by saying that he constantly lived in those persons who were devoted to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Bhadrakālī and Caṇḍikā, read the Caṇḍi, and possessed various other qualifications which made them Bhāgavatas.

Chap. 16.—In due course, Viṣṇu was born to Aditi as Vāmana having a red complexion. After the ceremony of nāmakaraṇa¹²¹ Bṛhaspati invested Vāmana with the sacred thread and taught him Vyākaraṇa, the six systems of philosophy (viz., Vedānta, Mimāṇsā, Nyāya, Pātaňjala, Sāṃkhya and Vaišeṣika), all the Smṛtis, Āgamas, Nigamas, Purāṇas and the six Vedāṅgās.

[In this chapter Aditi praises the new-born Vāmana with a hymn which resembles the Devi-stava of the Caṇḍi].

Chap. 17.—After taking leave of Bṛhaspati Vāmana went to Bali on the northern bank of the Narmadā and begged of him three steps (pāda) of land for practising penance there. Bali consented to grant his prayer, but Sukrācārya tried to dissuade him by divulging Vāmana's identity and mission. Bali was not to be deterred. He called his wife Vindhyāvalī and offered to Vāmana the land wanted by him. Consequently, Vāmana raised his foot made of sattva-guṇa into the sky, but Brahmā stopped its progress by pouring on it the water of Gangā residing in his kamaṇḍalu. Vāmana then placed his third foot on Bali's head and sent him down to the region called Sutala, where Viṣṇu always remained at Bali's gate as Gadādhara.

Chapter 18.—After sending Bali to the nether world Vāmana vanished, but his sāttvika foot continued to remain in the sky with Gaṅgā resorting to it. Genealogy of Sagara. Story of the burning of 60,000 sons of Sagara by Kapila, the author of the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy, in whose

¹¹¹ Among the names of Vantana, Rakta is one. -- See vene 44.

hermitage the Nagas tied the sacrificial horse of Sagara. Amsuman and others' unsuccessful attempt to bring Ganga down to the earth for the deliverance of the burnt sons of Sagara.

Chap. 19.—Being requested by Bhagiratha, son of Dilîpa, to tell him how he could bring Ganga down to the earth, Vasistha identified Ganga with Supreme Brahma and described her as being seated on a shark, wearing ornaments, and having a smiling face, a white complexion, three eyes and four hands, in two of which she carried a lotus and a pitcher of nectar and with the other two she assured the conferment of boon and safety.125 Vasistha then advised Bhagiratha to go to the Himalayas and practise austerities, and assured him that if he could succeed in his mission, people would worship him after worshipping Ganga. In accordance with this advice Bhagiratha went to the Himalayas and began his austerities. Being alarmed at the sight of Bhagiratha's efforts gods eulogised Siva, and the latter assured them of Bhagiratha's harmlessness. Siva then insisted upon Gangā to be kind enough to fulfil Bhagiratha's wish. Gangā, though unwilling to go to the sinful earth, at last agreed to do so on condition that Siva would hold her on his head when she would come down to the earth. Siva was glad and assured her that any person, who would die in the Ganga, would attain Siva.

Chap. 20.—Gangā's appearance before Bhagiratha, and the latter's eulogy of Gangā with the mention of her thousand names, 124 of which more than 250, occurring at the end, have

mayerses 11-12-

dhyvyā gangā šveta-rūpā trinetrā varadā šivā / alībayā padma-hastā ca piyūsa-ghata-pāṇikā // caturbhujā divya-rūpā vasantī makarc iucau / nāṇālarpkāra-bhūṣādhyā sphurat-mera-mukhāmbujā //

¹²⁶ These names include the following: Nārāyanī, Durgā, Durgama-priyā, Durodarā, Šamkarī, Jalešī, Sarasvatī, Yumunā, Godāvarī, Vrksasthā, Vrksa-sundarī, Varuna-iyesthā, Rāghavī, Tantramarī, Šiva-gānāmrī-odbhavā, Mahākālī, Mahārāfrā, Digamharī. Padmi, Padmikutī, Mahansadhā-jalā, Pāpa-roga-cikinikā, Vira-sādhana-vāsinī, Kula-rekpa-uhitā, Katīl, Kālī, Tārā, Mārangī, Dhūmāvatī, Chinnamastā, Kūmikhnī, Kyīra-grāma-mvāninī, Sylonā, Mahākāvya-svarūpinī, Hardrā-negaranthā, Vaidyanātha-priyā. Vakreimraparo-sthitā, Tulasī-taru-samanhā, Bilva-vrksa-nivāsā, Alokā, Alokā, Aloka-vrksa-

been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., ** to ***, ** to ***, and ** and **. Praise of reciting this hymn on different occasions, especially after worshipping Gangā according to the method of Durgāpūjā or in the Āgamic method on the Dasaharā Tithi in the month of Jyaiṣṭha. Gangā's consent to come down to the earth, and her granting of a boon to Bhagiratha that she would be known as Bhāgīrathī. Her advice to Bhagīratha to worship Siva and to blow a conch-shell by mounting the summit of Sumeru, so that she might follow him.

Chap. 21.—Bhagiratha went to Sumeru, ascended its summit, and began to blow the conch-shell. Hearing the sound Ganga came out of Viṣṇu's feet and rushed downwards. At Bhagiratha's prayer, Ganga divided herself into four streams, viz., Sitā, Bhadra, Vaṇikṣu and Alakananda, of which the first three flowed through Bhadraśva, Ketumāla and Kuruvarṣa respectively, and the fourth rushed towards the south and came out of the mount Meru through a passage made by Indra's clephant Airāvata which was terrified by Gangā because it wanted to enjoy her. She then alighted on Siva's head on the Himalayas but lost her way in his matted hair. Being allowed a passage by Siva after full one year, Gangā descended on earth on Jyaiṣṭha-śukla-daśami. 187

Chap. 22.—On the Himālaya Gaṅgā was divided into seven streams by the sound of the seven conch-shells of seven sages. Gaṅgā collected all these streams into one near Haridvāra and rushed towards the south-east. At Prayāga she joined the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī and flowed towards the east. By keeping Kāśī (Benares) to her left and flowing towards the north there, Gaṅgā again rushed eastward. On the way, being misled to a distance by the sound of Jahnu's conch-shell, Gaṅgā became enraged and intended to wash away Jahnu's hermitage. The sage understood Gaṅgā's motive and drank her up. At last being released through

nilayā, Rambhā, Dādimi, Rakta-dantikā, Šamkarūcārya-tūpimi, Samkarācārya-prapatā, Samkarācārya-nagatutā, Kālikā, Javanesvael, Phetkārini, Phānjākṛtālayā, Binermulā, Sarat-kanyā, and Sat-kasma-pariyeritā.

¹⁹⁵ Verses 72-73.

his thigh, Ganga became known as Jahnavi and proceeded on her way. Bhagiratha, who untiringly led Ganga, found that his steeds were extremely tired. So, he halted on the way. In the meantime, Padmāvatī, daughter of Jahnu, wanted to see her sister Jahnavi and sounded a conch-shell. On hearing its sound Ganga advanced to a distance towards the south-cast but was stopped by Bhagiratha, Gangā understood her mistake and became angry with Padmavati. As a result of this anger Padmävatī turned into a broad river, flowed towards the east, and met the eastern ocean. 128 Understanding that the ocean was near, Ganga narrowed herself, took a southerly course, separated herself from the Ganges and the Yamuna, and flowed into the ocean.199 She then reached the hermitage of Kapila in the nether world, liberated the sons of Sagara and became known as Bhogavati.

Praise of Ganga; and the results of listening to the above-

mentioned story.

Chap. 23.—In course of time Sati's other half was born to Menakā as Umā. This Umā, who had a complexion like burnished gold, began to practise austerities for having Siva as her husband. Being informed by Nārada of Umā's enterprise, Siva saw Umā in the form of a Brahmin celibate (brahmacārin) and began to decry Siva. Next, being earnestly requested by Umā, he praised Siva and was at last known by Umā to be Siva himself. He, then, left her with the assurance that she would have him as her husband. At Nārada's advice Himālaya sent Umā to serve Siva, who was again absorbed in meditation. In order to excite passion in Siva's mind Brahmā sent Kandarpa, but Siva burnt him to ashes. Siva besmeared his limbs with these ashes and

In Verse 37-

cukrodha padmāvanyai sā sā sat-krodhān nadi habbau / sā ca padmāvani devi visitīņa-salilā punah / pūrva-mukham yayau pūrvam samudram api samgatā //

¹²¹ Verses 38-39-

gangā tu velām samksipya gantum tamupacakrante / babhūva daksina-srotāh buddhvābdhi-nikaṭād iva // gangā-yamunayoh sangam parityaj/a surāpagā / rājānam daksinam kṛtvā sambibheda sarit-patim //

felt attracted towards Umā. Consequently he married her and took her to Meru in the Ilāvṛta-varṣa. From Śiva's energy, which was thrown by Fire into the Śiva-kānana, was born Kārttikeya (also called Guha and Ṣaḍ-vaktra), who killed the demon Tāraka. Śiva returned with Umā to Kailāsa and spoke out to her the mantras and Tantras of all the gods.

Chap. 24.—Glorification of Ganga. Names of the seven holy places which can give final release, viz., Ayodhyā (which is the town of Rama and is situated on the tip of Rāma's bow), Mathurā (which rests on Kṛṣṇa's Sudarśana disc and is protected by Kṛṣṇa), Māyā (named Kāmarūpa, which rests on a Śiva-liṅga and is resorted to by Brahmā, Vișnu and others), Kāśi (which rests on Siva's trident), Kāñcī (which is twofold, viz., Śiva-kāñcī and Viṣṇu-kāñcī), Avanti (which rests on Hari's lotus and is the same as Śripurusottama situated on the sea-coast), and Dvāravatī (which is a town constructed by Kṛṣṇa in the sea and resting on Kṛṣṇa's conch-shell named Pāncajanya). Praise of Ganga as being equal in glory to these seven holy places together. Works (viz., making gifts, acceptance of gifts, telling of tales, etc.) to be avoided on the banks of the Ganga. Extents of the 'tira' (bank), 'garbha' (bed), 'tīra-kṣctra' and 'garbha-kṣetra' of the Gangā. 100 Works to be done on the banks of the Ganga.

Chap. 25.—Preliminaries (viz., bowing down to the spiritual preceptor and to Gaņeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgã, Sarasvati, cows, Brahmins, chaste women, Bilva tree, Tulasi plant etc., smelling of Bilva leaves, in and so on) to be done by a person starting on a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā (gaṅgā-yātrika). The hymn of Viṣṭu, which is to be cited by the pilgrim when he comes near the Gaṅgā. Praise of residing on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Works to be avoided there. Results of sinful acts done. Sinners who are carried by Gaṅgāpiśācas and are not allowed to die on the banks of

¹⁼ Verses 45-47.

m Verse 7b-hiba-patram upāghrāya gangā-yārrām samācaret /

the Ganga. Siva's attendants called Ganga-bhairavas, who

protect the Ganga from pollution.

Chap. 26.—High praise of death in the Gangā. Effects of coming in contact with those who live on the banks of the Gangā. Story of a just but impious king named Kākakarņa of Kīkaṭa, who, after death, was freed by a Gangābhairava from the hands of two Yama-dūtas and sent to heaven, because he became sinless by living for some time with a merchant who used to bathe in the Gangā. No distinction of caste with respect to the waters of the Gangā.

Chap. 27.—Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Ṣaṣṭhī, Manasā and others in the waters of the Gaṅgā with the offer of different articles and the performance of mudrās. Directions regarding the worship of Śiva according to the 'Tantric' method. Non-eatability of the naivedya offered to Śiva. Story of Brahmā's worship of Śiva and his curse to the latter that those who will eat the naivedya offered to Śiva, will become dogs. Praise of Śiva-worship.

Chap. 28.—Performance of śrāddha with sesamum, Tulasī leaves etc. on the banks of the Gangā. Different kinds of food and work to be avoided before śrāddha. Obeisance to be made to Brahmins, cows, Tulasī plants, khañjana birds, red kites (śańkha-cilla) etc., if seen on the banks of the Gangā. Results of constructing temples of Durgā and Viṣṇu there. Bad effects of leaving the Gangā. Glorification of death in the Gangā by means of a story which states that Brahmā, who was willing to learn the glory of Gangā, found Śiva serving Gangā at Kailāsa and met an eight-faced Brahmā, a sixteen-faced Brahmā, and four Viṣṇu-like divine beings, of whom one was a rat (unduru) in his previous birth, another a dog, and the remaining four were worms in a dead body lying in the Gangā, and who attained their respective states by dying in this holy river.

Chap. 29.—Extent of a Manvantara. The fourteen Manus named as Sväyambhuva, Svärocişa, Auttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa, Śrāddhadeva, Sāvarṇi, Brahma-sāvarṇi, Visnu-sāvarṇi, Rudra-sāvarṇi, Dharma-sāvarṇi,

Veda-sāvarņi and Indra-sāvarņi. Names and extents of the four yugas.

Names of kings of the Solar dynasty successively from (Manu) Śrāddhadeva to Rāma, son of Daśaratha. These

names, as given in verses 20-32, are as follows:

Śrāddhadeva (son of Sūrya), Ikṣvāku (whose brothers were Nṛga and others), Śaśāda, Puramjaya, Anenas, Pṛthu, Viśvagandhi, Candra, Yuvanāśva, Śrāvasta, Bṛhadaśva, Kuvalayāśva, Dṛḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Bahulāśva, Kṛśāśva, Śyenajit, Yuvanāśva, Māndhātṛ, and Ambariṣa (who was sonless); Yauvanāśva, Niṣadha, Bāhuka, Sagara, Asamañjas, Aṃśumat, Dilīpa, Bhagīratha, Bhīma, Satya, Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha, and Rāma (and his brothers Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakṣmaṇa).

Names of kings of the Lunar dynasty down to Kṛṣṇa. These names have been given in verses 33-60 as follows:

Purūravas (son of Budha and daughter's son of Śrāddhadeva), Āyus, Rantināra, Viyati, Krti, Nahusa, Yayāti, Puru (who had four brothers, of whom Yadu was the most important), Janamejaya, Pracinvat, Manasyu, Cārupada, Sudyu, Bahugava, Samyāti, Ahamyāti, Raudrāśva, Rteyu, Rantināra, Sumati, Medhātithi, Duşmanta, Bharata, Vitatha, Manyu, Brhatksatra, Hastin, Ajamidha, Nila, Śānti, Suśānti, Puruja, Arka, Bharmyāśva, Mudgala, Divodāsa (whose daughter Ahalyā had, from Gautama, a son named Śatānanda), Mitrayu, Cyavana, Sudāsa, Saudāsa, Sahadeva, Somaka, Pṛṣata (who was one of the hundred sons of Somaka), Drupada, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, and Dhṛṣṭaketu (Pṛṣata and his descendants being known as Bhārmya Pāñcālakas); Rkṣa (another son of Ajamidha), Saṃvaraṇa, Kuru, Jahnu, Suratha, Vidūratha, Sārvabhauma, Jayatsena, Āyāvin, Ayutāyus, Akrodhana, Atithi, Ŗkṣa, Dilipa, and Pratīpa, who had three sons Devāpi, Šāntanu and Bāhlīka, of whom the first left his father's kingdom and went to the forest; Bāhlīka, Somadatta, and Somadatta's descendants Bhūri, Bhūriśravas and Šala (?); Šāntanu, Vicitravīrya (whose uterine brother was Citrăngada born of Satyavati and stepbrother Bhīsma born of Gangā), Dhṛtarāstra, Duryodhana

(and his brothers); Pāṇḍu (another son of Vicitravirya) had five sons Yudhiṣṭhira and others, of whom the third named Arjuna had the following descendants: Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit, and Janamejaya. Yadu (another son of Yayāti) had the following descendants: Nala, Kṛtavīrya, Arjuna (who had a thousand hands and whose memory leads to the recovery of lost things), Vṛṣṇi, Śaśabindu, Jyāmagha, Babhru, Bhoja, Sumitra, Śini, and Nighna, who had two sons named Satrājīt and Prasena and in whose family were born Śūra, Vasudeva,

and the latter's son Kṛṣṇa.

Chap. 30.—Glorification of Siva and Sakti. Story of the birth of Gajanana. In spite of Siva's indifference to the pleasures of conjugal life, Parvati expressed her strong desire for a son. Siva was annoyed, and told Parvati that her son would be averse to marriage. Parvati was sorry. In order to divert Parvati Siva placed a part of her red cloth on her lap out of fun, as if it were a child. Curiously enough, a male child was born of it. As soon as Siva took this child on his lap, its head, being turned towards the north, dropped down to the ground. Siva was perplexed. He was, however, directed by a voice from the air to join to its body the head of one who would be found lying with his head turned towards the north. Siva ordered Nandin accordingly. Nandin brought the head of Indra's elephant Airāvata. Siva revived the child by joining it to its body. A pen, a rosary of beads (japa-mālā), a tusk, a lotus, a tiger-skin, a sacred thread, and a rat (to serve as a vāhana) were given to the child by Sarasvati, Brahmā, Indra, Padmāvati, Šiva, Brhaspati and the Earth respectively. This child was named Lambodara, Gaṇādhipa, Gajānana, Heramba and Vighneśa.

Sages' eulogy of Ganeśa with the mention of his fifty names including Ekadanta, Lipiśvara, Śuklāsya, Mūṣikārohin, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Pañca-pāṇi, Pañca-vaktra, Sāmudra,

Värinätha etc.

Uttara-Khanda

In this Khanda Suta reports to Saunaka and

others what Vyāsa said to Jāvāli on varņāśrama-dharma. The contents of this Khanda are as follows.

Chap. 1.—Origin of the four castes from Visnu. Two ways of dharma, viz., Agama (i.e. Tattva-mārga) and Nigama (i.e. Karma-marga). Attainment of the status of the immediately higher caste by the faithful performance of the duties of the respective castes. Bad effects of doing the duties of the higher castes. The eight qualities of the mind (viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣānti etc.) to be practised by all. Service to be rendered by the members of lower castes to those of the higher castes. Sudras to be maintained by the higher castes. Surnames for the members of different castes, viz., 'Deva-sarman' for Brahmins, 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Ksatriyas, 'Dhana' (i.e. such words as are indicative of wealth) for Vaisyas, 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, 'Devī' for women of Brahmin and Kşatriya castes, and 'Dāsī' for women of Vaisya and Sūdra castes.132 Respect to be shown to Brahmins by the members of other castes. Sanskrit to be used by Brahmins in blessing.133 Rules about making reverential salutations to males and females. A male should not face his younger brother's wife, son's wife, student's wife, and his own mother-in-law, nor should he use the word 'tvad' with respect to them, touch their body, or give them the remnants of his food.124 Female relatives who are to be respected like one's mother. (Among these relatives the mother-in-law is given a position higher than that of the mother's sister, maternal uncle's wife, and father's sister).

Chap. 2.-Conduct of Brahmins. Rules about the

¹⁶⁷ Verses 23-24

brāhmanasya deva-iarmā tāyo varmā ca kastriye / dhano variye tuthā ifotre dāsa-šabdah praynjyate // urisu deviti viprānām kastriyānām ca kothyate / dāstri variya-ifotrānām kathyate dvija-pumgava //

interse Tha --

brāhmanah uzņskriokiyā iu vācam dadyāi sukhānvitah.

kannytha-bhrāte-putnyās tu smudybb tima-yoşstab / tvairvās ca sammukhibbūyān na kadācid viiesasab // tvaiņkāram anga-sparamp ca bahib-samdanāna-sthitim / necinjta-dāpanam caiva nāsām kuryāt kadācana //

performance of samulhyā and the repetition of gāyatrī, the form and colour of which should be known from the 'Ādityākhya-purāṇaka'. 135 Performance of pitṛ-tarpaṇa. Rules to be observed in bathing and in answering the call of nature. Praise of Brahmins (who are called 'gods of the earth' and from whose feet all tirthas are said to have issued).

Chap. 3.—Duties of kings¹³⁶ (viz., protection of subjects; possession of virtues such as truthfulness, benevolence, devotion to Visnu, and readiness to serve Brahmins; possession of a high sense of self-respect; constant hostility; collection of war materials; digging of trenches; appointment of spies for knowing the tendencies of the subjects; deliberations in well-formed councils; possession of the qualifications of Agni, Candra, Yama and others; collection of rents from non-Brahmins; infliction of punishment for different kinds of crimes committed by the members of different castes; administration; consultation of the opinions of Brahmins versed in the Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas and of physicians and astrologers and astronomers; formation of the army; appointment of ministers; constant performance of swastyayana and worship of Brahmins; and so on).

Chap. 4.—Duties of Vaisyas, which include the following: names of commodities in which the Vaisyas may deal; determination of the limits of profit and interest;¹³⁷ use of

¹⁰ Verse 31

gåyatryå varua-rûpādi ādityākhya-purānake / jūryam tenārtham ājñāya gāyatrīm prajupet kṛti //

¹⁵⁶ The expression 'rājā kastriya ity uktah', used at the very beginning of this chapter, usuda to show that to whatever casts a king might belong, he was always regarded as a Kastriya.

in Venici 7-10--

kzinira yena műlyena tasya sodasam apnakam / vikrita-labhyam kuryöt tu hy adhike dharma-hűni-kri // rnam dattvá mősi műsi datta-sodasa-pődakam / grhnjyád veldhim iry evam vimiádau tu prthak prihak // ito'dhikam ced grhnjýát tadá bhogáya naiti tat / iodhyate tu man yarra máse tatrádhikam tyajet // bráhmapehhya man dadyád grhnjýán nádhikam tatah /

The text of these verses, as given in the Variga, ed., is defective. Hence, for the text of these verses we have used the ASB ed., most of the readings of which are supported by the Dacca University Mss of the Britadcharmus-p.

different standards of measurement, viz., dropa and adhaka (for measurement by heaping), anguli and hasta (for measurement of length), kudava etc. (for measurement of land), and māṣa, tāmra, tolaka and seraka (for measurement of weight);134 and so on.

Duties of Śūdras. (-A Śūdra is to serve the twice-born but should not read the Puranas or teach the members of the higher castes. He is allowed to hear the Puranas and read that Agama, i.e. Tantric work, which is prescribed to him by his spiritual preceptor. The mantra, to be imparted to a Sudra, must be bereft of svaha and pranava. It is only in times of distress that a Brahmin is allowed to instruct mantras to Sudras and to read out the Puranas to them. "None but a Brahmin should instruct mantra, Tantra and beneficial knowledge to the members of the four castes. So, a Brahmin should give these to a Śūdra also". A Brahmin should not give to a Śūdra such food as has been dedicated to a deity. A Sudra should drink the water with which the feet of a Brahmin have been washed. He must not commit the mahāpātakas. Water, flowers etc., brought by those Sūdras who live on food given by Brahmins, may be used by the latter in worship. A Śūdra should not call a Brahmin 'grandfather', 'uncle' etc., and vice versa).

Rules of purification of the body. Method of acamana (sipping of water) and of painting tilaka marks. (Brahmins are to paint the ūrdhva-pundra on their forehead). 139

Chap. 5.-Duties of students. Requisites for havisyanna

¹⁰⁰ Verses 11-12-

dronādhakāngulī-hasta-kuḍavādi tathulva ça / māsa-tolaka-biiddhyarthan mānam kuryāt ppīhak priliak // kuryāt tāmraih serakasp ca trimdatā sadbhir eva ca / tadordham tolakam jäcyam etema kraya-vikrayau //

In the third line the Vanga, ed. reads 'setakam' and not 'serakam'; but the reading 'scrakam' is found in the ASB ed. as well as in all the three Dacca Liniversity Mss of the Brhaddharma-p. (Mr A, med in the ASB ed., and Ms No. 4649 of the Dacca University spell this word as 'terakam').

¹¹⁰ Venes 43b-44

brāhmanni cordhva-tilakam āšikhāntam sadā dharet //. dviphalam madliya-fûnyam tu tilakam memikadibbih hāhvol ca hṛdaye caiva geivāyāṇi pārivayor api / brāhenaņas tilakāny eva kuryārī vai sarva-karmasu !/

(for both students and widows). Daily duties of house-holders, including worship of the nine planets, offer of fodder to cows, selection of food, observance of certain rules about eating, and so on. "One should not eat fish and meat on Amāvāsyā, Paurņamāsī, Caturdaśi, Asṭamī, Ravi-vāra, Bhānu-saṃkrānti, Dvādaśī Tithi, and on all the auspicious days (puṇyāha). One should never take fish, meat, masūra, māṣa, nimba, ginger and oil on Sundays. A Brahmin may eat fish such as Rohita, Śakula, "Saphara etc. and also such fish as are white and have scales"." "At first rice mixed with ghee, then vegetables, next soup etc., and at last rice mixed with milk should be taken. Salt must not be mixed with milk, nor molasses with sour things"."

Copper wares should be used under certain restrictions.

Chap. 6.—Further directions and prohibitions for the householders. Some of these directions and prohibitions are as follows. After taking the mid-day meal a householder is to take rest for a while, and then read or listen to the Purāṇas. He may see the king in the afternoon. In the evening he should perform sandhyā but refrain from certain acts, viz., deliberation on sāstras, eating, sleeping, consorting etc. He should sleep on wooden bedsteads and on beds furnished with bed-covers, with his head turned preferably towards the east or towards the south but never towards the north

aművásyá-paurnamási-enturdasy-apamisu va /
ravi-váre tathá bhánu-sapárántyám dvádasi-tithau /
punyáhesu ca sarvesu mataya-mánsanu na bhalsayet //
matayam mángan masúram ca másan nimbam tathárdrakam /
tatlam ca ravi-várent na grhúta kadácana-//
sukla-varnam saialkam ca matayam bhuájina bráhmanah //

The ASB ed. reads Sapharam sapharadhipam' for the second half of line 6, and this reading seems to be supported by the Dacca University Mss. of which Ms No. 319 reads Sapharam sapharadhikam', apharadhikam',

182 Verser 48-49a-

ādau ghriāmum āhācyam vyadjanam iškam āditah / tatah süpādi bhunjua kṣirāmna-bhojanam caret // na kṣire lavaṇam dadyān nāmicṣu guḍam cva co /

¹⁶⁰ In Bengal the 'Sakula' fish is popularly called 'Saul math'.

¹⁴¹ Verses 41-46-

The ASB ed, as well as Dacca University Ms. No. 4199 reads 'lesir@ntasp' for 'kslr@nna-' in the second half of the second line.

or west.142 He should salute Nandiśvara, Padmanābha, Nagadevi and the household deity before sleep at night, He should avoid particular days in cohabiting with his wife, using oil, and taking meat. He should wear his cloth by tucking its hem at his navel.114 Clothes washed by women or washermen must not be worn by him in worshipping deities and in performing śrāddha ceremonies etc. He should serve cows daily, and take milk, curd and ghee which are like nectar. In cultivation he should not work his bulls for more than one prahara and a half daily. At the time of starting on a journey he should see cows with calves, curd, white flowers, red kites (śańkha-cilla), khañjana birds etc. He should not take food offered by physicians (cikitsaka), Bhikṣus, usurers, Pāṣaṇḍas, and non-believers (nāstika). He should marry girls having auspicious signs. He may have one or more of the following twelve kinds of sons, viz., aurasa, kşetraja, dattu, krtrima, güdhaja, apaviddha, kanina, sahodha, krita, paunarbhava, svayamdatta and śaudra (or pāraśava), of whom the first six are entitled to inherit his property in order of preference, and the rest deserve maintenance only.148 Except during the Durgā-pūjā in the month of Aśvina, he should not utter before others words expressive of male and

prācytim diil firah iastam yāmyāyām athavā dvija / sarlaiva svapatah sastam viparliam tu rogadam //

na vostaraširá vipra na magno pi šayita ha //

(The ASH ed. reads the last line as follows: naivottara-iirāh supyen na nagno'pi šayka ca. The Dacea University Msc Nos. 4199 and 4649 support the readings of the ASB ed.).

paridadhyān nam vastram daiām nābhan prayojayet / not For the names and definitions of these sons and their right to inheritance see verses 68-70. The texts of some of these verses are given below.

anrasalı kşetrajo dartalı kerrimo güdha-sambhavalı (apaviddhai ca kāninah sahodhab krita eva ca // paunarbhavah avayamdattah samiro dvädasa putrakāh / däyödä ädönäh sat svur laghutvam cottarottaram H

kalpyāh parikrīņatāptāh panca-varaādhikāh krtāh ; na bhavanti hi te putră bharanărthăs tu kevalam //

potrcjy cteju yab putra aurasah pinj-daya-bhāk/ iegāņām āngiamsyārtbum pradadyāt tu prajīvanam //

HA Verse 6-

female generative organs. Even during the Durgā-pūjā he should not utter these words before his mother, daughters or such female disciples as are not initiated to Saktiworship. He must regard his elder brother's wife as his mother and look upon his younger brother's wife and sister's daughter as his own daughters, and must not cohabit with these relatives even unwillingly. If he cohabits with any Mleecha or Yavana woman without being a Sakti-worshipper, he will lose his easte and be an object of curse of gods. A Brahmin should not worship Siva with the offer of wine, fish, meat and his own blood and with human sacrifice in times not prescribed by śāstras.

Chap. 7.—Study of the Caṇḍi which contains 700 verses and belongs to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa', as well as of the Gītā belonging to the Mahābhārata¹⁰⁰—essential to all Brahmins.

Duties of forest-hermits (vānaprastha) and wandering mendicants (yati).

Praise of the garhasthyasrama as the prop of all.

Chap. 8.—Duties of women (strî-dharma).—They are to serve their husbands and remain faithful to them even after their death. They should not forsake their husbands

38 Venes 01-83-

bhaga-ling-ādi-iabdaqı ca noccaret para-gocaram / uccared fivine māsi muhāpūjā-dineyo bi // mātṛṇāṃ ca sutānāṃ ca samīpe na kadāpi ca / a-takti-dikṣitāyāi ca tiṣyāyāh saṃmidhau na ca // devi bi bhaga-rūpaiva bhaga-linga-rasa-priyā / tasmāt tat-priya-kāmyāyai tat-pūjārhas tadā vadet //

147 Venes 89-91-

mlecchám ca yavanim cápí gatvá játyá parityajet //
kaláv etásu samgamya devatá-lápam apauyát /
durvahah sakty-amuphánam tatra muhyvati sűrayah //
alaúghyam síva-vákyam ca yoga-panthánam uttamam //
tasmád yoga-priyám devim bhajan kurvan na dosabhák //

to Verse 98-

viprab sva-raktnir madyali ca manuya-balinā tivām / nārcayen manya-mānpabhyām kāle ilatra-nisedhite //

The Vanga, ed. as well as Dacca University Mt. No. 319 of the Brhaddharma-p. wrongly reads 'sutaktaih' for 'sva-raktaih'.

to Verse 2-

märkandeys-purämatham candi-saptalati-stavam / gitä-sästram bhäratiyam viprah sarväiramah mathet // under any circumstances nor should they fast or perform any wata without their permission. "A devoted wife should follow her husband in his death. By doing so she delivers him even from great sins. Women have no work greater than this, because [by virtue of this work] they enjoy pleasures in heaven in company with their husbands for a Manvantara. A wife, who, with her mind absorbed in [the thoughts of] her husband, dies by entering the fire with a favourite thing of his, even if he died long ago, attains the same state". Widows must live a highly restricted life and abstain from wearing red clothes, sleeping on bedsteads, and indulging in all other kinds of luxury. Childless widows are called avirā. There are two kinds of avīrās, viz., adattā and dattā.

Signs of women which indicate their future widowhood.

Chap. 9.—Due worship of the five deities, viz., Gaņeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Śiva, the ten Dikpālas, and the nine planets—essential in all auspicious ceremonies.

Description of different kinds of Ganesa-vrata, Sūrya-

vrata, and Śiva-vrata.

[Among the Siva-vratas, there is mention of a Sivotsava¹⁵¹ which is to be performed outside the village

14 Verses 8-10-

mrtam patim cānumrtim kuryān nārī pativratā / mahadhhyo'pi ca pāpehhyab patim uttārayet tu sā // nātah patataram karma yoṇitām vidyate dvija / yato manyantaram kālam modate patinā dixi // patyus cira-mrtanyāpi priya-dravyena tanmanāh / pravišy-āgnim cānumrā tathāgajim avāpmuyāt //

111 Venes 39-45-

caitre iivopavam kuryān nṛṭya-gita-mahmavaih /
mānā tri-ampdhyam rātrau ta haviyyāil jitendriyah /
iiva-avarāpatām yāti šiva-prīti-karah purah //
iajatriyādiju yu martyo debam sampidya bhaknitah /
aivamedha-phalam tasya jāyate ca pade pade //
tarva-karma-parityāgi šivotsava-parāyanah /
bhaktair jāgaramam kuryād rātrau urtya-kutūhalaih //
nānā-vidhair mahāvādyzir nṛṭyaii ca vividhair api /
nānā-veša-dharair uṛṭyaib prīyate iamkarah prabhob //
kim alabbyam bhagavati prasanne nlla-lohite /
tasmāt sarva-prayamena topanlyo maheivarah //
śahkha-vādyam śahkha-toyam varjayec chiva-samnidhau //
grāmād hahib šivam (v.l. 'imam' in ASB ed.) šambhor utaavam kārayen mudā ,
uponya hutvā saṃkrāntyām vratam etas samāpayet //

during the whole month of Caitra and concluded on the Caitra-samkranti with the performance of homa. In this Sivotsava the worshippers are to bathe thrice daily, fast at daytime, take havisyanna at night, live a highly restricted life, and practise various kinds of self-mortification. The devotees of Siva are to pass the nights without sleep, disguise themselves in various ways, sing songs, perform different kinds of dance with the sound of various kinds of high-sounding drums and other musical instruments, and take part in other kinds of merriment. They are not to blow conchshells before Siva or offer to him water with these.]

Chap. 10.—Description of Vaisnava vratas, such as Ekādasī-vrata, Dola-yātrā (to be performed in Phālguna-paurņamāsī), Rathotsava (in the month of Āṣāḍha), etc.

During these oratas, which are to be attended with music, dance and other merriments, Krsna is to be worshipped in fire, water, Sälagrama-silä or image, and different kinds of food materials are to be offered to him during the different months. For instance, sali rice cooked with mudga and maşa, mixed with ghee, and specially scented with leaves of Hingu (Asa foetida) etc., and leaves of Västüka fried with ghee, are to be offered to Krsna in the month of Pausa along with other things; cakes of masa, and vegetables cooked with canaka and scented with Hinguisz etc., are to be offered to him in Phalguna; mangoes, having soft stones, are to be offered with sugar in the month of Caitra; ripe mangoes, with milk and sugar, are to be offered in Jyaistha; jackfruits are to be offered in Asadha; palms in Bhadra; and so on. Krsna is to be worshipped with nine kinds of bhakti including dasya and sakhya.]

Short description of Durgā-pūjā (in Āśvina) and Nāgapūjā (in Śrāvaṇa). Relative position of the stars and planets. Worship of planets by planet-worshipping

Brahmins (graha-vipra) called Ganakas.

Chap. 11.—Hymns to the nine planets, viz., Sūryastotra (containing a hundred names of the Sun, such as

This and other references to the use of Hings show that its use for exesting an odour in food was very common with the Bengalis.

Rogahan, Ruk-cikitsaka, Śiva-pūjaka-suprīta, Viṣṇu-pūjaka-supriya, Gaṅgā-snāna-priya-prīta, Durgā-pūjā-suhṛd-vara etc.), Śaśi-stotra (containing one hundred and eight names of the Moon, such as Kṣudhāha, Nāda-janaka, Madana, Haṃsa-svāmin, Śṛṅgāra-bhāva-karṣaṇa, Jaivātṛka, Hāsya-kartṛ, Jyotiḥ-śāstra-pramāṇaka, Vaidya, Saura-bhānu etc.), Maṅgala-stava (containing twenty-one names of Maṅgala), Budha-stotra (containing twenty-one names of Budha), Bṛhaspati-stotra (containing twenty-one names of Sukrācārya), Śani-stotra (containing fourteen names of Śukrācārya), Śani-stotra (containing fourteen names of Śani), Rāhu-stotra (containing eight names of Rāhu), and Ketu-stava (containing nine names of Ketu).

Praise of the worship of Sani on every Saturday. 158

Recitation of the above-mentioned hymns is said to give to the reciter all the desired objects including death in the Ganga and the highest position among the jñātis (paternal blood relations).¹⁶¹

Discussions on week-days, samoatsara, and intercalary month.

Chap. 12.—Extents of the four jugas, and the condition of dharma and the people in these jugas. Names of the principal deities in these jugas. Story of the origin and spread of envy, old age, diseases, death etc. Praise of Haribbakti as the only remedy for these.

Chap. 13.—Genealogy of Vena, Story of Vena's creation of mixed castes (samkara-jāti).—Vena, son of Anga, was a tyrannical and impious ruler. He prohibited the practice of varnāśrama-dharma by beat of drums. Finding that people were growing impious, some sages approached Vena and requested him not to encourage the spread of immorality and the consequent creation of mixed castes. But Vena was not a man to listen to any good advice. He

¹⁴⁰ Verse 59-

śani-vāreju umpūjya śanim atrya-autam matah / labbate vānchitam sarvant grabārista-vināśanam //

¹⁰⁴ Verses 79c-80a-

anta-kāle ca gangāyām maranam dudate dhruvam / duḥrvapna-nāianāḥ sarve jñāti-šrenha-prasādhakāḥ //

determined to go against the words of the sages. He forced the Brahmins, Kşatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras to cohabit with the females belonging to the castes different from their own in the natural as well as in the reverse order, and thus created a large number of mixed castes. He then repeated the same practice with respect to the males and females of these mixed castes and added to their number. The mixed castes, thus created by Vena, were as follows:—

| | | | | 1. | Littanna | Samkaras | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---|------|------|----------|----------|------|---------------|--------|------|
| ī. | Karaņa | _ | born | of | Valiya | father | and | Sadra | temath | itr, |
| 2. | Ambagha | _ | 111 | 10 | Brahmin | TT. | P = | Vaisya | 11 | - |
| 3. | Gändhika Vanik 118 | _ | 19 | 91 | 44 | 15 | 11 | TT. | п | |
| 4. | Kansakāra | - | 11 | 41 | 10- | 17 | FE | H | 21 | 4 |
| 5. | Sankhakāra | _ | 11 | 19 | ++ | 11 | 1.1 | 0 | 2.9 | 1 |
| G. | Ugra | - | 4.6 | 4.0 | Kantriya | *** | 14 | 510 | 2.0 | |
| 7. | Rajapura | - | 117 | | | 78 | 44 | | | |
| 8. | Kumhhakāra | _ | BT | 19 | Brahmin | 71 | 41 | Kşarriya | 14 | |
| 9. | Tantuvāya 180 | _ | - 11 | 10 | | H | 44 | 41 | 2.5 | - |
| 10. | Karmakāra | - | 24 | 17 | Sūdra | 19 | 100 | PR. | 10 | |
| 11. | Dasa | | 11 | - | T.F. | 19 | 11.6 | be . | 97 | |
| 12. | Mägadha | _ | 7.0 | | Vallya | 174 | 77 | ++ | 2.7 | |
| 13. | Gopa. | _ | +1 | 10 | | 10 | 11 | 10 | tr | |
| 14. | Năpita | _ | | | Kşatriya | | W.F. | Sudram | 2.0 | 1 |
| | Modaka | _ | 10 | FR | | 77 | 11 | | 771 | |
| 16, | Vārajīvī | _ | 11 | | Reahmin | PA | ., | 11 | 91 | |
| 17. | Sūtatie | | 11 | - | Kaatriya | ** | 14 | Brahmin | 24 | |
| 10. | Mālākāra | _ | di. | 81 | 11 | 10 | | | p.s | 4 |
| 19. | Tämhüli | | 10 | 21 | Vallyn | 12 | 15 | Dvija 100 (i. | e. | |
| | | | -7 | -1 | - | | | Beahmin) | 17 | į. |
| 20, | Taulika ¹⁰⁰ | | ** | žII. | | 77 | 44 | 115 | le. | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

The ASB ed. (verse 35) reads 'găndhiko vaṇik' for 'gandhiko vaṇik'. The Dacea University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150a) wrongly reads 'gāndhivālakaḥ' (which is clearly a mistake for 'gāndhiko vaṇik').

³⁸⁶ The ASB ed. (Untern-khanda 13.36, and 14.63) and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 (feb. 150a and 153a), 4199 (feb. 220b and 224a), and 4649 (feb. 319b and

325a) give the name as 'Tantravaya' and not "Tantuvaya'.

Mis B and D, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read 'ksatriyae charitha-kanyayam jaian napita-modakan' for 'ksatriyae chudra-kanyayam etc.' It is to be noted that the Uttama Samkaras are said to have been been of the four principal castes and not of any mixed caste (caturbhya eva varnebhyo jäyante te kilottamah—chap. 13, verse 49a).

In the ASB ed. (verse 39) the name 'Sōta' is found, but in verse 65 of chap. 14 (of the Uttara-khanda) this name is spelt as 'Suta'. So also in the Dacca University Mss. Noz. 319 (fol. 150a—'Sōta', fol. 153a—'Sūta', 4199 (fol. 220b—'Sūta', fol. 224b—'Sūta'), and 4649 (fol. 320a—'Sūta' and fol. 325a—'Sūta').

The Variga, ed. (III, 13, 38a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read 'valight to sudra-kanyayan,' but the ASB ed. and the Dacca University Ms Nos. 4199 and 4649.

read 'vailyāt tu dvija-kanyāyām'.

ed, has 'taulika' in the former and 'tailika' (v. 1, 'taulika' in Ms C used in the ASB ed.)

11. Madhyama Samkaras

| | Takal | _ | boen | of | Karaņa | father | and | Valiya | mothe | er, |
|-----|-----------------------|---|------|----|------------|--------|-----|--------|-------|-----|
| 2. | Rujska | _ | 10 | - | 91 | ** | 71 | 71 | NT | |
| 3. | Svarņakāra | _ | 14 | 10 | Ambaştha | tr | | 91 | dr | |
| 4. | Svarpa-vanik | _ | 10 | 10 | 11 | | | | | F |
| 5. | Åbhīra | _ | 10 | 71 | Gopa | 44 | 17 | 60 | 4.5 | |
| 6. | Tuitekāraka | _ | | | | 71 | 19 | 14 | 2.0 | |
| | Dhivara | | 2.5 | 11 | 11 | 100 | 21 | Ozdan | 27 | w |
| | Saundika | | 14 | 19 | 20 | 14 | FF | Südra | 19 | + |
| | Nata | | 77 | Fr | 7. (-2-1 - | 31 | FE | 7) | 14 | |
| | | _ | 11 | 10 | Mālūkāra | 34 | TF | 19 | ** | |
| | Savaka ¹¹¹ | _ | 111 | 11 | 11 | 194 | 411 | - 61 | 11 | |
| | Schhara | _ | 4.5 | 12 | Māgadha | 55 | 11 | 15 | 15 | н |
| 12, | Jālika | - | 44 | 10 | 70 | 11 | I+ | ** | 14 | |

III. Antyajas (or Adhama Samkaras)

| | Grbi (or Grahi) 10 | - | born | of | Svarņakāra | father | and | Vaidya | mothe | Ť. |
|----|--------------------|---|------|------|--------------|--------|-----|---------|-------|----|
| | Kudava | _ | ist | - 11 | Svarna-vanik | 16 | ** | ы | 199 | |
| | Căndălates | _ | 11 | 18 | Šūdra | 10 | 44 | Brahmin | de | |
| | Varuda | _ | TT | - 68 | Abhira | TI | ** | Gopa | | |
| 5. | Carmukāra | - | 171 | 21 | Takşan | D.F. | 44 | Vaiiva | | |

in the latter, whereas the Dacca University Mss read 'tailika' in the former and 'tautika' in the latter.

As 'Tailakāraka' it mentioned as one of the Madhyama Samkaras, the reading 'taulika' seems to be the correct one.

The ASB ed. names this caste as 'Sāvāka' (see Uttara-kh., chap. 13, verse 43). It was most probably the Buddhist Śrāvakas who formed the 'Sāvaka' caste among the Hindus.

In Mukundarāma's Kavikatikaņa-caņdī (cd. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay and Hrishikesh Basu), Part I, p. 269, there is mention of a caste named 'Šavāka' (v. l. 'Sarāka' in the Indian Press ed., p. 90 and Vanga, ed., p. 89). According to Brahmavaivarta-p. I. 10, 121 'Sarāka' originated from Jolā father and Kuvinda mother (jolāt kuvinda-kanyāyām šarākah parikhrijuh).

The list of Antyaja castes, given in Brhaddh. III. 13. 43h-47a, does not seem to be exhaustive. The word 'ityādi' occurring in the line 'ityādi ye'ntyajāh proktāh' (verse 47b) which immediately follows the list of the Antyaja castes, indicates that at the time of composition of the Brhaddharma-p, the number of the Antyaja castes exceeded eight.

(The ASB ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'ityādayo 'aryajāh proktāh').

188 For the reading 'mune grhir ajāyata' of the Vanga, ed. (III. 13, 43b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4199, the Dacca University Ms Nos. 319 and 4649 read 'mune grahir ajāyata'.

The caste named 'Gṛtii' (or 'Gṛahi') may be the same as the घटडू caste mentioned in Mukundarāma's Kavikankana-caṇḍi (ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen and others, Part I, p. 272).

114 The Vanga, ed. (verse 14b) gives the name of this case as Candala.

The Vanga, ed. (verse 45a) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 read 'vadurab' for 'varuoab'.

| 6. Chattajiet166 | - | born | ed | Rajakaler | father | amil | Valiya | mothe | CT |
|----------------------------|---|------|-----|-----------|--------|------|----------|-------|----|
| 7. Dolavahi ¹¹⁰ | _ | 2.0 | | Tailakāra | ++ | 14 | D | | |
| B, Malla ver | _ | 14 | 2.5 | Dhivara | - 17 | | Šūdra | 100 | |

These were 'the thirty-six castes with a few additional ones'. 199 Of these, the first twenty had Śrotriya Brahmins as their priests, and the last eight (i.e. the Antyaja castes) were 'outside the pale of varņāśrama-dharma' (varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛtāḥ). The principle which was followed in classifying the above-mentioned castes, was as follows. The mixed castes, which originated from the four principal eastes (viz., Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiṣya and Śūdra), were called Uttama Saṃkaras; those which were created by the Uttama Saṃkaras on women not belonging to their own castes, were called Madhyama Saṃkaras; and the remaining mixed castes as well as those which were created by mixed castes only, were

³⁶⁵ The ASB ed. (verse 47a) reads 'ghaptajivi' (v. 1. 'ghaptajivi' in Mss B, C and D used in the ASB ed.). The Dacca University Mss Nos. 319 and 4649 read 'ghaptajivi', and Ms No. 4199 reads 'ghaptajivi'.

It is probable that 'Ghattajivi' is the same as the modern पाटनी caste of Bengal.

100 The Vanga. ed. (verse 46a) and the Dacea University Ms No. 319 wrongly read 'dharakāt' and 'varakāt' respectively (for 'rajakāt').

¹⁶⁶ Dacca University Mw Nos. 4199 (fol. 221a) and 4649 (fol. 320b) read 'jānavāhī' for 'dolāvāhī'.

¹⁶⁹ The Vanga. ed. (verse 47a) as well as the Dacca University Ms No. 319 wrongly reads 'matta-järiḥ' for 'malla-järiḥ'.

The 'Malla' caste must be the same as the 'Mala' caste, which is mentioned as Antyaja along with 'Candāla' in the ASB ed. (verse 51—sa-candāla-malādayah) and the Dacca University Ms No. 319 (fol. 150b—sa-candāla-malādayah). The Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 221a) reads 'sa-candāla-malādayah'; and the Vanga, ed (verse 50b) and the Dacca University Ms No. 4649 read 'sa-candāla-manādayah'.

According to Mukundarāma's Kavikankaņa-caņdī, Mālas lived outside the cides (मास वर्ष पुरेर बाहिर —Kavikankaṇa-caṇḍl, ed. Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, p. 91; ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen and others, Part I, p. 272).

¹⁰⁰ Verse 40a-

şattrinsiaj-jātayaş tv etc sādhikāh kathitās tava.

The Vanga, ed. and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 4199 and 4649 read 'sadvinsis jātayah' in the corresponding line. That the reading 'sadvinda jātayah' is wrong, is shown by the fact that in chap. 14 of the Uttara-kh, both the printed editions and all the three Dacca University Mss have a line 'sattriquiaj-jātayah sūdrā yūyana bhūtās tu saṃkarāb' in which there is mention of the 'thirty-six castes'. The reading 'sattriquiaj-jāta-karmāṇi', given in the ASB ed., is obviously erroneous. The Mss R. C and D. used in the ASB ed., read 'sattriquiaj-jātayas to ete').

The word 'saithikah' (lit, meaning—'with a few more') shows that among the names of the forty mixed castes mentioned in the Brhaddharma-p, there is none which can be taken as a later addition, and that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' court have originated much earlier than the date of composition of the Brhaddharma-p.

called Adhama Saṃkaras.¹³¹ "The Devala (Imageworshipper), who was brought by Suparṇa from Śāka-dvīpa, became famous as Śākadvipī Brahmin on the surface of the earth. From Devala was born Gaṇaka as well as Vādaka in a Vaiśyā (female). From Veṇa's own limb a son named Mleccha was born. This Mleccha, again, had sons, viz., Pulinda, Pukkaśa, Khaśa, Yavana, Suhma, Kamboja, Śavara, Khara and others, who formed the different classes of Mlecchas." Seeing all these, the sages killed Veṇa with a roar, rubbed both his hands, and brought Pṛthu and his wife into existence. They placed Pṛthu on the throne.

Chap. 14.—Due to the presence of the mixed castes, which were 'adharma-sambhava', in Prthu himself could not attain peace of mind, and his subjects began to suffer from scarcity of food. Consequently, in accordance with the advice of Brahmins, Prthu stopped the further multiplication

171 Yeries 49-50-

mturbhya eva varnebhyo jäyante te kilottamäh/ tato ye 'svä-tanggamena samkaräntara-kärakäli// te coktä madhyamä vipra adhamäh samkaräntaran/ tamkaräntara-samhhūtāh sa-cāṇḍāla-malādayah//

The Vanga, ed. wrongly reads 'sa-candāla-munādayah' for the second half of the fourth line.

The Vanga, ed. reads the third line as follows: tasmād vai ganako jāto homo-pūjā-parāyaņah.

But this reading is supported neither by the ASB ed. nor by any of the Ducca University Mas.

In the sixth line the Vanga, ed. reads '-kāmboja-' (for '-kamboja-') and the Dacca University Mt No. 4199 reads '-kāmboja-'.

tre Verse 5a-adharma-sambhavās te vai tamkarāh pythivi-tale.

The facts that the mixed castes are called 'adharma-tambhava' in the above-mentioned line, that the Antyaja castes are called 'varializama-habitetta' (ityādi ye 'ntyajāh proktā vargāirama-habitettāh—verse 470 of chap. (3), that in verses 17 and 22 the members of the mixed castra are called 'vikṛtākāra' (ugly), and that these members are said to have looked upon Brahmā, Viṇnu and other gods as inferior to themselves (cf. verse 19c—'brahma-viṣṇvādayo devā nāsmatto by adhikāḥ kvarit', untered by the members of the mixed castra), tend to indicate that according to the author of the Brhaddharma-p, the above-mentioned mixed castes were mostly non-Aryan in origin and heretical in faith.

of mixed castes, chastised the defiant members of these castes, and asked the Brahmins to determine their 'varna' (caste)174 and 'vrtti' (profession). The Brahmins styled all the 'thirty-six castes' as Śūdras, asked them what professions they would like to adopt according to their own capacity, and told them that they would be classified by names in accordance with their respective professions, 48 The Karanas came forward first of all (adau)178 and said to the Brahmins, "We are ignorant, belong to no caste (jāti-hīnāh), and are specially devoid of wisdom. People like yourselves are allknowing. [So], make us as we deserve to be."127 The Brahmins found that these Karanas were 'nîtijna' and 'vinayācāra-sampanna'. So, they classed them as 'Sacchūdra' (clean Śūdras)178, asked them to give up 'mātsarya', and assigned to them the work of the state as well as that of the scribes. The Brahmins then took up the case of the Ambasthas, who were known as such because of the fact that they created mixed castes (viz., Svarnakāra and Svarnavanik) on women belonging to the same caste as that of their

the Brahmins to determine their castes ('varna'—verses 23-24), that the Brahmins to determine their castes ('varna'—verses 23-24), that the Brahmins styled the 'thirty-six castes ('jāti')' as Sūdras (verse 26), and that the Karanas called themselves 'jātihīna' (casteless—verse 28), tend to indicate that before the classification of the som-Brahmin population (of Bengal) into 'thirty-six castes', the inhabitants of this province had little sense of caste distinction. Such a state of society was most probably due to the spread of Buddhisto.

im Verse 26-

brāhmaņā deub-

sattrimaiaj-jātayah śūdrā yūyam bhūtās tu samkarāb/ kah kim karisyate karma sa tad brūtām sva-iaktitab/ karmānurūps-nāmāno yūyam sarve bhavisyatha//

¹⁷⁹ This shows that according to the Brhaddharma-p, it was the Karanas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all, and that they commanded the highest respect among the 1900-Brahmins.

¹¹¹ Verse 28-

karana uvāca-

vayam műrkhű jáú-hlnáh prajúä-siinyű viématah/ bhavad-vidhäs tu sarvajúäh kurudivans no yathocisűnj/

The Vanga, ed. reads 'bhavad-vidhāms tu sarvajūān kurudhavani tu yathocitān' for the second line.

¹⁷⁹ Verse 32-

eja eva hi sacchúdeo bhavaty eva na namázyab/ brátimage hhaktimastvarp tu devatárádháne matih/ amátiaryatp suillatvam etat sacchúdra-laksagam//

mother (ambã), and who were consequently looked upon asgreat sinners and despised. 179 The Brahmins gave these Ambaşthas 'almost a rebirth' by performing their samskāra (ceremony of purification), named them as 'Vaidya', and gave the 'Ayurveda' to them through Nāsatya and Dasra.100 Thus the Ambasthas were made sinless (pāpa-śūnya) and good-looking (cāru-rūpadhara).191 The Brahmins asked these Ambaşthas (i.e. Vaidyas) to adopt the course of Śūdras in their ordinary life, to perform the Vedic rites, to study the 'Ayurveda' only and not any other work such as the Purāṇa etc., and to follow the profession of Vaisyas in the manufacture and distribution of medicines;182 the Ugras, who were strong and brave, were asked to follow the profession of Ksatriyas;180 and the Magadhas, who were unwilling to

III Venes 38-39-

brālimaņā deul--

ayam anyah sunkaro hi venasya valagah pura/ vailyliqu tamupasamgamya cakre'nyam api tamkaram// tasmād ambaytha-nāmāstu samkaro'yam dharāpate/ pāpam eva mahac cakre nindyatvām gatam avyayam//

The fourth line (papam eva etc.) is wanting in the Variga.ed. Mar A and C, used in the ASB ed., wrongly read 'padam' for 'papam'. 118-11 Versey 39-42a-

brahmani Ocub-

asmābhir asya saqukārah kartavyo vipra-janmanab/ yenāsau saipskrio bhūtvā pimar-jāta ivāstu ca// vyhea uvilcaity uktvā te dvija-ganāh tempvā nāsatya-damakou/

tayor anograhād vipra dayāvanto dvijātayah// âyurvedam dadan taumai vaidya-nāma ca puṇkalam/ tenāsau pāpa-ičinyo'thūd ambasthali khyāti-samyutab// caru-rūpa-dhara bhūtvā viprājāām iirasākarat//

The Dacca University Mas read 'vaidya-nāma' and the Vanga, ed. reads 'vaidyanāmne' for 'vaidya-nāma' in line 5, tor Vener 44-46-

brāhmanā ūcub--

cikinā-kulalo blutevā kutalī tiytha bluttale/ füdra-dharmān samāšritya vaidikāni karisyasi// Ayurvedas tu yo dattas tubhyam ambaştha bhüsuraib/ tena prasakto naivānyat purāņādi vadiņyasi// āyurvedāt param nānyad yusmākam vākyam arhati/ vaišya-vrttvā bhanajāni krtvā dāsyasi sarvatab//

W Verse 50a-b-

ayam ugrābbidho'py satu balavān sāhasānvitāb! yudilhe kusalatanyastu kantra-vitter mahamate// become professional fighters like Ugras, were to work as bards (vandi) to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, to carry their letters to the addressees, and to study the Kṣatra-veda (i.e. works on the science of war). The other castes were given the following professions:—

Caste

Profession

| Tantuvāya | Manufacture of cloth (vastra- sīṣṭi). |
|----------------------------|--|
| (Gandha-) Vanik | Sale of scents (gandha-vikraya). |
| Nāpita | |
| | (kṣaura-karma). |
| Gopa | Writing (likhana). |
| Karmakāra | Work of a blacksmith (lauha- |
| | karma). |
| Taulika | Sale of betel-nuts (guvāka- |
| | vikraya). |
| Tāmbūli ,, | Sale of betels (tāmbūla-vikraya) |
| Kumbhakāra | Manufacture of earthen wares |
| | (mṛdāṃ śilpam). |
| Kaṃsakāra | Work connected with copper, |
| | bell-metal etc. (tāmra-kāṃsy- |
| | ādi-karma). |
| Sānkhika (i.e. Sankhakāra) | Manufacture of ornaments from |
| | conch-shells (śańkha-bhūṣā). |
| Dāsa | Agriculture (kṛṣi-karma.) |
| Sūta ¹⁸⁸ | Rendering help to Dasas (most |
| | probably by manufacturing |
| | ploughs and other implements |
| | for cultivation. Cf. verse 61b- |
| | dāse tu kṛṣi-karmāṇi sūte tad- |
| | 119 1 |

зы Verses 50e-56.

upayogitām).

The profession of the Sütas show that they were most probably carpetters. It seems that Süta and Takşan formed two distinct sections among the carpetters (Süta-dhara caste). Takşan may be the same as the Parita (failen) Sütradhara caste mentioned in Brahmavaivarta-p. 1, 10.

Max.

Caste Profession

Modaka .. Preparation of sweetmeats with molasses (guda-karma).

Mālākāra ... Supply of flowers for worship of deities.

Svarņakāra .. Manufacture of ornaments with gold and silver (svarņa-rūpya-bhūṣaṇādi-nirūpana),

Kānaka Vanik¹⁰⁰ ... Testing of the purity of gold (i.e. Svarņa-vaṇik) and silver.

The Brahmins gave works on astronomy and astrology to the Gaṇakas and made them Graha-vipras. At the prayer of the members of the mixed castes for priests for the performance of 'Vaidika, Smārta and Āgamika (i.e. Tantric) rites', the Brahmins said, "We, Śrotriya Brahmins, are priests to the [first] twenty castes. The priests of the remaining sixteen castes are the fallen Brahmins, who will attain the same position as their clients and become Brahmins in name only (brahma-bandhu)."

Thus king Pṛthu put a stop to the further growth of mixed castes, and the world attained peace and prosperity.

[In this chapter there are indications that the members of the non-Brahmin castes were originally non-Aryan, that they had a mixture of Aryan blood in their veins, that they were heretical in faith and had little sense of caste distinction before their classification into the above-mentioned castes,

For 'kānako vanik' (ASB ed., verse 68) the Dacca University Mis Nos, 4199 and 4649 tead 'svarnako vanik'; the Dacca University Ms No. 319 reads 'kālako vanik'; and the Vanga, ed. has 'kaliko vanik'.

itr vinokunām to jātloām purodhāh irotriyā vayam/ anyeiām sodailnām tu purodhāh patito dvijah// taj-jāti-tulyatām yāyād heahma-handhur hhaved api/

⁽ASB ed., verses 74-75).

The text of these lines, given in the ASB ed., is supported by all the Daces University

and that it was the Karanas who imbibed Brahmanical influence first of all.]

Chap. 15.—Incarnation of Supreme Brahma (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Mention of Vāsudeva's exploits.

Praise of gift of gold, cows, food (anna), land and clothes

which pleases Krsna. Praise of donation.

Chap. 16.—Story of Kṛṣṇa's birth.—Vasudeva's agreement with Kaṃsa to hand over to him every child of Devaki immediately after its birth; Kaṃsa's killing of six children of Devaki; Viṣṇu's eulogy of Devi (Kāli) at Kāmarūpa for saving his own life when he would be born of Devaki; Devi's consent to transfer the seventh child of Devaki into Rohiṇi's womb and to be born of Yaśodā; Viṣṇu's entrance into the womb of Devaki, and his birth as Kṛṣṇa on the Bhādra-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī Tithi; Kaṃsa's attempt to kill Devi, born of Yaśodā but transferred to Devaki; Devi's slipping into the sky, her assumption of a dreadful form, and her threat to Kaṃsa,

[In the above-mentioned eulogy, Devi is described as follows: She is dark-blue like the new cloud, wears a tiger-skin which is tied round her waist with a snake, has three eyes and four hands, and holds a khadga (sceptre), a pāka (noose), and a skull. As Mangala-candikā she is said to have granted a boon to Kālaketu by assuming the form of a 'godhikā', and to have saved, by sitting on a lotus and devouring and vomitting out elephants, a merchant and his son from the rage of king Śriśālavāhana.]

111 Venes 95-96-

ajta-lustā khadga-carma-iūlāsi-bāņa-pāšakaih/ paraiu-yajti-saṃyuktair deva-devībhir arcitā// ghaņtā-iaikha-dhamur-tādaih iabdayantī difo dašai

100 Verse 45-

tvam kälaketu-varadā cehala-godhikāsi yā tvam inbhā bhavasi mangala-camikākhyā/ irtiālavāhana-mpād vanijah sasūno rakṣāmbuje kari-cayam grasstī vamanti//

For 'rakaambuje' (in the second line) the Darra University Mss Nos. 1199 and 4649

read 'rakṣāṣrje' and the Vanga, ed, reads 'rakṣe'mbuje'.

The above-mentioned verse refers to the stories of Kalakem and Salmanta Sadagara found in the Candi-mangala-kavyav of Bengal.

Chap. 17.—Merriment at Gokula on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birth. Gopis' blessings on Kṛṣṇa with paddy, Dūrvā grass etc.; Rāma and Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits, viz., killing of Baka and other demons, chastisement of the snake Kāliya, stealing of clothes of Gopis, performance of the Rāsotsava, upholding of the Govardhana hill, killing of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, bringing about the destruction of Kālayavaṇa, and so on.

Chap. 18.—Names of Kṛṣṇa's wives, sons and grandsons. Story of the gem called Syamantaka, which was recovered by Kṛṣṇa from Jāmbavat. Kṛṣṇa's friendship with the Pāṇḍavas, and his killing of Śiśupāla, Śālva, Pauṇḍraka and others.

Chap. 19.—Description of the state of religion and society in the Kali age.

[This chapter contains valuable information regarding the contemporaneous state of religion and society in Bengal. It is said that during the Kali age people would be at daggers drawn, and the Brahmins would scarcely study the Vedas. The Sudras would read the Puranas and explain their meaning. "They would teach the Brahmins grammar and other šāstras." The Vedic religion would be eclipsed by the faiths of the Pasandas (pasanda-dharmaih). "The Paşandas would create their own gods by dint of their own intellect, compile sastras in the Prakrit language on the basis of non-sastras and preach their own faiths with a spirit of rivalry." They would forsake Kṛṣṇa and worship their non-śāstric god. These Pāṣaṇḍas and the Yavanas would destroy the varņāśrama-dharma. People would become licentious (bhaga-ling-opajīvinah), disguise themselves as Vaisnavas, and impart mantras to dishonest people for the sake of money. They themselves would hate the gods and make the honest twice-born people irreverent towards them. 100 "When Kṛṣṇa would leave the earth, the reviling Bauddhas would establish their own faith which was outside the pale of all religions. There would be serious disagree-

¹³⁸ This seems to be a censure on the followers of Madhya,

ment among the Puranas as well as among the different systems of philosophy, and Sarasvati would be weeping out of agony. In order to remove this mental agony of Sarasvati, Siva and Visnu would be incarnate somewhere on earth in families having the surname 'Acarya'. Vișnu, being incarnate as an Ācārva,101 would have Sarasvatī as his wife, and the Ācārya, named Śamkara, would become a sanınyāsin. These two would refute the views of the Buddhists by means of the Nyava system of philosophy and the latter would suffer great mental agony. After suppressing the Bauddhas, Ācārya Śaṃkara himself would write divine stavas and kavacas of deities and become the author of many beneficial philosophical works. By virtue of the 'mṛtasamjivani ridyā' he would assume different bodies and write excellent books on Kāvya, Vyākaraņa etc. When these two Ācāryas would leave this earth, Kali would be predominant and deprive the people of their spirit, and Dharma would decrease day by day."102 "Brahmins would forsake the Vedas and take intoxicants, and the earth would yield scanty crops and shrink day by day." "The Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave this earth which would be crowded only by Mlecchas." Hari would be incarnate as Kalki and exterminate all these Mlecchas. Then the earth would be covered by water, and the Satyavuga would begin again.]

Chap. 20.—Crimes (such as killing of Brahmins, drinking of wine, etc.) which are called mahāpātakas. But a Śūdra

This perhaps refere to Kumārila-bhatta.

¹⁸⁸ Versei 20-29a

tyakte kranena bhū-khande hauddhāḥ kecid vidinakāḥ/ sva-matam shāpayiyyanti sarva-dharma-bahiskṛtam// tadā purāņe sarvamun darānesu ca sarvaiab/ vibhedesu tadā duḥkhād rodamānā sarasvati// tasya hi duḥkha-fāntyartham fivo viņnui ca hhūtale ācāryopādhi-gosthyām tu kutrāpy avatarisyataḥ// viņnor ācārya-rūpasya tā ca bhāryā bhaviyyati/ ācāryab sarpkarākhyo bi kṛtvā sarpnyānatu āsramam// ubhau tau hauddha-sanghasya naiyāyika-matena ha/ nivārayiyyanti balāt te mariyyanti dāhitāḥ//

The expression 'te mariyyanti dahitah' does not seem to refer to religious persecution.

does not become guilty of mahāpātaka by drinking wine. Mahāpātakas in the case of Śūdras (viz., reading of Purāṇas, non-salutation of Brahmins, sexual intercourse with Brahmin women, and so on). Crimes (viz., plagiarism, misinterpretation of śāstras, interpolation of verses into Purāṇas, and so on) which are equal to the mahāpātakas. Spread of sins among the people through conversation, touch of the body, breaths, inter-dining, riding the same vehicle, and sitting on the same seat. Denouncement of association with Yavanas, use (or study) of their language, and taking food from them. Praise of the 'Bṛhaddharma-purāṇaka' as the best 'Upa-purāṇa', just as the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' is the best of all 'Mahāpurāṇas'.

Chap. 21.—Praise of the 'Bṛhaddbarma-purāṇa', which is called a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta work' and is said to occupy a unique position among the 'Upapurāṇas' just like the 'Śrīmad-bhāgavata' among the 'Mahāpurāṇas'.

The above analysis of contents shows how important the Brhaddharma-p, is from various points of view. In this work there are numerous evidences¹⁸⁵ which point to Bengal as the place of its origin. These evidences are as follows:

(i) In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 13 there is a list of 'thirty-six [mixed] castes with a few additional ones' (ṣaṭtriṃśaj-jātayaḥ ... sādhikāḥ ...) which are all non-Brahmin and include the name of Vaidya; and in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 14 these 'thirty-six castes' have been called 'Sūdras'188, and their vocations have been given. In these two chapters the Brahmins also have been divided into two main classes, viz.,

ālāpād gātra-saṃspariān niḥivāsāt saha-bhojanāt/ cka-yānāsanābhyām ca pāpam saṃkramate nṃām// saṃsargo yāvanai caiva bhāṭā ca yāvanī tathā/ surā-tulyam dvayam proktam yavanānnam tato 'dhikam//

¹⁴⁴ Vene 14-15-

¹⁸⁶ Verse Sa-

idam bi vaişgavam iāstram iaivam iāktam tathaiva ca.

Some of these evidences were noted by Jogesh Chandra Roy in his shurt analysis of the Brhaddharma-p.—See Bhāratavarşa (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutm), XVII, Part ii, 1336-37 B.S., pp. 673-81.

¹⁶ Verse 26-şaştrimiaj-jātayah füdeāh

Śrotriya and Patita. It is to be noted that the tradition of 'thirty-six castes' (अवित्र गानि) is very popular in Bengal, in that all the castes (including Gaṇaka), mentioned in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 13-14, still exist only in Bengal and follow the same professions as mentioned in the Bṛhaddharma-p., that Vaidya, as a caste, is found in no other province than Bengal, and that even at the present day the non-Brahmin castes of Bengal are called Śūdras.

(ii) Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 1. 23-24 prescribe the following surnames to be used by the members of the different castes:
(a) 'Deva-sarman' for Brahmins, (b) 'Rāya' and 'Varman' for Kṣatriyas, (c) 'Dhana' (i.e. words indicative of wealth) for Vaisyas, (d) 'Dāsa' for Śūdras, (e) 'Devi' for females belonging to the Brahmin and Kṣatriya castes, and (f) 'Dāsi' for females of the Vaisya and Śūdra castes. These surnames, especially 'Devi' and 'Dāsi', are still used in Bengal,

(iii) The Brhaddharma-p, uses the word 'ma' in the sense of 'mother', 100 and the word 'bhagna' in the sense of

'sister' (bhagini). 200

(iv) Some Sanskrit words and verbal roots have been used in the Brhaddharma-p. in such peculiar senses as are found attributed to them in Bengali, viz.,

(a) the root 'vas' in the sense of 'sitting' and the

phrase 'mukhe jagāda' for 'mukhena jagāda', 1901

100 In Brhaddh, I. 4, 21, only two caster have been mentioned, viz., Brahmin and

Süden.

1 Byhaddh, 11, 30, 30-

tadā in jīvito bālah prāņaņi piūpya ca tatkiaņāi/ pārvatīņi hariavāmāsa māmeti kṛtyu rodanam//

The ASB ed. reads 'mametyavyakta-rodanah' for the second halt of the second line.

atha dakso dadaršainām kālim kamala-locanām/ bbagui-gaņava madhyasthām tārānām mhinim iva

nticher nikatam gatvā jijitāsor usimbhavas. 11. 14. 66- ityuktas tena haripā nārado lajjayānvitab; na jagāda mukhe kimeiddharinā mha cāvasat//

14. 67- uvāsa nārastat cāpi pūrva-kalpita āsam.

III. 4, 32- brāhmaņasvāsane šūdeo na vasec ca kadācana.

and Makandarama's Kavikankana-candl (both written in Bengali). 'दिश्व जातिर मार्च is a very popular saying in Bengal.

- (b) the word 'svikara' in the sense of 'promise', 200
- (c) the word 'vilakṣaṇa' in the sense of 'sufficient', 285
- (d) the word 'kṣati' in the sense of 'loss', 103
- (e) the word 'dvārā' in the sense of 'with' or 'by',200
- (f) the word 'nikata' in the sense of 'to' or 'near',207
- (g) the word 'he' in place of 'bho', 208
- and (h) the word 'pārita' used in the sense of 'capable of being done' but without any word ending in the suffix 'tum'. 200
- (v) The form of goddess Kālī and the method of her worship with 'Mālasī'an songs, as described in Brhad-

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and Brhaddh, 1, 2, 2-4a-
    amithyā-vacanam satyam svikāra-pratipālanam/
    evann dvädašadhā satyarp . . .
Brhaddh, II. 14. 56—gånåd virama devarge kyram gånam vilakjanam.
201 Brhaddh, II. 6, 42-tvam tu gatvā kjatim avlyām kariyyasi vilakyyate,
Brhaddh, I. 10, 49—katham adya para-dvärä pankaja-dvayam änave.
20 Brhaddh, I. I. 10- ... aham prāpto vadarikāšramāt/
           bhavatān nikatam ... !!
1, 3, 75-aulther nikajam gatvā jijnāsor upito 'bhavat.
1. 23. 29-evam tu gopi-bākulyād aneka-cāru-vigraham/
         sarvābhih ava-ava-nikaje pūrņu-rūpam ca laksitam//
1. 29. 13—sa jānīte kāvya-bējam tamād gatchata tatra vai /
         tatas te nikajam prāptā vayam satve mahamayah!)
I. 30. 60-gangāyā nikata-sthalāt ... ...
11, 6, 88 dakşajena izrireya nāham te nikatocitā.
II. 4.5-clasiq tarpnika(fbhūya ... ...
[1, 10, 40-nāradah sahasā gantuņt matim tannikaje 'karot,
11. 10. 59-... yah lambhor nikatam gatah.
II. 12, 37-... devās te nīkasāgatāh.
H. 12. 61-... ... ... girijā satt/
          ... ... yau brahmādi-nikaturp ... ... //
II. 13, 23-... uadā fambhah sthāsyāmi nikate kile.
II. 13. 24 sadā bliaktimatāņi capi nikateju vasāmy aham.
II. 14. 14-ahum göydmi nölufe tazeti yadi manyanc.
II. 14. 57-gänsep kuruyva ceryukto yo gäyati sa müdhadhib/
          jijhäsor nikaje vipça tasya ganam vidhi-kastam!/
And so on.
🏁 Brhaddh. I. 29. 29—ity uktās te muni-gaņāh tānandā eva be takhiji
                     pranamy-adikavim irilam valmikim to gatus tatah//
            1. 30. 57-... he sakhi.
           11. 26. 35-tvam na focasva ho rājan ....
Brhaddh. II. 19.1-pürvair apāritam karma . . . . . .
He We have already noted that particular songs about godden Käll are popularly
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called 'Mālasī gāna' (> Mālsī gān) in Bengal.

dharma-p. I. 23, is peculiar to Bengal (and also perhaps to

Assam).

(vi) The method of the autumnal worship of Durga, as given in Brhaddharma-p. I. 22, is followed in Bengal. It includes certain rites which are peculiar only to Mithila, Bengal and Kāmarūpa, viz., bodhana of Devi in a Bilva tree on the Āśvina-kṛṣṇa-navamī, worship of Devi in the Bilva tree up to the following Sukla-şaşthi, special worship of Devi on the Mahāstami and Mahānavami Tithis, and the singing of amorous songs containing words denoting male and female organs of generation (i.e. the performance of Śāvarotsava) on the Vijayā Daśami Tithi.

(vii) The method of performing the Rāsa-festival on the Kārttiki Paurņamāsi, as described in Brhaddharma-p.

I. 23, is still followed in Bengal.

(viii) The Śivotsava, described in Brhaddharma-p. III. 9, is the same as the modern Caitra-pūjā (also called Cadakpujā or Gājan) which is performed by the Hindu villagers

in the month of Caitra in all parts of Bengal.

(ix) In the story of the introduction of the custom of observing the Govinda-dvādašī-vrata on Phālguna-śukladvādašī we find Varuņa threatening Bhādra-šukla-dvādašī (a deity) thus: "Oh foolish Dvādašī 'Tithi, don't you know me? Every year I shall flood the whole earth on your day, so that no worship of Hari, the lord of all, becomes possible in you."211 We know that in Bengal the level of water of annual flood during the rainy season reaches its highest point in the month of Bhadra. 112 Hence in the abovementioned threat of Varuna, there is unmistakable reference to the condition prevailing in Bengal.

(x) Among the names of the principal holy places situated on the banks of the Ganga from Ganga-dvara to

¹¹¹ Rehaddh, I. 23, 49-

tithe deādaši se mūrkhe kim na jānāu mām aps! tvad-dine dharaulm sarvām plāvaye prativatsaraus yathā tvayi na pūjā syāddharrh sarvešvarasya hi //

²¹² See also Brhaddh, 11, 24, 45bliadra-keyna-caturdaiyām yāvad ākramam jalami toward garbibam vijaniyat tad-undhvum tiram ucyate //

Gangā-sāgara-samgama, mention is made of Prayāga, Vārāṇasi, the confluence of the Gangā with the Padmāvatī, and Triveṇī where the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā become separate from the Gangā, in the same order as given above. Hence the Padmāvatī must be identical with the river Padmā, and Triveṇī with Muktaveṇī near Hughli in Bengal.

In Brhaddharma-p. II. 20, 49 the names 'Padmā' and 'Padmāvatī' are mentioned among the thousand names of Gangā.

In connection with the description of the course of the Ganga from the Sumeru mountain to the ocean it is said in Brhaddharma-p. II. 22 that after leaving Jahnu's hermitage the Ganga followed the course of the Padmāvati to a distance, then took a southerly course, and, after being separated from the Yamuna, met the ocean, and that the Padmāvati attained broadness, rushed towards the east, and flowed into the ocean.

These references to the Padmävati, Triveni, and the course of the Gangă show how greatly the author of the Brhaddharma-p. tried to identify the river Hughli with the Gangā and to pass the Padmā as a sacred river.

(xi) In two places²¹¹ of the Bṛhaddharma-p, the sight of a Śaṅkha-cilla (red kite, popularly called Śaṅkha-cil) is mentioned as auspicous; and this belief exists in Bengal even at the present day.

(xii) In Bengal, the use of paddy and Dürvä grass in blessing on ceremonial occasions has become a custom with women; and this custom has been referred to in Bṛhad-

dharma-p. III. 17,216 wherein gopis are found to bless the

new-born Kṛṣṇa with paddy and Dūrvā grass.

(xiii) By way of praising the goddess Kāli in Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 16. 37-45, the author calls her 'śubhā maṅgala-caṇḍikā' and refers to the stories of Kālaketu and Śrīmanta Sadāgara in the verse 'tvaṇ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi etc.' Now, these stories are peculiar to Bengal only and are found to occur elaborately in the Caṇḍi-maṅgala-kāvyas of medieval Bengal. So, this reference shows that the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. must have been a Bengali, otherwise he could never make such brief, and to non-Bengalis unintelligible, reference to these stories.

(xiv) The peculiar stories of Dakşa-yajña-dhvaṃsa, Haragaurī-vivāha, Gaṇeśa-janma and Gaṅgotpatti, occurring in the Bṛhaddharma-p., are almost the same as those given in the Kavikaṅkaṇa-caṇḍî. So, it seems that in versifying these stories the author of the Bṛhaddharma-p. followed the popular tradition of Bengal.

(xv) The influence of Jayadeva's Gita-govinda is clearly discernible on the style, metre and spirit of the song (on Kṛṣṇa-lilā at Vṛndāvana) which is given in Bṛhaddharma-p.

II. 14. 88ff. as follows:

"dütikovāca —keśava kamala-mukhî-mukha-kamalam kamala-nayana kalayātulam amalam/ kuñja-gehe vijane'tivimalam //

dhruvah //

surucira-hema-latánavalambā taruņa-tarum bhagavan-

jagad-avalambanam avalambitum anukalayati sā tu bhavantam //

m Venes 4-5-

priyovāca — rasikeša kešava he /
rasa-sarasīm iva mām upayojaya rasamaya rasam iva he //
dhruvaḥ //

This song itself is Bengali in character.

(xvi) Brhaddharma-p. III. 5. 48³¹⁸ contains direction about the sequence in which different kinds of food are to be eaten; and this sequence is followed in Bengal even at the present day.

(xvii) The Brhaddharma-p. contains some of the Sanskrit proverbs which are still very popular in Bengal, viz.,

(a) nāmno'sya yāvatī śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharaņe hareḥ/ tāvat kartum na śaktaḥ syāt pātakam pātakī janaḥ // (Bṛhaddharma-p, I. 28, 19) which has its parallel in the Bengali saying—-

> एकवार हरिनामं यत पाप हरे। जीवेर कि साध्य प्राक्ते तन पाप करे।।

(b) yasya nāsti gṛhe mātā bhāryā vā priyavādinī/ araṇyaṃ tena gantavyaṃ yathāraṇyaṃ tathā

grham //

(Brhaddharma-p. II. 15, 14).

(c) āvṛttiḥ sarva-śāstrāṇāṃ bodhād api gariyasī//

(Brhaddharma-p. III. 5. 6).

(xviii) In Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 5. 44-46²¹⁷ Brahmins are allowed to eat particular kinds of fish except on some particular days. It is to be noted that it is only some Nibandha-writers of Bengal (such as Bhavadeva-bhaṭṭa, Śṛṇāṭha Ācāṛya-cūḍāmaṇi and others) who allow the Brahmins to eat fish under certain restrictions. In his Pṛāyaś-citta-pṛakaraṇa, pp. 67-68 Bhavedeva has strained every nerve to prove that by eating fish under certain restrictions the Brahmins do not incur sin.

(xix) From an examination of the names of the trees, plants and flowers mentioned in the Brhaddharma-p.

and For this verse see footnote 142 above,

[&]quot;17 For these verses see footnote 141 above.

Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that the author of this Upapurana lived in the eastern part of the district of Burdwan. 218

(xx) Of the mahāpīthas created by the fall of the different parts of Sati's body the Brhaddharma-p. (I. 14) mentions only three, viz., Kāmarūpa, Vakreśvara (in the district of Birbhum) and Ujjayini (modern Mangalkot, in the district of Burdwan), of which the last two belong to Western Bengal.

(xxi) Almost all the Mss of the Brhaddharma-p., hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in

Bengali script.

(xxii) The peculiar method of composition called 'बोबिशा', which is so favourite with the vernacular poets of Bengal, 210 is found in Brhaddharma-p. II. 20, 134-171 (in which more than 250 names of Ganga have been arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial letters, viz., क to झ, झ to मो, and चं and झ:. It is to be noted that in this arrangement 'ज' has been regarded as a separate वर्ग.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the author of the Brhaddharma-p. was an inhabitant of Bengal. It is highly probable that his paternal blood-relations lived at Mangalkot in the district of Burdwan, but he migrated from that place to the bank of the Ganga and took his residence somewhere near Trivent in the district of Hughli. In course of naming some holy places in Brhaddharma-p. I. 14 he mentions Ujjayini (modern Mangalkot) and says abruptly that the place, where many of one's paternal blood-relations (jñātayaḥ) live, is the best holy place for him. He then speaks of the duties of a 'jñāti' in more than a decade of verses, and, before mentioning the names of the other holy places such as Puskara, Gaya, Vaidyanatha etc., says that the duties of a 'jnan' have been mentioned in connection with Ujjayini.200 He regards the Ganga as the

зю See Bhārntavarşa, XVII, її (1336-37 В.S.), р. 676.

ess For instance, see Mukundarama's Kavikankana-candi (ed. Dinesh Ch. Sen and others), pp. 321-8. ere Brhaddh. 1. 1426a—prasangāt kuthicara takhyau jūšti-kāryam idam mayā.

best holy place²²¹ and even as Brahma itself,²²² and looks upon the part of the country lying along the banks of the Gangā as the best of all places,²²³ He decries those who do not migrate to the banks of the Gangã²²⁴ and extols one whose paternal home is there.²²⁵

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Brhaddharma-p.

This work knows the Mahābhārata in its present form as well as the Gitā belonging to it, 227 indirectly refers to the Vāyu-p, as dealing with tīrthas, 220 and speaks of (i) Vālmīki's Rāmāyaņa of seven Kāṇḍas, 240 (ii) 'the Purāṇa proclaimed by Matsya' (i.e. the Matsya-p.) as dealing elaborately with the Siva-lingas and holy places at Benares, 250 (iii) 'the

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en Behaddle, I. 2.34-nästi gangā-samam tirtham......
     m Hid., 11. 14, [0] -
          gāna-brahma-bhavan brahma bori-deha-dravākhyakam /
          gaugā-brahma samvīnuyād iti brahma hy upāyayat //
     sas Hid., I. 2.38—deśo gangāntikah ireghah.....
 Brhaddh, I. 6,37-
          evam yaira ca yairaiva gangă-tire dvaye sobhe /
          tivālayā brahma-viņņu-brāhmaņānāņ tathālayāh /
          te'pi tirtha-viiesena deva-pithāi ca ye punah //-
     324 /bid., 11, 25,45-
          agnéga-desa-vási yo blagna-váso dvijaszablad /
         na gangām āirayed devim paranı sa vidhi-valleitah /
     11. 25.51-
          paitrki vasatir yanya gangā-tire dvijaranisha /
         manugya-carmana naddhah ra tivo nitra saquiayah //
 The Vanga, of, reads 'labdhab' for 'naddhab'.
    2 Drhadelli, J. 25-30.
    arr Ibid., III. 7.2-3-
         gliā-dāstram bhāratiyant......
         candim gitap......
Brhaddh, f. 30,43-pramāņam bhagavad-ghā.....
    128 Mid., 1. 5.3
         tirthani santy asamkhyani......
         tejäm pelidhänyatah prilha tirthänäm väyur eva hi //
    am Ibid., I. 25-30; I. 4.18. For the manes of the different Kandas of the Ramayana
ove Brhaddh. L. 26, 9-17.
    me Brhaddh, 1, 6,30-32-
        tam vārānasi nāma puri izmbboh satāņi gateli /
        maranam durlabham yatra yatra gang-ottarasravā //
        jale sthale mukri-dårri svandhüni manikarnikā /
        yasmin bhagavatah tambhor lingani subabinny ora //
        bhavanti täni tirthäni näma-bhedat petbak petbak /
        visco 'syasti vijacyalı purlac matsya-lihâşite //
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Purāņa named Brahmāṇḍa' as containing an account of the holy place named Vakreśvara, 201 (iv) the 'Viṣṇu-purāṇa' as spoken out by Parāśara, 201 (v) the 'Caṇḍi' as containing 700 verses and belonging to the 'Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa', 201 (vi) the Āditya-purāṇa as having described the appearance of Gāyatrī personified, 101 (vii) the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, 201 (viii) the great teacher Śaṃkarācārya as having eulogised Gaṅgā (i.e. composed a Gaṅgā-stava), 201 defeated the Bauddhas in debates, and written stavas, kavacas and many poetical works as well as treatises on philosophy, grammar etc., 201 and (ix) the 'Kālī-purāṇa' (i.e. the present Kālikā-purāṇa) as dealing with that best holy place (i.e. Kāmarūpa) which is situated on the bank of the Brahmanada

vakrešvara-sthalani caiva sutirthani samutāhitam // yatra pāpaharā nāma nadl puņya-jalā subbā /

brahmāndākhye purāne'sya jūcyam vivaranam inbham //

These lines refer to a work named 'Vakresvara-tirtha-māhātmya' which claums to be a part of the Brahmānda-p. (For a Ms of this 'Vakresvara-drdha-māhātmya' claiming to belong to the Brahmānda-p., see Shastri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 696-7, No. 4060 (Ms No. 5010).

Jogesh Chandra Roy wrongly takes the 'Brahmändakhya Parana', mentioned in the Brhaddbarma-p., to be an Upapurana named Brahmända. The fact is that some scholar or scholars of Brugal wrote the 'Vakreivara-detha-mähätmya' and sacribed it to the Brahmända-mahäpurana for authority.

Brhaddh. 1. 29.20—tato vigou-purāņasya kartā bhāvi parāšarah.

In the present Visnu-p., Paraiars is the main speaker.

²⁰³ Brhaddh, Hf. 7.2-9-

m /bid., 111, 2,31-

an Ibid., II. 11.72-tato loka-vimohāya buddhas tvam hi bhavipyan.

200 lbid., 11. 20.129—šamkurācārya-praustā šamkarācārya-samstatā.

191 Ibid., 111, 19, 24-27-

ubbau tau bauddha-tanghasya miyayika-matena ha /
nivārayiyanti balāt te marisyanti dāhitāh //
tān nivārya tato bauddhān ācāryaḥ tankaraḥ svayam devatānām stavān divyān kavacāni karisyati //
darianānām ea subbadān granthān api karisyati //
mṛta-sangivanim vidyām tamāstirya punah panah //
bhimpa-bhimua-sarīrais tu kāvya-vyākaranādikān //
karisyati (ybhān granthān throvāmi ca pathatām aruām //

These verses refer to theps. 189-185 (on Avinniktaksetra-māhātmya) of the present Matsya-p.

³¹² Brhaddh, I. 14, 29-30-

and where Sati's female organ fell.²³⁸ It includes the name of the Mahābhāgavata in its list of Mahāpurāṇas²³⁹ and must have based some of its stories on those of the latter.³⁴⁰ Among the standards of measurement of weight it mentions 'seraka'²⁴¹ (modern 'ਜੋt') which was introduced by the Muhammadans; and in verses 88ff. of chap. 14 of its Madhyakhaṇḍa it clearly betrays the influence of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. It knows the spread and tyranny of the Yavanas (Muhammadans) in Bengal.²⁴² Hence the date of this work cannot be placed earlier than 1200 A.D.

Again, the Ms of the Bṛhaddharma-p., preserved at Jammu, was copied in the year 1801 of the Vikrama Era; and Ms No. 4649, which is the oldest of the three Mss of this work preserved in the Dacca University, must be at least 250 years old. In his Caṇḍikā-maṅgala-kāvya, Lālā Jayanārāyaṇa, a Bengali poet of the eighteenth century, gives the Bengali rendering of the verse 'tvaṃ kālaketu-varadā cchala-godhikāsi etc.' (Bṛhaddharma-p. III. 16. 45) and says that this verse 'occurs in Viṣṇu's eulogy of Mahāmāyā in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bṛhaddharma-p.'an A Tantric

III.20.15—sameatgo yāvanas caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tuthā /

बृह्यस्मेंपुराणेर उत्तरसम्बेते।
लिखा महामाया-प्रति विष्णुर स्तवेते।।
यवतीणं हृइया तृमि यद्योदार गर्मेते।
कंस छलि विन्ध्यवानी हुवे निजगर्व।।
एइरूप स्तव ग्राखे विस्तरकथन।
ताते एक क्लोक एइरूपेते लिखन।।
नारतभूमेते चण्डी नीना प्रकाशिया।
कालकेतु उद्धारिवे गोधिका हृइया।।

²⁰⁰ Ibid., II. 10, 37-38. For the texts of these verses see footnote (2) above.

[·] See footnote 112 above.

³⁴⁶ For the stories and verses common to the Mahāhhāgavata and the Rehaddharmap., see Footnotes 642-643 in Chap. I above.

²⁵⁴ Brhaddh. III. 4, 11-13. For these verses see footnote 136 above.

¹⁸id., 111. 6.89—młecchám ca yavanim capi gatvá játyá parityajet. 111.19.16—yavanais taií ca páşandaih svadharmo náčnyisyate. 111.19.43—tatas tyaktyanti vai varná yavanasya balam sadá / devás tyaktyanti prthivim mleccha-mátra-samávytám //

In Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay's Kavikańkana-candi (Candi-mańgala-bodhini), Part I, p. 225 the relevant extract of Lälä Jayanäräyana's Candikä-mańgala-kävyn is given as follows:

work called Sakti-ratnakara names and utilises the Brhaddharma-p. 44 Three verses (which are the same as Brhaddharma-p. III. 20. 14-15, and 5. 54) have been ascribed to the 'Brhaddharma-p.' in a work named Kāvya-samgraha*6 which was written by Rāja-jīvana De Dāsa in 1655 Šaka during the regime of Nawab Galeb Ali Khan of Dacca. In his Yathartha-mañjari, Śrītirtha Svāmin quotes from the 'Brhaddharma' or 'Brhaddharma-purāṇa' a large number of verses, almost all of which are found in our printed text. 240 In the Dacca University Mss Library there is a Ms of a work

> मञ्जलचण्डिका नाम करिया प्रकाश । सम्बर्णे करिवर करिवेन पास ।। विणकमृतके फेलि भार सब्दुटेने । उदार करिवे नुप-बालवाहन हुने ॥

See also Sahitya Parigat Patrika, Vol., VII, 1307 B.S., pp. 153-154.

NA Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., No. 157, p. 101. For another Ms of the Sakti-ratulkara see Mitra, Notices, I, pp. 127-8, No. 242.

Macca University Ms No. 4321 (dated 1655 Saka), fol. 9b-Brhaddharma-

purane-

ālāpād gātra-samsparšān nivāsāt saha bhojanāt / ека-уаналанарнуйт са рарац запагазназе прави // samuargo yāvanas caiva bhāṣā ca yāvanī tathā/ surā-tulyan dvayan proktam yavanānnam tato 'dhikam // iloka-pātham purāņārtham iāstrārtha-kathanasp tathā / nechişta-vadaşın naiva kuryan mansram na coccaret //iti// verses quoted from the 'Brhaddharma' or 'Brhaddharma-p.' in

Yathārtha-mañjari (D.U. Ma No. 4093).

And to our

Brhaddharma-p. 200 111, 20, 9, fol. 3a IL 15, 58b, 63a, 64a, 70-71, 75 etc. fols. 5b-fia 11, 2, 11a, fel. 26b 111, 19, 22-28. fol. 40a-h II. 11. 10b. fol. 47a fol. 48a 11. 1. Ga-b. 111. 16. 44. fol Gla 1.4.22b; 1.8.1c; 1.7.57a; 1.9.42, 44-45, 47 and 48t-49a; fol. 64a-b I.10,16-17; II.11,96a and 97a; III. 20, 6b, FIL.12.19a and 20; 11.16.119. fol. 66a-b L25.18; 1.30.48b-49a. Fol. 666-67a II 3.39a and 4!a; II.5.18b and 21b; II.9.51b-52a. fol. 72a II.1.38-39, 54b etc. Joh. 74a-75a fpl. 78a 11.2.111-12. II.6.138b-143. fol. 83b 1.25,12b. fol. 84a III. 12,15b-16, 19-20 and 22b. fel. 84b

entitled Siva-pūjā-krama447 which claims to be a part of the Brhaddharma-p. These evidences show that the Brhaddharma-p. attained a position of wide recognition by 1600 A.D. So, it must have been written not later than 1450 A.D. Though the Brhaddharma-p. glorifies Visnu and his worship and names many of the holy places situated on the banks of the Ganga, it does not mention Navadvīpa, which grew up into an important holy place of the Bengal Vaisnavas after Caitanva. In chap, 15 of its Pürva-khanda it speaks of four months, viz., Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiśākha, as the best of all and names the principal rites to be performed during these months, but it does not mention the Rāsa festival. As a matter of fact, the Rasa festival, though described in chap. 23 of the Pürva-khanda and mentioned in chaps. 10 and 17 of the Uttara-khanda, is not regarded as important. Further, the Brhaddharma-p. praises Devi (Candi) and her worship and does not distinguish between the Saktas and the Vaisnavas. Hence this work must have preceded Caitanya of Navadvipa. In Brhaddharma-p. III. 3 the Ksatriva kings are advised to have 'darpa' (pride), to collect war materials, and to make all kinds of preparation for self defence; 248 according to Brhaddharma-p. III. 6. 89-90 one, who has sexual intercourse with Mleecha and Yayana women, is to be regarded as an out-cast.;218 in connection with the description of the nature of the Kali age it is said in Brhaddharma-p, III, 19 that the Yavanas and the Pasandas would destroy the Hindu religion, 250 the four castes would disappear, the Yavanas would become powerful, and the gods would leave the earth finding it

om namah iambhave //

²⁶⁷ Me No. 138S. It begins as follower

dhormaporane šiva-pūjā-kramah //

tiva-pājā-vidhim vipra tad ihaika-manāh imu / etc.

he colophon runs thus: iti behaddharma-purine vyžna-jaimini-amprāde (the remaining porsion of the colophon has become blurred).

^{***} Brhaddh, III. 3.2-

darpo virodho niyatam yaddha amagrya samgrahab / marikha-karanam caiya carcus raja-darianam //

For the text of these venes see footnote 147 above.

¹⁰⁰ Rehaddh, III. 19, 16-yavanais tuli ca pāsaņdaih svadharmo nālayiyase.

crowded only by Mlecchas; and in Brhaddharma-p. III. 20. 15 the author says, "Association with the Yavanas and the use of their language-these two have been said to be equivalent to [drinking] wine; [acceptance of] food from the Yavanas is worse than these." It is clear that at the time of composition of the Brhaddharma-p. the Muhammadans spread into Bengal but could not bring the whole province under their power, that the insult of defeat at the hands of these aliens was still fresh in the mind of the people, and that there were Hindu monarchs who were expected by the people to drive out these undesirable elements and become the saviours of the Hindus and the Hindu religion.

Hence it is highly probable that the Brhaddharma-p. was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. Jogesh Chandra Roy thinks that it was composed a little after the thirteenth century. 362

We have already seen 354 that chaps, 15-21 of the Uttarakhanda of the Vanga, ed. are not spurious. Among the remaining chapters also there is none which seems to have been added later. Hence the above general date of the Brhaddharma-p. can safely be taken to be that of all its chapters. In some cases the subsequent chapters refer to the contents of the previous ones.250 There are, of course, a few isolated verses which must have been added later. For instance, in Brhaddharma-p. II. 9, 30 Šuka says, "Prajāpati Dakşa saluted Siva with devotion by reciting [the following] six verses," but as a matter of fact, the number of verses given is eight, and not six.

A study of the Brhaddharma-p. shows that at the time of composition of this work the position of varnasramadharma became extremely critical in Bengal as a result of the

us Ibid., VII, 19, 43-

tatus tyukyyanti vai varnä yavanaeya baluin sailä ! devās tyakyvanti probivim mleccha-mātra-samāvrtām //

on For the text of this verse see footnote 193 above.

See Bhāratavatṣa, XVII, Part 6 (1336-37 B.S.), p. 677.

³⁴ See footnote 80 above.

For instance, Behaddle, 11, 1,1 refers to the contents of the Purva-khap-la; 11.2.9 (prakțtis trividhă proktă etc.) refers to H. I. 56-57; HI. I. 36 (guraval) păreum evolutio) refers to 1.2.19ff.; III. 5.1, refers to 111.2.2ff.; and so on.

wide spread mainly of Tantric Buddhism, 168 Tantric Saivism, 287 and Tantric Saktism, 288 on the one hand, and the tyranny of the Muhammadans, 268 on the other. These Buddhists, Saivas and Saktas, who had great affinities, followed the practice of the Vamas240 and ignored the rules of varnāśrama-dharma.281 Many of them embraced Muhammadanism without any scruple. Moreover, among the different sects of Bengal there was constant quarrel. 2012 The Muhammadans took advantage of this unfriendly feeling and often got the upper hand in the field of politics as well as religion. Hence the followers of varnāśrama-dharma felt the necessity of creating a feeling of religious toleration among the rival sects who were all influenced by Saktism and of bringing about a compromise between the ideas of Brahmanism and Tantricism. In Brhaddharma-p. II. 6, 135-14626 Satī is made to say: "See me, the mother of the world, O all-mighty [Siva], with your divine knowledge, and yourself write sastras for my worship. Speak out the highly effective mantras, stavas and kavacas of my different

jagāda mantra-tantrāņi sarva-daivatakāni ca //

10 Brhaddh. III. 19.16 (yavanaih....ıvadharma nājayiyyare) and 43 (devās

tyaksyanti prihivim mieccha-mātra-samāvrtām).

50 See Brhaddh. HJ. 19 (especially verses 2, 9-11, 38, 40 and 43).

³⁰ Cf. Brhaddh. III. 19.12-16.

an Bid., 11. 27.43—tämrikena vidhänena iivam sampõjya sädhakah. II.23.62- mahesvarah /

^{1.10.61-} pancakyarena mantiena . . . (i.e. with the manta 'namah šivāya'). 200 Rhid., 1.23.19 (goddess Kālī is to be worshipped in 'mahāṣṭaml-vidhāṇa' or 'Agamiks vidhi'); 1.21,58 (Devl is described as 'yantra-rūpā); 11.20,175 (worship of Gangā on the Daiaharā Tithi according to 'durgā-pūjā-vidhāna' or 'āgamika vidhi'); 11.6.135ff. (for the contents of these verses see below); 1.4.20 (gurus tantras ca mantras ca gopaniyah prayatnatah); I.4.22 (gurunt tantram devntām ca bhedayan nacakam vrajet); 1,5.70b (Gangā is addressed as 'bali-mārpsa-priye kāli matīyāsava-sukha-priye'); 1.5.80-81 (Ganga is praised as '..... brlip-avarūpini/..... ista-siddhi-kare sphem sphaum hraup hrām ...//); I.19.28 (tatah diā suradhunin natvā stutvā ca bhakti tah / balibhir matiya-māqusādyair gangā-pāraqu tato yayuh //): 11.11.62 (dvistye nārado bhūtvā bahāņu tantrān kariyyasi); and so on.

^{**} Brhaddh. III. 6.81-83, 89-91 and 98 (for the texts of which, see footnotes 128-130 above); III. 19. 16-kalau narā bhaviyyanti bhaga-ling-opajivinah); I. 5.70b and I. 19. 28 (for which see footnote 258 above).

²⁰³ Brhaddh. III. 19.5b (baddha-vairà bhaviyanti paraspara-vadhepsavah), 19b (devată-dvejakās ie vai dvejayiyanti iarvadā), and 44b (paraspara-virodhena te maripyanti survasab).

see Some of these lines are the same as Mahābhāgavata 8,77ff.

forms such as Kāli, Tārā etc. ... You are to become the author of the Agama, and Hari himself is to write the Veda. You were intended to become the author of the Agama first of all, and it was afterwards that Hari was engaged to write the Veda. Agama and Veda are my two splendid hands. With these two I support the three worlds. O Dhurjați, one, who violates [the directions of] the Agama and the Veda, falls down from my hands for ever. I am unable to save with my defective hands that person who transgresses one of these two (i.e. Agama and Veda) and follows the other. These are the two difficult but auspicious ways which one should never differentiate. Those, who follow the manners of the Vaisnavas, should preserve the secrecy of my formulae (mantra) and procedures (tantra). Hence, O Sambhu, those who are to initiate others to my worship, should be Šākta-vaisņavas, He alone, and not any other person, is a Śākta who has devotion to Sakti and Vișnu. How can one follow the course of a Śākta, if one has no devotion to Vișnu? I am the [presiding] deity of the Vaisnava mantras. So, a worshipper of myself should be the preceptor in matters of initiation to Visnu-worship." According to the Brhaddharma-p. a Bhāgavata is required to worship Śiva, Durgā and other deities and to read the Candissa regularly. It advocates the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Kālī and Gaṅgā and censures those who differentiate between them. 11

*** Brhaddh, H.15.61ff. (.... rudra-viņu-prapūjakah / yaš caņdi-pāthanīrataš caņdi-japa-parāyāṇah / durgeti bhadrakāliti voiņavi tandiketi ca / mudā gāyati yo nityam).

abhinnānām ca bhedārthi nāraki paramo matah /....); I. 2. 34 (... nāsti abhinnānām ca bhedārthi nāraki paramo matah /....); I. 4. 22 (gaṅgā-daṇg

says that Viṣṇu constantly dwells in those persons who worship Siva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Bhadrakālī and Caṇḍikā, constantly read the Caṇḍi, and possess various other qualifications. It praises those persons who do not forsake their own dharma even under great difficulties. It regards the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata as codes of varṇāśramadharma and tries to popularise their study. It extols filial devotion, conjugal fidelity, and fraternal affection, so that people may have a happy home and give a united stand before their enemies in times of danger.

Though the Bṛhaddharma-p. preaches the doctrine of unity of gods and calls itself a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva as well as Śākta śāstra, 230 it shows decided inclination towards Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism. It begins with the Gāyatrī adapted to Viṣṇu, mentions the mantra 'oɪn namo bhagavate vāsudevāya' in more places than one, 271 and tries hard to infuse Śāktism with Vaiṣṇava ideas. According to this work, the Śāktas should be 'vaiṣṇav-ācāra-śālī' and be devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śakti, because one is not entitled to follow the course of a Śākta unless one has devotion to Viṣṇu. Kālī is said

acarest apri / }.

pas Ibid., 11, 15, 56ff.

²⁶⁷ Bid., I. I. 37 (tā cāturi cāturi yā dharun-rakṣākarī bhāvet / schast-opadravatr yukto yo na dhatunam jahāti hi / sa dhiru ucyate sadhhir dharmabā tv ātmahā matah //);
I. I. 42 (nādharune ramatām buddhiḥ...........; II. 15. 73 (mahāvipatti-yukto'pi yo na dhatmap jahāti vai / sa vai deva-priyo nityam/).

That an attempt was made in Bengal to popularise the vargairama-dharma by encouraging the study of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhāram, is also evidenced by Kṛṭṭivāsa who, in his autobiography (āṭma-vivarama) attached to his Bengali Rāmāyaṇa, says that he wrote his work for instructing the people (राजाबाज रचे नीत मन्तवादयान । लोक वृज्ञावार तरे कृतिवास पण्डित //—See Kṛṇivāsa-vivaria Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi-kāṇḍa, ed. N. K. Bhattashali, p. 175; also lihūmikā, p. 7).

ari Brhaddb. 111. 21. 5a—idam bi vaimavam väuram iaivam iäktum tarbaiva ca.

to be the presiding deity of the Visnu-mantras, and consequently a Sakti-worshipper is entitled to act as a spiritual preceptor in initiating people to Vaisnavism. 2012 Devotion to Visnu is reckoned as one of the duties of kings 272 and as the means of escaping the sufferings brought on by the Kali age. 274 The regions called Vaikuntha (of Hari) and Goloka (of Nārāyana) are placed above Šiva-loka, 173 Purusottamaksetra is described as the best place of liberation (moksakṣetra), 276 the 'Śrī-bhāgavata' (i.e. the present Bhāgavata-p.) is called the best Mahāpurāna,277 and Gangā is said to have attained her sanctity by coming in contact with liquefied Nārāyaṇa.374 From the description of Kikaṭa (Magadha) as a 'pāpa-bhūmi'278 and from the repeated mention and praise of Kāmarūpa as the best holy place*** it seems that Bengal fully recognised the importance of Kāmarūpa as a place of Sakti-worship and imbibed from there the spirit of infusing Saktism with Vaisnava ideas in order to bring about a reform in the religious and social outlook of the Hindus.

^{121 /}bid., 11.6.144-6-

sarvesam eva devānām mantra-tamrādi-kņd bisavān / tantra-mantrās ca me gopyā vaisnav-āchra-dālibbih // tampān mad-dikyakāh fambhu bhaveyub fikta-vaisnavāh / faktau vianau yasya bhaktih sa faktah syan na caparah //

²¹⁰ Rehaddh. III. 3, 1,

mi Ibid., III, 19, 30.

¹⁰⁰ Poid., 1, 9, 2-7.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., I. 14, 32.

on Bid., L. 30, 49; 111, 20, 20; 111, 21, 6,

²¹⁰ fbid., 11, 14, 101-104.

nis Ibid., 11, 26, 47 (kikntr ca . . pāpa-bhūmau . .). Sec also Brhadefis II, 28, 23-24. ass third., I. 9. 55-6a (durgā-lokab / yah prthivylun klamarūpa iti dešattamah sakhi //); 1, 11, 40; 1, 14, 12-13; 1, 15, 20; 1, 20, 66-67; 1, 14, 33 (vārāņai ca kāmākhyā . . . / . . . drehottamāni en //); II. 10. 37-38; II. 10. 48 (mahāplithās en tr bhūtāh kāmarūpādayo hara); II, II, I, II and 105; II, 20, 68 and 136 (Kāmākhyā, one of the thomand names of Gang2); 111, 16.36 (Vignu's ealogy of Devi at Klimarupa for saving the seventh child of Devaki).

CHAPTER III

THE LOST ŚĀKTA UPAPURĀŅAS

During the long course of its popularity in India, Saktism made its influence felt and recognised more or less by almost all the religious faiths including even Buddhism, and there were changes in the conception of Devi and the methods of her worship in different ages and climes. we have already said, female deities were not rarely brought into existence by interested people, and goddesses of local importance were pulled up to the status of Devi or an incarnation of hers, and for these purposes many new myths were fabricated and the relevant old ones were changed conveniently to suit the occasions. But the existing Puranic works could not, in many cases, be made to accommodate these innovations. So, new works in the forms of Upapuranas had to be composed to place these goddesses and the methods of their worship on a Sastric basis. But unfortunately, many of these works, being of minor importance, could not continue their existence for long and became extinct without leaving any trace at all. It is only about a very few of a little more interest that we can have some information from the existing works, and this will be evident from our accounts of them as given in the following pages.

1. The Byhan-nandikesvara-purana.

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned, along with the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.), in the lists of Upapurāṇas given in the Bṛhaddharma-p. and the Ekāmra-p. The former work names it as 'Bṛhannandīśvara', and the latter as 'Bṛhannandi'. In the list of Upapurāṇas, ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva and in the Śabda-kalpadruma, there is

² For information about the Nandikesvara-p. see below,

^{*} Brhaddh. I. 25, 24, Ekamra-p., ful. 2b.

mention of the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' (i.e. 'two Nandikeśvaras'), which Kāsīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on the Malamasa-tattva, takes to mean the Brhan-nandikeśvara-p. and the Nandikeśvara-p.'s In one of the two lists of Upapurāņas given by Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmaņi, the alternative reading 'nandikeśvara-yugmam ca' for 'caturtham śivadharmākhyam' is found in some Mss. So, it seems that it was only at a comparatively late date that an attempt began to be made to raise the Nandikeśvara-p. and the Brhan-nandikeśvara to a position of authority and antiquity by inserting their names even into the established list of Upapurāņas.

As the Brhan-nandikeśvara is drawn Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva and Šūlapāņi's Durgotsava-viveka, and is mentioned, along with the Nandikeśvara-p., only in the Ekānira-p. and the Bṛhaddharma-p., and as Jīmūtavāhana mentions neither the Nandikeśvara-p. nor the Brhan-nandikeśvara in the section on Durgā-pūjā in his Kālaviveka, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 850 A.D.

Both the Nandikeśvara-p. and the Brhan-nandikeśvara must have been written in Bengal. It is only the authors of Bengal and Orissas who are found to have recognised these two works as Upapurāņas first of all and who utilised their contents in their respective Nibandhas. Morcover, the Nandikeśvara-p. speaks of the performance of Devi's adhivāsa in a Bilva tree on the day preceding that of patrikā-pravela,

Malamāsa-tuttva (ed. Cardicarana Smṛṭibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—nandikeivara-yugman hybannamijkeivaru-purānam namijkeivara-purāņam ca.

^{*}Caturvarga-ciotamuni, II. i, p. 21. See also Vol. 1, Chap. I (p. 6) of the present

work. Of the Smrti-writers of Orissa, it is only Gudfadhara who is found to quote, in his Kālasāra, pp. 151-2, three metrical lines from the Brhan-nandikešvara-p.

[·] See Durgā-pūjā-папув, р. 2 -

tuthā ca nandikeivara-purāņam-

pürvedyne adhiväsyniva bilva-vṛkṣc tathāmhikām / sapsamyām mūla-yuktāyām patrikāyāh pravešanam //

We have already noted Govindananda's remarks that the performance of Devi's adhirdan in a Dilva tree on the day preceding that of patrible-provin was nothing but a custom (ācāra) prevailing in Bengal and having no Sastric injunction in its support, and that

the immersion of Devi's image in a current of water, and the performance of the Śāvarotsava on the Daśami Tithi; and the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p, mentions the worship of the nava-patrikā on the Saptami Tithi. Much more important in this connection is the fact that the method of Durgā-pūjā, given in these two Upapurāṇas, is followed only in

Bengal.*

As regards the contents of the Brhan-nandikeśvara-p. we know almost nothing. In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 8 Raghunandana quotes 25 metrical lines, in which Devi (i.e. Durgā) herself speaks to some one (Nandikeśvara?) addressed as 'putraka' and 'nara-pumgava', on the method and results of her own worship in the month of Aśvina. According to these verses, of which some are found quoted in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, an earthen image of Devi is to be worshipped for three days from the Saptami to the Navami Tithi during the bright half of Aśvina. On the Saptami Tithi the Nava-patrikā is to be constituted with different plants named in a verse, and worshipped. On the Astamî Tithi, Devi's great bath (mahāsnāna) is to be performed with different articles (viz., the five products of cows, holy waters from the Ganges and the different holy places, waters into which certain herbs, gems, flowers etc. have been thrown, and so on), this rite being attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as with dancing (gita-vāditranatyena); and the deity is to be worshipped with the offer of different articles as well as of jet-black he-goats, buffaloes etc. and with the performance of homa. On the Navami

even if the verse 'sasthyām sāyam prakurvita' was claimed to be 'samūla', it would go agninst the custom of iistas. (See Varsa-kaumudi, p. 371. For the relevant extract of the Varsa-kaumudi see Chap. I, focunte 46 above).

For the relevant verses of the Nandikesvara-p, see Durga-püja-tativa, pp. 2-3.
 For the relevant verses of the Bihan-nandikesvara-p, see Durga-püja-tativa, p. 8.

⁴ It is only the Smrti-writers of Bengal who are found to utilise the contents of the Nandikeivara-p, and the Byban-nandikeivara in connection with Durga-poja. Gada-dhara's quotation from the Byban-nandikeivara relates to the time of Narayana's assumption of the form of the Boar, and not to Durga-poja. Moreover, there is a priest' manual called Bybannandikeivara-puraookta-durga-poja-paddhari, of which all the Mrs, hitherto discovered, belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali characters. (For information about these Mrs see footnote 11 below.)

Tithi also, Devi is to be specially worshipped with the offer of animals and the performance of vocal and instrumental music as well as other kinds of merry-makings.

In his Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 3 Raghunandana quotes the following four verses with the mention of the 'Nandi-

keśvara-p.' as their source:

nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīm šivām / sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ // parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ / tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam //

and

rkṣa-yogānurodhena rātrau patrī-pravešanam / visarjanam vācayed yaḥ sa-rāṣṭraḥ sa vinasyati // bhagavatyāḥ pravešādi-visargāntās ca yāḥ kriyāḥ / tithāv udaya-gāminyāṃ sarvās tāḥ kārayed budhah //

ascribed to the 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p.' Śūlapāṇi also quotes the first two verses in his Durgotsava-viveka, p. 24 and ascribes them to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. But this ascription to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. But this ascription to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p. must be wrong, because (1) in these verses Devī is not the speaker, and (2) the third verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.'10 in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8, and the fourth verse is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsava-viveka, p. 9 and Vāsantī-viveka, p. 28. The line 'bilva-patrair gḥṛtāktaiś ca tila-dhānyādi-saṃyutaiḥ' is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Durgā-pūjā-tattva, p. 38 but to the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 22.

Though no tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. is found to claim to be a part of the Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-p., there are Mss of an anonymous Smṛti-work called Bṛhannandikeśvara-

purāņokta-durgā-pūjā-paddhati.11

¹⁶ In the Dacca Univ. Ma New. 938D, 1642, 2115A (dated 1746 Saka) and 4332 (dated 1753 Saka) of the Durgotsava-viveks, this verse is ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.'

¹³ Shastri, ASB Cat., 111, p. 836, No. 2828. Shastri and Gui, Calentta Sant. College Cat., 11, p. 369, No. 334 ('a very old' Ms). Dacca Univ. Mac Nos. 2261 (modern and complete) and 4055 (worm-caten, and musing some of its folios, dated 1678 Saka). In the Dacca Univ. Msa the work is called 'Behannandikesvara-purandnugghita-bhavinya-puranokta-durgā-pājā-paddhati'.
It should be mentioned here that all these Mss are written in Bengali characters.

2. The Kālikā-purāņa.

Besides the present Kālikā-p. available in more printed forms than one, there was an earlier Kālikā which is now lost. For information about this lost Kālikā-p. see Chap. I (under 'Kālikā-p.') above.

3. The Nanda- or Nanda-purana.

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see below (under 'Nandi-p.').

4. The Nandikeśvara-purāņa.

It has already been said12 that the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p. and Nandikeśa-p.)13 is mentioned, along with the Brhan-nandikeśvara, in the lists of Upapurāņas contained in the Ekāmra-p, and the Brhaddharma-p., that in the Sabda-kalpadruma and in Raghunandana's Malamāsa-tattva a list of Upapurāņas has been given from the 'Kaurma' with the mention of the 'Nandikesyara-yugma' (i.e. two Nandikeśvaras), and that in Caturvarga-cintămaņi, II. i, p. 21, there is a list of Upapuranas in which the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' is found mentioned in place of the Sivadharma in some of its Mss. So, the Nandikeśvara-p. cannot possibly claim an early origin. On the other hand, it is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p. and the Brhaddharma-p. and is drawn upon in the Samvatsara-pradipa and in Kamalākara-bhatta's Nirnaya-sindhu, Nīlakantha-bhatta's Ācāra-mayūkha, Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Govindānanda's Varşa-kaumudi, Raghunandana's Tithi-tativa, Ahnika-tattva, Jyotis-tattva, Ekādaši-tattva and Durgāpūjā-tattva, Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, Vidyāpati

¹³ See under 'Brhan-nandikeivara-p.' above.

¹⁹ The Variga, ed. of the Biliaddharma-p. (I. 25, 24) names the Nandikeivara-p. as 'Nandiivara-p.'; the ASB ed. and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4199 (fol. 7th) mention it as 'Nandiiveia-p.'; and the Dacca Univ. Ms. Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649 (fol. 96a) name it as 'Nandiiveivara-p.' In Sanyvataara-peadlpa, fol. 47b, a verse is quoted from the 'Nandiivara-p.'

Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī, and Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsavaviveka and Väsantī-viveka; and Mitra-miśra, who lived far away from Bengal, not only drew upon it but also described it as a work of wide acceptance (mahājana-parigṛhīta).4 Hence the Nandikeśvara-p. cannot be dated later than 1100 A.D. As it must have preceded the Brhan-nandikeśvara (of which the very title is indicative of a comparatively late date and which must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.),15 it cannot be dated later than 950 A.D. It is highly probable that this Upapurāņa was composed between 850 and 950 A.D. Such a late date of this Upapurāņa is supported not only by its nonmention in the section on durgā-pūjā contained in Jimūtavāhana's Kālaviveka but also by the fact that the method of Durgā-worship, given in it, had Tantric elements,10

We shall see afterwards that the Nandikeśvara-p. was a work quite different from the Nandi-p.17 It must also not be taken to be the same as the Sivadharma and the Sivadharmottara,18 with which we shall deal in Vol. III of the present work.

As to the contents of the Nandikeśvara-p., our know-

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n Viramitrodaya, Paribhājā-prakāša, pp. 14-15-
     masye-
       astādaiabhyas tu prthak purāgam yas tu driyate /
       vijānidhvam dvija-iresthās tad etribhyo vinirgatam f)*
                     .. vinirgatam samudhlimam/ yathā mahājana-
     parigrhita-nandikeivarapurān-ādipurāņa-devipurāņāditi saṃkaepaḥ /
13 See under 'Brhan-nandikeivara-p.' above.
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¹⁰ Varsa-kaumtidi, p. 420-

nandikeivarapurāņe tu 'daba-yajīja-vināšinyai mahāghorāyai yogint-koțiparivriāyai bhadra-kālyai hrīm durgāyai namah' iti mantrah.

[&]quot; This point has been dealt with in the section on the 'Nandi-p.' below.

³⁸ R. L. Mitra, in his Notices of Sanakrit Mu, VI, pp. 272-4 (No. 2208), describes a Ma of a work which be styles as 'Nandikesvara-sambită nilas Nandikesvarapurlina alius Sivadharmottara'. But actually this is a Ms of the Sivadharma and Sivadharmortara combined. It is for this reason that the final comphon of this Ms runs as follows: iti naudikeivara-samhitäyäm livadharmottare ekavimlatitamo 'dhyāyah. This Ms is the same as Haraprasad Shastri's Mu of the Sivadharms and Sivadharmonara described in his ASB Cat., V. pp. 718 and 723-733. Nov. 4684 (Land II) and 4085 (Land II); and it has nothing to do with the Nantikeivara-p.

In Viivakoja, IX, pp. 546-7 and 549 also, the Nandikelvara-p, has been wrongly identified with the Sivadharma and the Nandl-purân.

ledge is very meagre. Of the 53 lines quoted from this Upapurāna in the Samvatsara-pradipate and in the works of Kamalakara-bhatta,20 Nilakantha-bhatta,21 Mitra-misra,22 Govindānanda,23 Raghunandana,24 Vācaspati-miśra,24 Vidyāpati¹⁶ and Śūlapāṇi,²⁷ two are concerned with Deviworship in the spring,20 and twenty deal with the proper time and method of Devi-worship in autumn. The method of worship, as given in these 20 metrical lines, consists mainly of the following operations: -bodhana and adhivāsa of Devi in a Bilva tree on the Sukla-şaşthî Tithi; patrikā-praveša on the following day; Devi-worship with animal sacrifice etc. on the Astami and the Navami Tithi; immersion of the image of Devi in a current of water after having it carried there on boats or by men, and the subsequent merry-making by using abusive words against one another on the Dasami Tithi.29 The mantras to be used in this worship had often Tantric symbolism.30 The remaining 31 lines, contained

25 Viramitrodaya, Pūjā-prakāša, p. 219.

** Varsa-kaumiell, pp. 367, 375, 420.

²⁴ Smrti-tativa, I, pp. 69, 76, 86-7, 91, 131-2, 457, 612; 11, p. 85. Durga-pūjā-tativa, pp. 2-3, 7 and 38,

M Krtya-cintamani, p. 60.

34 Gangā-vākyāvali, pp. 201-202, 262.

P Durgomava-viveka, pp. 7, 8, 9. Visanti-viveka, pp. 28, 29.

" Varanti-viveka, p. 29.

See Sciapăni's Durgotrava-viveka, pp. 7, 8, 9, and Văsanti-viveka, p. 28; Govindănanda's Varpa-kaumudi, pp. 367, 375; Kamalikara-bhațta's Nirnaya-sindhu, p. 128; Raghumudana's Smrti-tativa, I, pp. 76, 86-87, and Durgă-pājā-tativa, pp. 7, 38, and particularly pp. 2-3, in which as many as sixteen metrical lines, including the following four, have been ascribed to the 'Nandikeivara-purăna':

iravanena daiamyam tu pranipatya vianjayet //
nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā hingavotiņi šivām /
nroto-jale praksipe-yuh kridā-kuntuka-nungalniḥ //
parair nāksipyate yas tu param nāksipate tu yaḥ /
tasya ruṣjā bingavati šāpam dadyāt sudārunam //

^{**} See footnote 16 above.

in the Samvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 47b) and in Mitra-miśra's Vīramitrodaya (Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 219), Nīlakaṇṭha's Ācāra-mayūkha (p. 97), Raghunandana's Tithi-tattva, Ālmika-tattva, Jyotis-tattva and Ekādaśī-tattva, a Vācaspati-miśra's Kṛṭya-cintāmaṇi (p. 60), and Vidyāpatī Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī (pp. 201-2, 262), deal with the following topics:—Benefits of preparing and worshipping a Śiva-liṅga, especially on the Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī Tithi, and of offering various kinds of food to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra; sanctifying effect of uttering the name 'Mahādeva'; benefits of repeating hundred times a hymn called 'Indrākṣī-stava', which was given in the Nandikeśvara-p., and of telling others about the results of avoiding meat; and the characteristics of marriageable and non-marriageable girls.³³

From these contents of the quoted verses it appears that the Naudikeśvara-p. was concerned not only with the praise and worship of Devi but also with those of Siva and that it was not strictly sectarian. It is to be noted that in none of these 53 verses Devi appears as the speaker. The title of this Upapurāṇa, however, shows that it was most probably Naudikeśvara who narrated the contents of this work.

Mss are found of a work called 'Kālāgnirudr-opaniṣad' which claims to be a part of the Nandikeśvara-p.²¹ This work, which is practically a Tantrie text, deals with the worship of Kālāgnirudra and 'the propriety of putting across the forehead three carved horizontal marks called Tripuṇḍra in Sanskrit, this being indispensable to the

¹⁴ See Smrti-tativa, I, pp. 69, 91, 131-2, 457 and 612, and II, p. 85.

^{** 5}mrti-tativa, 1, p. 612-

šyāmā suktāt tanu-loma-rāji subhrūh suillā augutīh sudantā /

vedi-vimadbyž yadi pańkajškat

kulena hināpi vivāhanīyā //

dhrata kudanta yadi pingalalat

lomnā samākirņa-samānga-yaspi) /

madhye punta yadi caju-kanya kule 'pi yogya na vivahaniya //

¹⁴ Shasiri, ASB Gat., V. p. 800, No. 4145; Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., 11. i, pp. 913-4;
P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7175-76, Nos. 10582-83; Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 50, Nos. 1064-67; and so on.

worship of Kālāgnirudra'. In his Jammu Cat., p. 201 Stein notes an early Ms of the 'Siva-stotra' belonging to the

Nandikeśvara-p.

The Nandikesyara-p, seems to have derived a large number of verses from other earlier works. For instance, the verse 'ardravam bodhayed devim', which is quoted as from the Nandikeśvara-p. in Varsa-kaumudi, pp. 367 and 375, is ascribed to the Devi-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 4 and to Vyāsa and Satya in Kālaviveka, pp. 511 and 514 respectively; the line 'saptamyām mūla-yuktāyām', of which the source is mentioned as 'Nandikešvara-p.' in Durgā-pūjātattva, p. 2, is ascribed to the Devi-p. in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; the line 'mūlābhāve 'pi saptamyām', which is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. in Varsa-kaumudī, p. 367, is quoted as from 'Lainga' in Durgotsava-viveka, p. 8; and so on. It should be mentioned here that the sections on Durgapūjā in the Devi-p., Linga-p. etc. were written much earlier than 1000 A.D.

For further information about the Nandikeśvara-p. see under 'Brhan-nandikeśvara-p.' above.

5. The Nandi-purana.

No Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time. There is a work called Kedara-kalpa14 which, in one Ms, so claims to be a part of the Nandiśvara-p. or Nandi-p., but it can be little doubted that this Kedarakalpa is really an independent work having nothing to do with the Nandiśvara-p. or Nandi-p. The total absence of any Ms of the Nandi-p. has compelled us to base our present account of this Purana on the information contained in the

in Shastri's Ms Livara (i.e. Siva) speaks to Kārttikeya.

⁴⁴ Shastri, ASB Cat., V., pp. 794-799 (No. 4143) and pp. 792-794 (No. 4142). In the former Ma the work comists of these parts of which the first part claims to belong to the Rudra-yāmala; but in the latter Ms the work claims to be a part of the Vikhyāda-

⁴⁴ Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 81-82, No. 137. In this work Santkara speaks to Nandikesvara on Mahāpatha - It is the same as Patalas 11ff. of Shastri's Ms No. 4143, but

extant Purāņas and the Smrti-Nibandhas as well as on the verses quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' in the latter works.

In all the printed editions of the Matsya-p., the Nandi-p.

is described as follows:

nandāyā yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varņyate / nandī-purāṇam tallokair ākhyātam iti kīrtyate # 'It is said that [the Purana], in which the glory of Nanda (i.e. Gaurī) is declared by Kārttikeya, is called Nandi-p.

by the people'.

The above verse of the Matsya-p., of which the second line has obviously defective readings, occurs in Aufrecht's Ms of the Matsya-p, with the reading 'nandapuranam' for 'nandi-puranam' in the second line. 37 This verse is also found quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. i, p. 21, Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18, and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15; but in these four Smrti-Nibandhas the text of the second line is given respectively as follows:

'nandī-purāṇam talloke nandākhyam iti kirtyate', 181 'nandi- (v.l. nandi-) purāņam talloke nandyākhyam iti kirtyate'.

'nandī-purāṇaṃ talloke nandākhyam iti cocyate',

and

'nandā-purāṇam talloke nandākhyam iti kīrtyate'. It is obvious that the text of the second line of the above verse, as preserved in the Smrti-Nibandhas, is better than that found in the printed editions and in Aufrecht's Ms of the Matsya-p. The Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa (i. 2, 81) of the Skanda-p., on the other hand, describes the Nandi-p. as follows:

nandine yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varņyate / loke nandi-purāṇam vai khyātam etad dvijottamāḥ // 'Oh best of the twice-born, [that Purana], in which

⁵³ Matrya-p., Vanga, ed., 53.60; AnSS ed., 53.61; Venkat, ed., 53.60 (v.1 'akhyanam' for 'akhykiam'); Jivananda Vidyāsāgara's cd., 53, 60.

[&]quot; Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 40, No. 95. Phis line, as quoted in Catta varga-cintătuați, I, p. 533, reads 'tallokair vyākhyātam' in place of 'talloke namifikhyam'.

the glory is described by Karttikeya to Nandin, is

well-known as Nandi-p. on earth.'

In Devi-bhāgavata I. 3. 15 the twelfth Upapurāņa is called 'Nandi-kṛta', and there is no mention of any 'Nandi-p.', 'Nandā-p.', 'Nānda' or 'Skānda' in the Devi-bhāgavata.

An examination of the texts of the verses mentioned above shows that the Nandi-p. was originally declared by Kārttikeya to Nandin³⁰ (who, then, narrated it to some other person addressed as 'king' in some of the quoted verses),⁴⁰ that it dealt primarily with the glorification of Nandā (or Nandi, i.e. Gauri), and that it was also called 'Nandi-p.' and 'Nandā-p.'

The Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.), being originally declared by Kārttikeya, was also called 'Skānda'. In giving a list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-p., the Garuḍa-p., and the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. name the third

Upapurāna as 'Skānda' and describe it as follows:

'trtiyam skāndam uddistam kumāreņa tu bhāsitam.'*
'But the third [Upapurāņa] which was spoken out by

Kumāra (i.e. Skanda), is called Skānda'.

That this 'Skānda' Upapurāņa is the same as the Nandi-p. (or Nandā-p.) is shown by the following facts: (1) the chief speaker in both these Upapurāņas is Kārttikeya; (2) the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and the Vīramitrodaya quote all the verses of the Kūrma-p. containing the list of Upapurāṇas but reads 'tṛtīyaṃ nāndam uddiṣṭaṃ kumāreṇa

²⁰ Cf Devi-beigavata 1, 9, 15 in which the twelfth Upapurāna is called 'Nandi-krta', In Caturvarga-ciptāmani, 1, p. 917 two of the quoted verses are ascribed to a work called 'Nandi-prokta', but this 'Naudi-prokta' Upapurāna may be the same as the Sivadharma which is called 'Nandi-prokta Sivadharma' or 'Naudikeivara-prokta Sivadharma' in its chapter-colophona. (See Shauri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 718 and 723-8, No., 4084 and 4085 respectively).

Dăna-kaumudi, p. 40 (urpa); Smrti-tanva, I, p. 131 (răjan), Caturvargacintămani, III. i, p. 668 (viiărppate); and so on.

it In Visyalorea (a Bengali encyclopædia), IX, p. 546 the Nandi-p, and the Nandap, have been regarded as different works.

as Kūrma-p. I. 1, 17b; Garuda-p. I. 227, 18a; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382.

All the printed editions of the Kūrma-p. read 'skāndam'; but in Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition (I. 215, 18a) of the Garuda-p. the reading in wrongly given as 'skandam'.

tu bhāṣitam' for the above line of the Kūrma-p.;43 (3) in the lists of the eighteen Upapurāņas given in the Parāśaraupapurāņa, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthāna-bheda, and the Siya-māhātmya-khanda of the Sūta-samhitā of the Skanda-p., the third Upapurāņa is named 'Nānda' (i.e. the Purāṇa on Nandā);41 (4) 'Skānda' is the name for the third Upapurana in some of the Mss of the Prabhasakhanda of the Skanda-p., but 'Nanda' in the rest;45 and (5) Narasimba Vājapeyîn, who quotes Kūrma-p. I. 1. 16 (anyāny upapurāṇāni etc.) and then gives, in his Nityācārapradipa, p. 19, the titles of the eighteen Upapuranas according to the list contained in the Kurma-p., names the third Upapurāņa 'Nandi-purāņa' and not 'Skānda'.

The Nandi-p. was also called 'Vāyavīya'. In his Malamāsa-tatīva Raghunandana quotes the line 'anyāny upapurāṇāni etc.' with the mention of the Kūrma-p. as its source and then says that this line refers to the 'Narasimhap., Nandi-p., Aditya-p., Kālikā-p. etc.'41 Raghunandana then reproduces those lines of the Kürma-p, which contain the list of the Upapuranas. According to the second of these quoted lines 'the third Upapurāṇa is the Vāyavīya spoken out by Kumāra',47 there being no mention of any 'Nandi-p.', 'Nanda-p.', 'Nanda-p.' or 'Skanda-p.' in any of these quoted lines. So, it is evident that according to Raghunandana the Vāyaviya-upapurāņa (spoken out by Kumāra) and the Nandi-p. were the same. The mention

⁴⁰ Catervarga-cintâmani, 11. i. p. 21. and Viramitrodaya, Paribhāyā-prokāša. p. 13. In Camevacga-cintamani, I. p. 532, the erroneous reading 'ndradam' is found in place of 'nandaip'.

⁴⁴ Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230. Prasthina-bheda(ed. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912), p. 10. Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378.

In the list of Upapuranas given from the Brahmavaivaita' in Gopaladas's Bhaktiratnākara, the second Upapurāņa is called 'Nāṇda', (See Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

[&]quot;Skanda-p., VII. i. 2. 11b -- trdyam skändam (v. 1. 'nändam' in the Vehkat and Vanga, editions) uddistam kumāren-ānubhāsitam.

[&]quot; Smyti-inttyn, I, pp. 792-3-

kaurme—'anyāny upapurāņāni munibbih kathitāny api'/tāni ca narasimha-narabāditya-kālikāparāņādini, vathā—'ādyarp saņarkumāroktarp......

er 'trriyam vayaviyam ca kumbrena ca bhlisham', Smrti-tanva, 1, p. 793. The Vanga, ed. of the Malamias-tuttva (p. 264) reads 'kumāreņābhihhraitam'. So also does Candicarana Smrtibhiaana's edition (p. 213).

of the 'Vāyaviya narrated by Kumāra' as the third Upapurāņa is also found in the list of the eighteen Upapurāņas given from the Kürma-p. in Śabda-kalpadruma.

In the Reva-mahamya,46 the third Upapurana is named

'Nanda-p.', and is connected with the Visnu-p. thus:

nandā-purāņam ca tathā tṛtīyam vaisņave matam. But in the Revā-khaṇḍa (of the Skanda-p.), which is practically the same as the Reva-mahatmya mentioned above, the above line occurs with the mention of the 'Saukeya' as the third Upapurana.49 So, it seems that the Nandi-p. was also sometimes called 'Saukeya-p.'

Thus, the Nandi-p. was known under different titles, viz., Nandi-p., Nandi-p., Nanda-p., Nanda-p., Skanda-p., Vāyavīya-p. and Saukeya-p. For some of these titles we find clear reasons; viz., it was called Nandi-p., because it was reproduced by Nandin; its title 'Skānda' was due to its original narrator Skanda; and it was called Nanda-p., Nanda-p. or Nandi-p., as it dealt primarily with the praise of Nanda or Nandi (i.e. Gauri). But we do not know how it came to be known as 'Vāyavīya' and 'Saukeya' also. Whatever different titles our Nandi-p, might have had in early times, the Smrti-writers refer to it very often as 'Nandip.', and sometimes as 'Nandi-p.'50

Numerous verses are found quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' (or 'Nandī-p.') in Nilakantha's Ācāra-mayūkha, Gadādhara's Kālasāra, Gopālabhatta's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, Narasimha Vājapevin's Nityācāra-pradīpa, Raghunandana's Smṛtitattva, Govindānanda's Dāna-kaumudī and Varşa-kaumudī, Ganapati's Gangā-bhakti-tarangiņī, Vidyāpati's Durgābhakti-tarangini and Gangā-vākyāvali, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the Parasara-smrti, Candesvara's Krtyaratnākara and Grhastha-ratnākara, Śridatta's Ācārādarśa,

[&]quot; Aufrecht, Bod, Cat., p. 65.

^{*} Skanda-p., V. iii (Revā-kh.), J. 48b-saukeyam hi trūyam tu purāņe vaisnave mainth

su Sec, for imanec, Acara-bhūsana (of Tryambaka Oka), p. 163; Smrti-ramahāra (of Brhaspati Rayamukuta), fol. 56b (Shastri, ASB Cat., III, No. 2138, p. 228); Gangavākvāvalī (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), pp. 306, 212, 213, 230; and Ācārādarša (of Śridatta Upādhyāya), p. 37b (oxice).

Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara and Adbhuta-sāgara, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñayalkya-smṛti, and Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru. Vallalasena, who was extremely cautious about the authenticity of the Purāṇas he used in his Dānasāgara, utilised its contents without the least shade of doubt. Further, a 'Nanda-p.' is mentioned by Alberuni in that list of Puranas which he committed to writing from dictation. In his Rāja-tarangini Kalhana says that 'having heard the Nandipurāņa from some pupil of Vyāsa the king (Jalauka) frequented Sodara and other [sacred springs] as vying [in holiness] with Nandiśa'.44 These evidences, as well as the facts that the Nandi-p., as known from the quoted verses, was non-Tantric, and that its name is mentioned in the Matsya-p. and is found included in all the early lists of the eighteen Upapurāņas, show definitely that it was an early work and must have been written before 700 A.D. As not even a single Ms of this work has been discovered up to the present time, it is not possible to say anything definitely about the upper limit of its date. From an examination of the quoted verses, however, we feel inclined to take it as a work of the sixth or seventh century A.D.

It has already been said that the Revā-māhātmya and the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p, connect the Nandi-p, with the Viṣṇu-p, as a part of the latter and are thus inclined to regard it as a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. This Vaiṣṇava character of the Nandi-p, is supported by a verse which has been quoted from the 'Nandi-p,' in the Nityācāra-pradīpa and in which Kṛṣṇa appears as an object of worship.¹⁰ There is another verse, quoted in Hari-bhakti-

^{**} Sachau, Alberâni's India, I, p. 130. That this 'Nanda-p.' was the same as the 'Nandi-p.' is shown definitely by Alberâni himself when he says: 'Nanda-p. i.e. a servant of Mahideva''.

at Rāja-tarangint, I. 123—
śruta-nandipuctual) sa vyāsāutevāsias nepah/
śruta-nandipuctual) sa vyāsāutevāsias nepah/
śruta-nandipuctualinās naudiša-spardhayā vyadhāt//
is na sallakhiyam os umaņi
ha sāktba-vasā-sambhūtam/
dhūpam pratyanga-nirmuktum

vilāsa, p. 677, which says that sinners may attain the highest abode of Visnu by singing his name. 4 But this last-mentioned verse must not be taken seriously, because there are other quoted verses in which the regions of Brahmā, Varuna, Brhaspati, Rudra and others have been mentioned as places capable of being attained by certain pious acts.45 On the other hand, Narasimha Vājapeyin calls the 'Nandi-p.' a part of the Skanda-p.,36 which is pre-eminently a Saiva work. More detailed information in this direction is furnished by Kalhana when he says that after hearing the Nandi-purāņa from a pupil of Vyāsa, king Jalauka frequented Sodara and other holy springs with a view to being equal with Nandiśa. We know that Nandiśa (or Nandikeśa) was an attendant of Siva; and Sodara (in Kashmir) has been shown by Stein to have been situated in close proximity to the temple-ruins of Bhūteśvara, 37 which is a Saiva Tīrtha. Hence, it is clear that according to Kalhana the Nandi-p. was a Saiva work; otherwise, it could not be said to make the king so much zealous in his devotion to Siva. The Saiva character of the Nandi-p, is also shown by a large number of quoted verses in which Siva (also called Sarva, Rudra, Samkara, etc.) is regarded as the object of worship,58 the Linga-worship is prescribed,50 the sectarian mantra 'ont

dadyāt krmāya buddhimān/ /
(quoted in Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 647).

** sarvadā sarva-kāleşu ye 'pi kurvanti pātakam/
nāma-saṃkirtonnu kṛtvā yāṇti viṇṇh param padam/ /
(Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 677).

¹⁰ Sec, for instance, the verses quoted from the 'Nandi-p.' In Garapati's Ganga-bhakti-tarangini, p. 49b; Vidyāpati's Durgā-bhakti-tarangini, p. 172; Gandeśvara's Krtya-tatuikara, pp. 566-7; Aparārka's com. on the Yājñavalkya-sanrū, p. 366; Krtya-kalpataru, V. p. 251; Dānasāgara, pp. 280, 312, 410, 437, etc.; and so on.

⁶⁸ Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 18—mānye— '.....nandāyā yatra māhātmyam kārttikeyena varnyate / nandi-parāṇam talloke nandākhyam iti cocyute//' tacca skāndaikadešab/

⁶⁷ Af. A. Srein, Kalhana's Rhja-tarangini, I, pp. 20-21 and 23-24. See notes on venes 107 and 123 of Chap. I.

For such versus see Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Dāmmāgara, pp. 312, 476, 477, etc.; Camuvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 907, 957; Krtya-kalpataru, V, pp. 212, 213, etc.; and so on.

Smrti-tatīva, I, p. 129; Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 685-6; Nitnaya-sindhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 94.

namah siyaya' is praised, so and the Siva worshippers are given preference to other sectaries.41 In his Caturyargacintămani (III. ii, p. 691) Hemâdri quotes from the 'Nandip.' an extract in which Isvara (i.e. Siva) speaks on the result of avoiding meat; 12 and in the Adbhuta-sagara Vallalasena quotes from the same Purana seven metrical lines on Siva's burning of Tripura. 82 So, the Saiva character of the Nandi-p. is unmistakable. But as we have already seen that the Matsva-p, describes the Nandi-p, as a work dealing with the praise of Nanda, it seems that the Nandi-p, was originally a Sakta work dealing with the praise of Nanda and that, like the Nandikeśvara-p., it had also chapters on the praise and worship of Siva, to whom Nandā was associated as his Sakti. The prevalence of Saiva elements in this Upapurana must be due to the interfering hands of the Puranic Saivas. who appear to have utilised this work for popularising Sivaworship. The Vaisnava character of the Nandi-p, was most probably the last stage in its change.

The Nandi-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Nandikeśvara-p. (also called Nandiśvara-p.)⁶¹ The distinct character of these two Purāṇic works is shown by the following facts. (1) In the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas given by Raghunandana in his Malamāsa-tatīva there is mention of a 'Vāyavīya Upapurāṇa' (which we have already found to be the same as the Nandi-p.) and the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' (i.e. the two Nandikeśvara-purāṇas, which the commentator Kāśīrāma Vācaspati takes to mean the 'Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.' and the 'Nandikeśvara-p'.); (2) the Śabda-kalpadruma quotes from the 'Kūrma-p.' a few verses on the list of the eighteen Upapurāṇas which includes the 'Vāyavīya'

41 Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 399; Dānasāgara, pp. 476-7.

19 Adbhuta-sügara, p. 485.

Smrti-tattva, I., pp. 130-1; Niznaya-andhu, p. 243; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 95.

For the verses of this extract see also Kriya-kalpataru, III, pp. 359-360, Kriya-ratnākara, pp. 540-9, and Grhastha-ratnākara, p. 390.

[&]quot;In Visvakosa, IX.pp.547 and 549 the Nandi-p. has been wrongly identified with the Nandivara-p. or Nandikesvara-p.

^{**} Malamina-intiva (ed Caudicarana Smrtibhūsana wab Kāstrama Vācauputi's commentary), p. 213 — namilkeivara-yugmam bṛhannandikeivara-purānam namiliktivara-purānam ca.

and the 'Nandikeśvara-yugma'; (3) the Caturvargacintămani, Vrata-khanda, gives from the Kürma-p. a list of the eighteen Upapurāņas in which the third Upapurāņa is the 'Nanda', but the fourth is named as 'Siva-dharma' in some Mss and as 'Nandikeśvara-yugma' in others;67 (4) the same Smrti-writers are found to draw upon both the Nandi-p. and the Nandikeśvara-p., but there is not a single verse which has been ascribed by any one of them to the Nandi-p. in one place of their work and to the Nandikeśvara-p. in another, nor is there a second instance in which the same verse has been ascribed to the Naudi-p, by one writer and to the Nandikeśvara-p. by another. It is only in Śūlapāņi's Durgotsava-viveka (p. 8) that the verse rksa-yogānurodhena', really belonging to the Nandikeśvara-p., has been ascribed to the 'Nandi-p.' That Śūlapāṇi's ascription of this verse to the Nandi-p. is wrong is shown by the facts that this verse occurs only in some of the Mss on which the printed edition of the Durgotsava-viveka is based, and that the verse 'bhagavatyāh praveśādi-', which belongs to the group of those eight verses (including the verse 'rksa-yogānurodhena' mentioned above) which are found quoted as from 'Naudikeśvara-p.' in Raghunandana's Durgā-pūjā-tattva (pp. 2-3), is ascribed to the Nandikeśvara-p. by Śūlapāṇi himself in his Durgotsava-viveka (p. 9) and Vāsantī-viveka (p. 28). A similar instance of wrong ascription is found in the ASB edition of the Dana-kaumudi (p. 46) in which there is a verse* which is ascribed to the 'Nandikesvara-p.' in only one Ms and to the 'Nandi-p.' in the rest. But this difference in ascription is simply due to scribal mistake, because this verse is found quoted in many other Nibandhas with the mention of only the 'Nandi-p.' as the source."

⁴⁴ Sec Vol. 1, p. 6. 47 Sec Vol. 1, p. 6.

^{**} Dāna-kaumudi, p. 46—nandi-purāne (v. l. 'nandikeivaru-purāņe' in Ma 明) prodeta-jala-dāne—

yo 'pi kaścit trantaya jala-danam prayacthati/ ra nitya-trpto vzasti svarge yuga-latam urpa//

^{**} Sce Kālasāra, p. 584; Dānasāgara, p. 545; Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, I, p. 989; and so on.

It has already been said that not a single Ms of the Nandi-p. has been found as yet. So, we do not know exactly what its contents were. We shall, however, try to give an idea of its Smrti contents from an examination of those of its verses which are found quoted in the Smrti-Nibandhas.

Regarding the Ädya-p., Sāmha-p., Kālikā-p., Nandi-p., Aditya-p., Narasimha-p., Visnudharmottara etc., Vallālasena says in his Dānasāgara that these works dealt prominently with donations, " As a matter of fact, the great majority of the verses quoted from the Nandi-p, in the commentaries and Nibandhas deal with various topics on gifts; viz., praise of donations;" results of following the right procedure in making donations;22 bad effects of making gifts to an unworthy person;28 benefits of giving water (to a thirsty person for drinking, or to a Brahmin for washing his feet), horse, elephant, chariot, cows which are well-decorated or are in the course of delivery (the best recipients of such cows being the spiritually developed persons, the Agnihotrins and the deities), well-furnished house, clothes, umbrella, turban (uṣṇiṣa), shoes (especially to a Brahmin going on a journey), collyrium (to the eyes of a Brahmin), stick (to an old man), ornaments, sacred thread, coins called Survarna as dakṣiṇā (a Suvarna being said to be equivalent to 16 Māṣas), land (which is productive or is shining with crops such as sugarcane, wheat, barley etc.), food (to all without distinction of castes, except in śrāddha ceremonies), drink (pānaka, prepared with water mixed with molasses), milk, ghee, curd, molasses, fruit-bearing trees, orchards, gardens, pleasure-

^{**}kûrmapurāŋ-ādipurāŋayoḥ/
uktâny upapurāŋāni vyakta-dāna-vidhini ca //
ādyaṃ purāŋaṃ iāmbaṃ ca kālikāhvayam eva ca/
nāmbam āditya-ampjitaṃ ca nāmaimbaṃ tathaiva ca//
Dānmāgara, p. 3.

⁷¹ Dānasāgara, pp. 13-14; Caturvarga-cintāmani, 1, pp. 5, 49; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 406; Krtya-kalpataru, V, p. 21.

Oaturvarga-cinshmani, I, p. 102.
Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 296; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 102, 450;
Kṛṭya-kalpataru, V, p. 170.

gardens etc.;74 results of making gifts of land, cows, elephants and gold on the bank of the Ganges;75 and so on. It is needless to say that, except in a very few cases, the re-

cipients of these gifts are only the Brahmins.

More interesting is the topic on Vidyā-dāna, on which about 300 metrical lines are found quoted in Laksmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājňavalkya-smṛti, Vallālasena's Dānasāgara, Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani, Raghunandana's Smrti-tattva, Govindānanda's Dāna-kaumudī, and Anantabhatta's Vidhānapārijāta.30 According to these verses, there are fourteen kinds of Vidyās, viz., the four Vedas, the six Vedāngas, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Mīmāṃsā, and Tarka (Logic). Besides these, there are other secondary sciences which have grown out of the principal Vidyas mentioned above, viz., Ayurveda (medical science), Sasya-veda (science of agriculture), Kalā-vidyā, Šilpa-vidyā etc. All these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) have been highly praised; and though the benefits of teaching these Vidyas as well as Ślokas, Prahelikās, Gāthās etc. to worthy students and of giving books on these sciences (including Sasya-vidyā) to gods or worthy Brahmin recipients have been described elaborately, greater importance has been attached to donation of books on Atmavidyā (i.e. philosophical treatises), Paurānī Vidyā (i.e. Purānas) and Dharmaśāstrātmikā Vidyā (i.e. Dharmaśāstras). The whole procedure of copying and giving books, which has been elaborately described in these verses, consists

⁷⁸ Kṛṭya-kalpataru, V. pp. 160, 166, 170, 191, 194-5, 248-9, 267-8, 277-8, 303-4, 308: Apatārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 296, 379, 406; Dānaaāgara, pp. 279, 279-280, 312-3, 320, 331-2, 344, 347, 360, 366-7, 381, 302-3, 384-5, 385, 393, 410, 414, 416, 417, 419, 437, 445, 459, 460, 509, 512, 536, 537, 542, 543, 548, 551, 560, 662, 663, 672-3; Ācārādaria, p. 37b; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, pp. 456, 477, 507, 571-2, 892, 904, 907, 909-910, 957, 960, 984, 964-5, 989, 1041, 1050; Kṛṭya-tatnākara, pp. 562, 566-2; Gṛbatha-ramākara, p. 305; Durgā-bbakti-tarangiqi, p. 172; Dāna-kaumudi, pp. 46, 83; Kālatāra, p. 584; Smṛti-tattva, 1, pp. 502, 503; 11, pp. 366, 628; Hari-bhakti-vitāsa, pp. 316, 317; and 30 on.

¹³ Gangā-bhaktı-tarangini, fol. 49b.

¹⁶ Kriya-kalpataru, V. pp. 207-222; Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 296-803; Dānasāgara, pp. 473-468; Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, I, pp. 511, 513-5, 526, 526-7, 547-556, 559, 561; Smṛti-nativa, I, pp. 347, 348, 502, 503, 656, 657, 658; H, pp. 362, 588; Dānaskanmudi, p. 67, Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, pp. 291-6, 299, 312-4.

mainly of the following operations:- the donor's selection of an able scribe (whose qualifications have been given in some of the verses) as well as of an auspicious day; preparation of ink of different colours; preparation of pens; construction, in the prescribed manner, of a Sarapatra (also called Vidyadhara, i.e. a stool, on which a book to be copied is placed) with gold, silver, ivory or durable wood; collection of leaves (patra) required for the manuscript and furnishing their margins with lines drawn in black and red ink; construction of wooden covers for the Ms and furnishing the outer sides of these covers with ornamental paintings; decoration of the house in which the copying is to be made; honour to be shown to the scribe by presenting to him money, ornaments etc. before he begins his work; furnishing the scribe with knife and other requisites; the scribe's ceremonious beginning, with the sound of musical instruments, of his work of copying in the appointed house on an auspicious day after duly performing Punyāha-vācana and Svasti-vācana and worshipping Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; feeding of Brahmins at the completion of the work of copying; comparison of the copied Ms with its original, and making necessary corrections in it; furnishing this new Ms with covers of wood and cloth; taking this Ms with pomp and ceremony to a temple of Siva, and dedicating it to the deity; appointment of qualified Brahmin readers (vācaka, pāthaka, whose qualifications have been mentioned in a number of verses) for reading out the Ms and explaining its contents to the audience, the language used in explaining being Sanskrit, Prakrit, a local dialect, or a mixture of all these according to the language of the book;" presents to be made to the readers and to the donor's teacher, who is to attend the function; decorations and merry-makings in towns and villages on this occasion. If the Ms is to be given to some worthy Brahmin, it should be taken to his house in the manner described above, and formally given to him. One may also acquire the merits of Vidyā-dāna by building a house, inviting a learned teacher

⁷⁶a For the relevant verses see Chap. I, footnote 344 above.

there, honouring him with wealth, raiments etc., and making him teach a number of students.

Equally interesting are the 25 metrical lines, quoted by Aparārka, Vallālasena, Hemādri and Anantabhaṭṭa," on the praise of foundation of hospitals (ārogya-śālā) for the suffering humanity and the poor. According to these lines, these hospitals should be furnished with qualified and experienced physiciaus and powerful medicines, and food, honey, ghee etc. should be supplied to the patients free of

There are also a large number of verses on the benefits of the following acts:— digging of tanks and wells, and dedication of these to a Brahmin or a deity, or for public use; giving of food to cows; feeding of a Brahmin who is visiting holy places; avoiding of meat in the month of Kārttika and under different Rāśis, viz., Tulā, Makara and Meṣa; worshipping of an earthen Śiva-linga; furnishing of incense and flowers to gods and Brahmins; furnishing of temples and houses of Brahmins with lamps; muttering of the six-syllabled Mantra 'om namaḥ śivāya', and the use of this Mantra in worship, donations etc.; curing of a person of his disease with the help of one's knowledge of Āyurveda; sasuring of safety to a person distressed with fear; offering of incense to Kṛṣṇa, gold to a Śiva-linga, and madhuparka

⁷⁷ See Kṛṭya-kaipataru, V. pp. 250-1; Aparārka'i com. on the Yāj., pp. 365-6; Dāṇatāgara, pp. 558-9; Caturvarya-cintāmaṇi, 1, pp. 892-4; Vidhāna-pārijāta, III, p. 375.

¹⁵ Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 408-9; Smṛti-tatīva, II, pp. 514, 516; Dāna-kaumudi, p. 164; Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, I, pp. 1002, 1004-5.

Dānasāgara, pp. 312-3.
 Dānasāgara, pp. 366-7.

⁴⁴ Kālasāra, p. 26; Varya-kaumudi, p. 458; Kruya-ramākara, pp. 309, 399, 548-9; Grhastba-ramākara, p. 390; Krtya-kalpataru, 111, pp. 323-4, 359-360.

[&]quot; Smrti-tottva, I, p. 129; Acara-mayūkha, p. 94.

Dănasăgara, pp. 400, 405; Caturvarga-cintâmani, I, p. 922.

Dănasăgara, pp. 459, 460; Caturvarga-cintămani, I. p. 491; Durgă-bhaktl-taran-gint, p. 164.

[™] Smṛti-tatīva, I, pp. 130-1; Ācāra-mayūkha, p. 95.

Smrti-tattva, I, p. 678.

Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., p. 385; Dānasāgara, pp. 563-4; Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 946; Krtya-kalpataru, V, p. 252.

to Siva; shampooing of the feet of a tired Brahmin traveller, and offering of ointments to him for use on his feet;50 singing of the names of Visnu; on and so on.

In Caturvarga-cintâmaņi, III (Parišeșa-khaṇḍa) a large number of verses have been quoted from the Nandi-p. on the various topics connected with Śrāddha; viz., classification of Pitrs; mention of the different classes of Pitrs whose satisfaction is created by the worship of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva; determination of proper time for the performance of funeral ceremonies; persons who deserve to be invited and fed in a funeral ceremony; enumeration of the various objects to be given to Brahmins in a funeral ceremony, viz., gold, silver, ornaments of various kinds (such as armlets, necklace, earrings, waist-bands, anklets, bracelets etc. all set with gems), foot-wears (pādukā), palanquins, vehicles, various kinds of food, clothes, fans, umbrellas, scents and other articles for toileting, cows, buffaloes, young elephants, bulls etc.; praise of giving gold coins (called Suvarna) and silver as dakṣiṇā; origin of silver from the drop of tear fallen from one of the unblinking eyes of Siva when he was looking at Tripura with the intention of destroying it; and so on. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (II, ii, p. 242) Mādhavācārya quotes from the Nandi-p. seventeen metrical lines on the innumerable rebirths (first as shrubs, plants etc., and next as various lower animals and members of lower castes) which a murderer of a Brahmin has to pass through after residence in helis for Kalpas, before he is born as a Brahmin. That the Nandi-p. contained the story of Siva's burning of the city of Tripura, is shown not only by the above account of the origin of silver but also by the seven metrical lines, quoted in Vallālasena's Adbhuta-sāgara (p. 485), on the omens foreboding the destruction of Tripura.

In some of the quoted verses Siva speaks most probably

[&]quot; Nityācāra-pradīpa, pp. 647, 585-6.

^{*} Danaságara, p. 395; Caturvarya-cintáment, I, p. 956.

^{*} Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 677.

¹¹ Some of these verses have been given in Nirnaya-sindhu, pp. 279 and 307 with the words 'hemādrau nundi-purāņe'.

to a king (who is addressed as 'viśāmpate' and 'vatsa' in some other verses).92

The Nandi-p, seems to have been a non-Bengal work. The crops mentioned in connection with bhūmi-dāna exclude rice. BS

6. The Sarada-purana.

This Upapurana is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurānas; but it is drawn upon in Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaņi,44 Gopālabhatta's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa,46 and Viṣṇubhatta Ādavalya's Purusārtha-cintāmaņi (Kāla-khanda).** So, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.

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22 See Caturvarga-cintămani, I. pp. 571-2; III. i, pp. 45, 64 and 668; and III. ii,
p. 691.
    <sup>34</sup> See the verses of the Nandi-p. in Dānmāgaru, pp. 331-2.
    ** Catutvarga-cintămani, III. ii, p. 202-
        'sāgarļā-pjurāge-
             dina-karma dine sarvam kartavyam yadi tad dioc/
             naiva eiddhim avāpuoti tadā rāteau vidhiyate//*
    and
        *kālikā-sāradā-purāņayub --
             walpaiva dyādail yatra māna-dānādikā kriyā/
             rajanyām ova kartavyā dāna-homādi-sarpyutāj/*
      pp. 223-4
         'sāradā-purāne—
             urweya dvādašī imblitā ekādaiyām dina-ksaye/
             mumukuuhhir daiäviddhä noposyaikādasī tithib//
      p. 238-
        'strada-purane-
             ckādniy astami pasthi pūrņamāsi catuminil/
             iftiyā ca caturthi ca amāvāryāgtami tathā//
             uposyáli para-samyuktá nopojyáb půrva-samyutáb//*
      and p. 286-
        'sāradā-purāne-
             purloa-nyaya-minaqua-dharmulastr-archa-cunakah/
             radūcāra-purā ye vai tad-uktam yatnatai caret//
    Mari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 776—'rāradā-pterāņe—ekādatī tathā sauthi paurņamāsi.
caturdati etc.' (same as in Caturvarga-cistănuni, III, ii, p. 238);
    p. 840-"..., săradă-purâțe-dina-karma etc." (same as the first verse in Campvarga-
    p. 841—'kālikā-sāradā-parāṇayoh-svalpaiva dvādaii yatra etc.' (same as the
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cintămani, III. ii, p. 202);

second verse in Caturvarga-cintămani, III. ii, p. 202), and

sankate vişame prapte dvadašyam parayet katham/ adbhis tu pāraņam kutyāt pumar blinktam na dosakri//

^{*} Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 332. Vigoubhatta Adavalya was a Sour Indian author and flourished after Raghunandana.

This Upapurāņa, as its title shows, was a Šākta work. But the verses quoted from it in the Caturvarga-cintāmaņi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa relate only to rules about the selection of the proper day and time for taking bath, observing fasts, making donations etc. on those Ekādašī and other Tithis which are contaminated with others.

The Sāradā-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Kālikā-p. In Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, III. ii, p. 202 and Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 841 the same verses have been ascribed to both the Kālikā and the Sārada-p. Nor is the Sāradā-p. to be identified with the Devi-p. or the Devi-bhāgavata. These two latter Purāṇic works do not contain the verses ascribed to the Sāradā-p. in the Caturvarga-cintāmaņi and the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa.

7. The Saukeya Upapurana.

This is the same as the Nandi-p. (for which see under 'Nandi-p.' above).

8. The Skända Upapurāņa.

This is the same as the Nandi-p., for which see under 'Nandi-p.' above.

9. The Vāyaviya-upapurāņa.

We have seen above⁶⁶ that the 'Vāyaviya', mentioned in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma, was the same as the Nandi-p. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes a 'Vāyu-p.' among the Upapurāṇas;⁵⁰ and this 'Vāyu-p.' may be the same as the 'Vāyaviya' Upapurāṇa mentioned in the Smṛti-tattva and the Šabda-kalpadruma.

[&]quot; See footnotes 94 and 95 above.

See under 'Nandi-p.' above.
"Nityācāra-pradipa, p. 18—yac en vāyupurāņa-devipurānādi tad apy etejv antargatum.

CHAPTER IV

SOME LOST UPAPURĀŅAS OF NON-SECTARIAN OR UNKNOWN ORIGIN

Besides the lost Upapurāṇas dealt with in the immediately preceding Chapter and in Chap. V of Vol. I of the present work, there were many others, about which our information is in most cases so meagre that we are in absolute darkness about the sects to which these works originally belonged. Most of them are now known to us only by name; and as regards the religious views of those very few Upapurāṇas about which we can gather some information from external sources and quotations, our knowledge is no better than in the case of the rest.

It can hardly be denied that clash of religious interest and sectarian rivalry in the mediaeval period of Indian history were responsible for the composition of many more Upapurāṇas than we know of at present. The few works, about which we have been able to gather some information, are the following.

1. The Aditya-purana.

This is one of the earliest and most popular Upapurāṇas. But unfortunately its name does not occur in any of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in three comparatively late works, viz., the Devi-bhāgavata, the Vindhya-māhātmya, and the Brhaddharma-p. The list of Upapurāṇas,¹ which Raghunandana derived from the 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kūrma-p.), contains the name of a 'Bhāska-rāhvaya' Upapurāṇa. According to Kāśirāma Vācaspati and also perhaps Raghunandana himself, this 'Bhāskarā-hvaya' Upapurāṇa is the same as the Āditya-p.² We do not

1 For this list see Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

¹ See Kāširāma Vācaspati's com. on the Malamāsa-tatīva (ed. Candicarana Sontti-bhūsana), p. 213—hhāskarāhvayam āditya-purānam.

know whether this identification is right or wrong. The 'Bhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāņa may as well be the same as the 'Saura-p.' which is not mentioned in Raghunandana's list. However, the nonmention of the name of the Aditya-p. in the majority of the lists has not in any way minimised the importance of this work. Almost all the Nibandha-writers are found to quote numerous verses from it, some of these writers being the following: Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (author of the Tristhali-setu), Anantabhatta (author of the Vidhanapārijāta), Gadādhara, Narasimha Vājapeyin, Gopālabhaṭṭa, Raghunandana, Govindananda, Vidyakara Vajapeyin, Vācaspati-miśra, Candeśvara, Mādhavācārya, Vidyāpati, Madanapāla, Hemādri, Devaņabhatta, Vallālasena, Aparārka and Lakṣmīdhara. In his account of India Alberūni names the 'Aditya-purāṇa' in that list of major Purāṇas which he heard and committed 'to writing from dictation.'s Alberuni further says, "Of all this literature I have only seen portions of the Matsya, Aditya and Vayu Puranas", and gives the translation of a few verses of the Aditya-p.

That the Aditya-p. is an early work cannot be denied. The manner in which Albertini and the Nibandha-writers of different parts of India name and utilise it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity and antiquity, shows that it must have been written not later than 700 A.D. As the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2, 79-83) and the Matsya-p. (53. 59-63) name the Narasimha-p., Nandi-p., Samba-p. and Aditya-p, and say that all these Upapurāņas were 'well established in society' (loke . . . sampratisthitah), the Āditya-p. must have been written not later than the sixth century A.D. From

Just before giving the list of eighteen Upapurāņas in his Malamien-tatīva Raghunandana writes:

[&]quot;anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhih kathitāny apif"

tāni ca narasimha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāņādini, yathā (Smrti-tativa, 1, pp. 792-3). It is to be noted that Raghunandana names the Aditya-purana as an instance, although the list, which he gives from the 'Kauema', contains the name of a 'Rhāskarāhvaya' Upapurāca (and not that of the 'Aditya-p.'). Hence Raghunandanā seems to take the 'Rhāskarāhvaya' and the Aditya-p. to be identical.

Sachau, Albertini's India, I, p. 130.

the mention of the Mahābhārata and the names of the zodiacal signs and week-days in some of the verses of the Aditya-p., it appears that this work is to be dated not earlier than 400 A.D. It is highly probable that it was written in the fifth century A.D. This early date of the Āditya-p. is fully supported by the remarkable absence of Tantricism in its rituals.

We have said elsewhere that the 'Bhāskara-purāṇa', mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 199. 4-5, may be

the same as the present Sāmba-p.*

The Āditya-p, must not be taken to be identical with the earlier Saura-p, which is now lost. The former is found mentioned in the Matsya-p. (53, 62), Brhaddharma-p. (I. 25, 23) and Devi-bhāgavata (I. 3, 15) and drawn upon by Alberūnī and the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. The distinct character of these works is shown by the facts that the Devi-bhāgavata mentions both these Purāṇic works in its list of Upapurāṇas and that whenever Alberūnī and others have to refer to or draw upon the Āditya-p., they do so under the title 'Āditya-p.'

In a few chapter-colophons of some of the Mss of the present Saura, this Purāṇa is called the 'Mānavīya-saṃhitā belonging to the Āditya-p.'s So, it is liable to be taken as a part (Saṃhitā) of the Āditya-p. As a matter of fact, in many of the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss this Purāṇa is mentioned under the title 'Āditya-p.' But this connection of the present Saura with the Āditya-p. is totally unwarranted; because the Āditya-p., which is mentioned in the Matsya-p.

See the verse aeribed to the Aditya-p. in Snipti-tativa, 11, p. 382, Smpti-cambida, 1V, pp. 86 and 87, Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parakara-ampti, I. i, pp. 280-281, Kālasāra, p. 610, and so on.

See Vol. I, p. 100.

We shall record our information about this earlier Saura-p. in Vol III (under 'Saura-p.').

⁷ Devj-bhagavata I. 3. 13-16.

^{*} iti śri-śditya-purane manaviya-saphitayam brahmanda-goloka-varnanam nama panea-sastitamo dhyayah.—Weber, Berlin Cat., No. 1526 (pp. 115-119); Mitra, Bikaner Cat., No. 406 (pp. 162-3); Shastri, ASB Cat., V, No. 4096 (pp. 750-761). Also P.P.S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, No. 10566 (pp. 7165-66); and M. Rangachatya, Madras Cat., IV. ii, Nos. 2338-39 (pp. 1599-1604).

Bṛhaddharma-p, and Devi-bhāgavata and drawn upon by Alberuni and the Smrti-writers, both early and late, is certainly a much earlier work. Moreover, nowhere in the body of its text does the Saura-p. connect itself with the Aditya; and of a few hundreds of metrical lines quoted from the 'Aditya-p.' in the Smrti commentaries and Nibandhas, only about five are found in the present Saura. 10 But this coincidence must not be taken very seriously, because stray verses are often found common even to independent Purănic works which might have taken these verses from a common source such as the Mahābhārata or some early Puranic or Smrti work. The above-mentioned connection of the present Saura-p, with the Aditya-p., however, seems to be based on Saura-p. 1. 6 in which the sages ask Sūta to tell them how 'Aditya' declared the Saura-p. (katham bhagavatā pūrvam ādityen-ātmarūpiņā / purāņam kathitam sauram tanno vaktum ihārhasi //).

The Bhavişyottara mentions a 'Mārtaṇḍa-purāṇa' and says that it dealt with Vratas.¹¹ But as we are quite ignorant of the nature and other contents of this 'Mārtaṇḍa-p.', we do not know whether it was the same as the Āditya-p. or the earlier Saura-p, which is now lost.

The Sūrya-p. mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar, and that drawn upon by Caṇḍeśvara and named in the Berlin Mss of the Kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-śrāddha-vidhi and the Bhaviṣyottara as the source of the former and of the 'Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-

Vie., in Aparāria's com. on the Yājdavalkya-mrti and Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāšara-mrti, and in the Krtya-kalpataru, Dānasāgara, Adhhuta-sāgara, Smrti-candrīkā, Caturvacga-cintāmani, Madana-pārijāta, Dungā-bhakti-tarafgiņi, Kāla-nirņaya, Krtya-ratnākara, Grhastha-ratnākara, Šrāddha-cintāmani, Smrtyartha-sāra, Vurya-kaumudi, Šrāddha-kaumudi, Dāna-kaumudi, Nityācāra-paddhati, Nityācāra-pradīpa, Kālasāra (of Gadādhara), Smrti-tatīva, Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, Vidhāna-pārijāta, etc.

¹⁶ Sec, for instance, the five lines, quoted from the "Aditya-p." in Madhavacarya's com. (I. i, p. 177) on the Paraiara-ameti, which agree with Sattra-p. 10: 3 and 5-5a.

¹¹ Bhay, IV. 121, 1-2-

śri-kraus uvāca—

ippu hhūrata vaksyāmi paūcāštii-vratāni ca/
unktāni yilni kasyāpi munibhir dharma-dariihhih//
bhavisya-mataya-mārtauda-purāncju ca vartātau/
vārāham culva samgrhya kathyante tāni pāņdava//

pañcami-vrata' in the latter, must be quite different from

our Aditya-p.13

We do not know definitely to which sect the Āditya-p. originally belonged or whether it was a non-sectarian work. In the comparatively early Nibandhas there is a large number of extracts, quoted from the Aditya-p., in which the worship of the Sun has been prescribed.13 On the other hand, Visnu-worship is recommended and praised in some of its verses;14 according to one line, it is the adherents to the Pāñcarātra system who escape all kinds of sufferings;13 and one verse states that a worthless Brahmin, who is not marked with Sankha, Cakra, Ordhva-pundra etc., is to be placed on an ass and banished by the king from his kingdom.16 Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi (II. ii, p. 915) eight verses on Śyāmā-mahotsava have been quoted; Vidyāpati and Gadadhara have four and two metrical lines on Durgapūjā in their Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņī (p. 160) and Kālasāra (p. 105) respectively; and in Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Tristhalīsetu (pp. 211, 294-5, 296-7, 308, 313) there are a few verses which praise Benares and the different types of Siva-linga. From all these quotations it appears that the Aditya-p. was a non-sectrian work dealing with the praise and worship of Sūrya, Visnu, Šiva, Durgā and other deities.

Regarding the provenance of the Aditya-p. we have got no clear idea. That it is a non-Bengal work, is certain. It is probable that this Upapurana was written in Northern

India.

It will be interesting to note in this connection the varied contents of the Aditya-p. on the basis of the references and quotations made in Alberuni's work and in the different

16 'pañcarătra-prasaktă ye na te durgatim apnuyuh' (quoted from the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-paddhati, p. 509).

¹⁴ See Vol. I, pp. 100 and 349-350. Also Ep. Ind., 1X, p. 279.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Caturvarga-cintâmani, I, pp. 738-740, 792-804, and so on.

¹⁴ For such venes see Kriya-kalpataru, VI, pp. 348-351, Caturvarga-cintămani, 1, pp. 326-7, II. i, pp. 1145-7, and so on.

³ iankha-cakr-ordhvapundr-ādi-rahitarp brāhmanādhamam/ gardalıham tu samáropya rájá rástrát praeásayet/ / (quoted from the Aditya-p, in Hari-blinkti-vilāsa, p. 184).

Purāņas and Smṛti-Nibandhas. According to the Devibhāgavata (I. 3. 15) and the Vindhya-māhātmya (chap. 3) the Aditya-p. was a 'very extensive' work (ādityam cātivistaram); from Brhaddharma-p. 111. 2. 31 we understand that it dealt elaborately with Gayatri and gave a description of Gayatri's appearance, colour etc., most probably in connection with gāyatrī-dhyāna; ir and Alberūnī's quotations show that it contained a large number of verses on the geography of the earth, the names and position of the seven nether worlds (viz., Tala, Sutala, Pātāla etc.), the names and position of the seven worlds (viz., Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ, Mahah etc.) of the mortals and the immortals, the description and measurement of the mountain Meru, and a discourse on 'Kalpa'.19 Much more interesting are the verses ascribed to the Aditya-p. in the Smrti-Nibandhas. A study of these verses show that the Aditya-p. dealt elaborately with various topics concerning religion and society. Some of these topics are the following.

(1) Śrāddha.—The right procedure of its performance. Determination of proper time. Necessity of performing śrāddha during the rainy season when the Pitrs are expelled by Yama from his abode and sent down to the world of mortals. Praise of dedicating a 'nila-vṛṣa'-an act which causes great satisfaction to the Pitrs and ensures plenty of food and enjoyment to the dedicator.18 Bad effect of the non-performance of śrāddha on the belief that there are no

Pitrs.

(2) Death, and cremation of the deceased.40 Causes of death determining the regions to be attained by the deceased. Praise of death in war. Praise of committing suicide in case of suffering from incurable diseases. Persons

18 See Sachau, Albertini's India, I, pp. 168, 229-230, 232, 248 and 368.

P For the text of the verse of the Byhaddharma-p, see Chap. 11, footnote 135 above.

¹⁰ See Kytya-kalpataru, III, pp. 470-472, Caturvarga-cintămaņi, II. ii, pp. 989-990,

Smrti-tattva, 11, p. 381, and so on. Sce Krtya-kalpataru, VIII, p. 264; Krtya-kalpataru, XI, pp. 135-6, Aparārkab com. (p. 370) on the Yajnavalkya-amrti; Caturvarga-cintamani, II. u, pp. 948-9, Madhavācārya's com. on the Parājara-mṛti. 1. ii, p. 228, Smrti-tatīva, 11, p. 284, Trinthali-setu, pp. 53, 54; Smrti-camérikă, V. p. 182; Kālasāra, p. 258; Kālasāra, p. 361.

deserving cremation (viz., those who have invited sudden death through mistake; those who have been killed by wild beasts, snakes, poison, lightning etc.; those who have been murdered by Caṇḍālas or thieves; and so on). Method of cremation; and use of different kinds of fire for different persons. Praise of throwing the bones of the deceased into the Ganges.

(3) Impurity.-Rules of impurity caused by birth,

death and miscarriage.

Rules of purification of the body under different conditions, (viz., after touching undesirable persons; while travelling on the way or suffering from some disease; and so

on). Method of purification.

(4) Marriage, and duties of married life.—Praise of the Gändharva form of marriage and of accepting sulka for the girl.²¹ Praise of marriyng a daughter according to the Daiva form.²² Salutary effects of Kanyā-pradāna on the Pitṛs (patriarchs).²³ Respect to be shown to a son-in-law, who is to be regarded as Viṣṇu himself; and advice to the father not to dine at the house of that daughter who has not attained motherhood.²¹

Duties of married women.²⁸—They are to serve their husbands and obey them in all matters. They should not undertake any religious rite without the permission of their husbands or other guardians.

Method and praise of sahamarana and anumarana.20

³¹ gändbarvena vivihenu yas ui kanyām prayacchati/ gandbarva-lokam vrajati gandbarvaih pājyau ca aab// iulkena dadyād yah kanyām varāya sadpāya ca/ kispnaraih saha giyeta gändbarvaip lokam eti ca// (munteti in Varya-kaumudi, p. 575).

In Dana-knumudi, p. 80 these verses have been ascribed to the 'Adi-purana'.

Kriya-kalpataru, II, p. 83, Grhastha-ratnākara, p. 69.
 Kriya-kalpataru, II, p. 81, Grhastha-ratnākara, p. 68.

¹⁴ For the relevant verses of the Aditya-p. see Smrti-tativa, II, pp. 147-8, Orbastia-ramakara, p. 350, Aparārka's com. on the Yaji, pp. 239-240, and Krtya-kalpataes, III, p. 273.

See Caturvarga-cintămaņi, II. i, pp. 326-7.

²⁴ See ibid., 11. ü, pp. 957-960.

Dining with the wife of one's own caste-permissible

during journey,27

(5) Duties of people,28-Advice to the people of the Kali age not to practise the dharma of the Krta-yuga. During the Kali age they are to avoid the following acts:- remarriage of girls, allotment of the largest share to the eldest son, killing of cows, marrying of one's own brother's wife, practice of celibacy for a long time, intercaste marriage, killing of a Brahmin even in war, entrance into the Vanaprasthāśrama, prescription of such penances to a Brahmin as may cause his death, recognition of sons other than the dattaka and the aurasa, and so on.

Praise of morning bath during the month of Kārttika

and of performance of tarpana.

Proper time for taking food, viz., morning (prātaḥ) and evening (sāyam).

Study of the Mahābhārata.39

(6) Donations. be-Praise of giving various things to proper recipients, especially to worthy Brahmins, viz., gold, land, well-furnished house, bed, lamp, fan (made of peacockfeathers), clothes, seat, umbrella, footwears, chariot, boat, elephant, horse, cows of different numbers and colours, cows known as Kapilās, calves, food, salt, sesamum, artificial cows made of sesamum, ghee or water, skins of black antelopes, water-pots, sacred thread, sacred books such as the Veda, stick, and so on.

Qualifications of donces. Proper time for making gifts. Right procedure of the same. Gifts which can please parti-

cular gods and spiritual preceptors.

at brāhmaņyā hhāryayā sārdham kvacid bhuñjita cādhvani/ asavarņa-striyā sārdham blinktvā patati tarkşaņāt// [quoted in Mādhavācārya's com, on the Parāšara-smṛti, I. i, p. 425).

a For the relevant verses see Mādhavārārņa's com, on the Parājara-smṛti, I. i, pp. 63-84, and 280-1, and I. ii, p. 91; Smrti-tattva, 11, pp. 112-3, and 382; Madana-pārijāta, p. 331; and so on-

a Smrti-tarrya, II, p. 362.

^{**} Krtya-kulpataru, I. p. 107. II. pp. 242, 247; Apararka's com. (on the Yajinavalkyaımṛti), pp. 363, 370, 374, 378-9; Dānasāgara, pp. 46, 60,259, мг.; Caturvargo-cintānaņi, I; Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāiara-mrd, I. i, p. 177; Krtya-ramākara, pp. 179-180, 367, 561; Grhastha-rattakara, pp. 463, 466; Durga-bhakti-tarangini, p. 181; and 10 OH. 1

(7) Various kinds of public work.³¹—Praise of constructing dams, planting trees, digging wells and tanks, and so

on. Dedication of orchards, gardens, parks etc.

(8) Measurement of land by Paramāņu, Trasareņu, Rathareņu, Bālāgra, Likṣā, Yūkā, Yava, Aṅguli, Vitasti, Prādeśa, Tāla, Gokarṇa, Ratni, Tusta, Viṣku, Dhanurdaṇḍa, Nālī etc., the extents of which are as follows:—

 8 Paramāņus
 =
 1 Trasareņu,

 8 Trasareņus
 =
 1 Rathareņu,

 8 Rathareņus
 =
 1 Bālāgra,

 8 Bālāgras
 =
 1 Likṣā,

 8 Likṣās
 =
 1 Yūkā,

8 Yūkās = 1 Yava, 8 Yavas = 1 Aṅguli, 12 Aṅgulis = 1 Vitasti,

and so on. 12

Measurement of a 'gocarma'.32

(9) Vratas and festivals⁵⁴.—Selection of proper Tithis for the performance of these. Rules of self-restraint that one should observe on these occasions. Description of various Vratas and festivals, some of which are the following:

(a) The Putra-saptami-vrata, in which the Sun is to be worshipped on the Saptami Tithis of every month, especially

on the Māgha-śukla-saptamī.

(b) The twelve Saptami-vratas, in which the Sun's twelve forms, viz., Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhāskara, Indra, Vivasvat, Aryaman, Mitra, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu and Bhaga are to be worshipped during the twelve months (from Caitra) respectively.

On the Asadha-sukla-saptami, which is called Vijaya-saptami, Sūrya is to be worshipped in a mandala by one

⁴¹ Kriya-kalpataru, V. p. 276; Dānarāgara, pp. 544-5, 661-2; Kriya-ratnākara, p. 561; and so on.

¹⁶ See Caturvatga-cintămuni, I, pp. 120-1, and Nityācira-pradipa, pp. 140-1.

⁴⁸ gavām šatam vrsai caiko yatra tisthaty ayantritah/ iām vai gocarma-mātram tu manur āha prajāpatih// (quoted in Dānasāgara, p. 330).

¹⁶ See Krtyn-kalpaturu, VI, pp. 348-351; and especially Casurvurga-cintămani.
II. i, pp. 738-740, 792-804, 875-6, II, ii, pp. 168, 341-3, 649-650, 915, and so on.
**

who must wear white clothes, have a sacred thread, and be a brahmacārin, and must not speak with women. The offerings are to consist of fruits, vegetables, meat, pāyasa etc.; and the 'Daivajñas' are to be honoured and fed. The things to be given away on this occasion are wine, condiments, honey, Sāli rice, meat, vegetables etc. It is said that those women, who worship the Sun on this Tithi, become fortunate and live happily in the Sūrya-loka with their husbands, and that after the expiry of the period of enjoyment they are reborn in high and rich families.

In connection with the description of Sun-worship on the Śrāvaṇa-śukla-saptamī, which is called Marica-saptamī, reference is made to the Sun's power of curing various diseases including those of the skin (viz., Kuṣṭha, Dadru, Kaṇḍu, Śvitra, Ślīpada, Jalodara, Gulma, Atisāra, Hṛd-roga, Vidra-dhi, Pāṇḍu, Ānāha, Galagraha, Śiraḥśūla, Pārśvaśūla, Akṣiśūla, Visūcikā, Vāta, Kṣaya etc.). The Sun is to be worshipped with the six-syllabled mantra 'oṇ namaḥ sūryāya'; and the worshipper is to take his seat before the deity by facing the east.

During the Bhādra-śukla-saptami, which is called Phalasaptami, the Sun is to be worshipped with the offer of various fruits; and the cultivators, merchants, bankers and others, who observe the Phala-saptami-vrata, have their

efforts immensely rewarded.

During the Āśvina-śukla-saptami, which is called Anodana, a cart is to be given away with food materials,

and Brahmins and Bhojakas are to be fed.

(c) Syena-grāsana-vidhi.—On the Caturthi, Aṣṭamī, Navamī, or Caturdaśī Tithi of the white half of the month of Kārttika, a married woman, who is the mother of one or more sons, is to take her bath and worship Yoganidrā in a fruit-bearing tree ontside the house, where she is to go without taking any companion with her. At this place she is to offer food to a Syena bird, return to the house, take her meal even before the head of the family takes his own, and worship her husband.

(d) Šyāmā-mahotsava.—On this occasion Šyāmā, who

is said to have been churned out of the ocean of milk and who was known by three more names Nărâyaṇi, Sati and Drâkṣā (because the gods and demons said "manojñā sumukhī caiṣā hanta drakṣyāmahe vayam", when she was churned out), is to be worshipped on well-ripe Drākṣā fruits. Two boys and two old men are to be honoured on this occasion, the fruits are to be given to spiritual preceptors, and music and dancing are to be performed.

Besides these, there is copious description of Aśokāṣṭamīvrata, Vaiśākhī-vidhi, Putrotpatti-vrata, Deha-tyāga-vidhi,

Dürvāṣṭamī-vrata, Vijaya-dvādašī-vrata, and so on.

(10) Description of different deities, such as Agni (who rides a goat), Siva (who has four hands), Lakṣmi, Indra, the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, and so on.35

(11) Miscellaneous topics, such as those relating to

(a) numerals, (b) praise of Benares, and the method of worshipping Siva there, (c) adbhutas concerning svapna and kāya-riṣṭa, (d) names of the seven sages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara, (e) names of dig-gajas, enumeration of ratna-pañcaka, and names of the nine things known as 'kantuka', (f) vaiśvadeva-bali following pitr-tarpaṇa, (g) bad effects of making hurry in homa and of offering homa in a fire with inauspicious signs, (h) giving of salt and fodder to cows, and so on.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that in many of the chapters of the Aditya-p. the Sun (Bhānu or Aditya) spoke to the 'great sage' (mahāmuni) Durvāsas, in some chapters Vasiṣṭha reported to a king what Pitāmaha had said to the gods and sages, in some chapters Vasiṣṭha

See Smrti-tativa, I, pp. 99, 128, 136, 174, 190; II, pp. 592, 592-3.

See Adbhuta-tăgara, pp. 507, 517, 519-520, 520, 521, 524, 525, 527-9, 534, 537, 538, 540, 542-4, 546.

³⁷ See Caturvarga-cintămani, 1, pp. 233, 241; II. i, pp. 47, 49.

³⁴ Kreya-rutnākara, pp. 59-60.

See Caturvarga-cintămani, I. pp. 392-3, 594-3, 420-1; II. i, pp. 875-6; and so on-Kriya-kalpataru, VIII, p. 264.

See Caturvarga-cintămani, I, pp. 602-6. Cf. also Krtya-katpataru, V, pp. 154-5, and Smrti-candrikl, IV, p. 406.

spoke to Bhārgava Rāma," and in some others Vyāsa was the speaker.42 In a large extract of 130 verses Nārada is spoken to,43 and in another Āditva speaks to Brahmā.44 From all these it appears that in the Aditya-p. Vyāsa reported to some sages what the Sun (Bhānu or Āditya) had

said to Durvāsas on diverse topics.

We do not know whether the Aditya-p, cared to claim to belong to any Mahāpurāna, but the Matsya-p. (53. 62) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 2, 83) take it to be a part of the Bhavisyat-purāṇa. It is needless to say that this connection between the two Puranic works must have been meant for subordinating the Aditya-p. to a principal Purana, viz., the Bhavisyat.

The Akhetaka-upapuranas.

This work has been mentioned only in that list of eighteen Upapuranas which occurs in the Ekamra-p. " No second mention of this work is found anywhere else, nor have we been able to find out a single Smrti or non-Smrti work which draws upon this Upapurana. So, we do not know what its contents were, or when it was composed. Its peculiar title also does not render us any help in these respects. However, its mention in the Ekamra-p. shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

3. The Ausanasa-upapurana.

This Upapurana has been mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapuranas, except those contained in the Ekamrap. and the Brhaddharma-p. In some of these lists it is

" For this list see Vol. 1, p. 13.

[&]quot; See Apararka's come on the Yaj, pp. 378-9. 12 See Caturvarga-cintămani, 11. ii, pp. 341-5.

u See ibid., 11. i. pp. 792-804.

⁴⁴ Mid., 11. i, pp. 738-740. 4 The title of this work is peculiar, the word 'akhetaka' meaning 'hunter'.

mentioned as 'Ausanasa', 17 in most of them it is called 'Usanaserita' (i.e. the Purāṇa spoken out by Usanas), 18 and in one it is named as 'Ausanasa-prokta'. 19 In those lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas which Mitra-miśra and Gopāladāsa derived from the 'Brahma-vaivarta', this Ausanasa-

upapurāna is called 'Šaukra'.

The mention of this Upapurāņa in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas shows that it was a fairly early work and must have been written before 800 A.D. But unfortunately not a single Smṛti or non-Smṛti work is found to draw upon or refer to it. It is probable that either this Ausanasa-upapurāṇa became extinct at an early date, or it became unpopular with the authors of Smṛti and other works from the tenth century A.D.

The Ausanasa-upapurāņa must not be taken to be the same as the Bṛhad-ausanasa-upapurāṇa, which was a much later work. For this Bṛhad-ausanasa-upapurāṇa sec

below.

4. The Barhaspatya Upapurana.

It is mentioned as the fourth Upapurāņa in the list of Upapurāņas contained in the Revā-kh. (1. 49) of the Skandap. No other list contains its name, nor does any commentator or Nibandha-writer draw upon or refer to it. So, we are quite ignorant of its date and contents. According to the Revā-kh., this Bārhaspatya Upapurāṇa belonged to the Vāyu-p. (bārhaspatyaṃ caturthaṃ ca vāyavyaṃ saṃmataṃ sadā.—Skanda-p. V. iii. 1. 49a).

5. The Bhagavata-upapurana.

The Devi-bhāgavata mentions a 'Bhāgavata' in its list

O See Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 19 (which derived in his from the 'Kūrma-p.'), Devi-bhāgavata I, 3, 13-16.

⁴⁰ For these fists See Vol. I, pp. 4-10 and 12.

^{*} Sec Vol. I, p. 10.

[&]quot; See ibid., p. 12.

Sukra and Uianas are namer of the same person.

of Upapurāņas, but we have seen elsewheren that this 'Bhāgavata' is nothing but the famous Vaisnava Bhāgavata, whose position as a Mahāpurāna the Devi-bhāgayata tried to occupy by calling itself 'Srimad-bhagavata'sa or simply

'Bhāgavata'.50 The Revā-khanda and the Revā-māhātmya, which mention a Bhāgavata Mahāpurāņa in their lists of the eighteen principal Purāṇas,44 include a 'Bhāgavata' in their lists of eighteen Upapuranas. So, it is clear that according to these two works the Bhagavata-upapurana was quite different from the famous Bhagavata-p. But as in their lists of Upapurāņas there is mention of the Kālikā-p. also (which, as we have already seen,58 claimed to be the 'original Bhāgavata'), we do not know whether this 'Bhāgavata' Upapurāņa of the Revā-khanda and the Revā-māhātmya is the same as the Devi-bhagavata or the Devi-p.56 In the list of eighteen Upapurāņas, which was derived by Hemādri from the 'Kūrma-p.', there is mention of 'two Bhāgavatas'.47 But as this list contains the name of the Kālikā-p. also, we do not know which works are actually meant by these 'two Bhāgavatas'.

No 'Bhāgavata-upapurāņa' is drawn upon or referred to by any of the numerous commentators and Nibandhawriters known to us.

The Brahmanda-upapurana.

That, besides the Brahmanda Mahapurana, there was

¹¹ Hazra, Purănic Records, p. 31.

¹² Dbh 1, 2, 11; 3, 34 and 39; and so on-

¹⁴ Hid., J. 1, 25, 2, 37, 15, 47; 11, 12, 2; and 10 on.

⁴⁴ Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 31-44- ... navamaņi bhagavan-nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣitam/ Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 55, Nos. 114-116 (Revamāhātmya)— ... tathā bhāgavatam nāma bhāga-dvaya-vibhūjitam/... ...

The Kevā-māhātmya, which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p., is much the same as the Reva-kh, of the Skanda-p.

[&]quot; See Chap. I (under 'Kālikā-p.') above.

is For the claim that the Devi-p. was the real Bhagavata, see Chap, I (under Devi-

[&]quot; For this list see Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

an Upapurāṇa named 'Brahmāṇḍa', is shown by its mention in the majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. It is only in the Devi-bhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma-p. and Ekāmra-p. as well as in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Smṛti-tattva and the Śabda-kalpadruma from a text of the Kūrma-p. that the Brahmāṇḍa is not included among the Upapurāṇas. After giving two lists of Upapurāṇas (one from the 'Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa' and the other from the 'Brahma-vaivarta'), in both of which there is mention of a Brahmāṇḍa Upapurāṇa, Mitra-miśra says that the Nāradiya and Brahmāṇḍa Upapurāṇas were different from the Mahāpurāṇas of the same titles.⁵⁸

Though, by reason of its mention in most of the comparatively early lists of Upapurāņas, the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa seems to have been written at an early date, it is not drawn upon by any of the Nibandha-writers. Even Mitramiśra, who distinguishes between the two Purāṇic works named 'Brahmāṇḍa', does not appear to have seen the 'Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa' with his own eyes. It is probable that the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

H. P. Shastri's proposed identification of the Brahmāṇḍa-upapurāṇa with the Uttara-kh, of the Brahmāṇḍa-mahā-purāṇa,¹⁰ does not seem to be convincing. In Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1. 44a and in the Revā-māhātmya¹⁰ the Brahmāṇḍa-mahāpurāṇa is said to have consisted of two

parts (bhāga-dvaya-vibhūṣita).

7. The Brhad-ausanasa-upapurana.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas, nor is it drawn upon or referred to by any comparatively early author. Even among the late Nibandhawriters we have not found one who betrays his knowledge

Viramitrodaya, Patibhāṣā-ptakāta, p. 14 upapurāṇ-āntargate nāradiya-beahmānda-purāne bhime.

¹⁹ Shastri, ASB Cat., V. Preface, p. cevi.

Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

of this Upapurana. So, it seems to have been composed at a late period. There are, of course, Mss of a Vindhyamāhātmya" which claims to be a part of this Upapurāņa. As one of these Mss is dated Samvat 1924, our Upapurana must have been written earlier than that date.

The Ekapāda-upapurāņa. 8.

It is only the Ekamra-p. which mentions this work in its list of Upapurāņas. So, it seems to have been written at a comparatively late date. Its mention in the Ekämra-p., however, shows that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

As none is found to draw upon or refer to it, we are

quite ignorant of its nature and contents.

9. The Garuda Upapurana.

This work is mentioned only in the Ekamra-p., but we do not know definitely whether by 'Garuda' the Ekamrap. means the present Garuda-p. which was a much later work than the earlier Garuda,42 and which was regarded as a spurious work by Vallalasena.40

10. The Kūrma-upapurāna.

A 'Kaurma' Upapurana is mentioned in the lists of Upapurāņas contained in the Revā-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya.

11 For Mss of the Vindhys-mahatmys, with the commentary of Vaidyanatha, see Shauri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 745-747, Nov. 4086 (dated Samvat 1940) and 4087 (dated Samvat 1924), and Mitra, Notices, 111, pp. 306-8, No. 1285.

According to Misra the Vindhya-māhātmya deals with the 'topography of certain sacred places on the Vindhya Hills, and the religious merit to be acquired by pilgrimage to them'. It also contains the names of the eightten Puranas and Upapuranas (in chaps. 3 and 4 respectively), the praise of Devi Vindhyavāsini, Thrakeivara and the Ganges, the stories of Tarakasura, of the demons Hunda and Tuhunda and of Sumbha and Niiumbha, and the description of the method of Devi-worship, which is imbared with Tantric elements.

[&]quot; See Harra, Purănic Records, pp. 141-145.

⁴⁴ Sec Dünasägara, p. 7, verses 63-66, for which see Chap. I. (under 'Devi-p.' above).

No Ms either of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to be a part of it has been discovered as yet, nor is there a single author who is found to draw upon or refer to it. So, we do not know for certain whether there was at all any work called 'Kaurma-upapurāṇa', and, if so, what its date and contents were.

11. The Laghu-brahmavaivarta-purana.

In his Nirnaya-sindhu, p. 50 Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa quotes two verses from this work with the remark 'atra mūlaṃ cintyam'. As these two verses, dealing with the praise of gifts made at Benares during eclipses etc., do not occur in the present Brahma-vaivarta-p., the Laghu-brahmavaivarta (if at all there was any work of this title) must have been a separate work written before 1400 A.D. It should be mentioned here that we do not know any second author who refers to or draws upon this work.

12. The Lilavati-upapurana.

This work is mentioned only in that list of Upapurāņas which is contained in the Ekâmra-p. No Ms of this work or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been found up to the present time, nor does any Smṛti-writer in any way betray his knowledge of this Upapurāṇa. So, we are in absolute darkness as regards its date, character and contents. We can only say that it was composed earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

13. The Mādhavī-purāņa (?)

A verse is found ascribed to a 'Mādhavī-purāņa' in Bhairava's Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṃgraha,44 which is

^{**} Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ma No. G5946, fol. 71b mādhavi-purāņe— 'rāmu tu pavet (? rātri-rūktam japet) amprok etc.'

later than the Tantra-sara. As in no other work known to us there is any reference to or quotation from the 'Madhavîpurana', we do not know whether there was at all any Upapurāņa bearing this title. It is highly probable that the reading 'mādhavi-purāņe' in Bhairava's work is a scribal mistake for 'madhaviye purane' and that the verse, ascribed to the 'Mādhavī-purāṇa', was derived from some work of Mādhavācārya. This probability gains ground when we see that this verse has been quoted in Madhavacārya's commentary (l. i, p. 441) on the Parāśara-smṛti with the words "purane 'pi", and that at another place (fol. 1b) in the Ācāra-nirṇaya-bhāskara-saṇigraha a verse (brahma-murāris tripurāntakārī etc.=Vāmana-p. 14, 23) has been quoted with the words 'madhaviye purane', evidently to mean that the verse was derived from Madhavacārya's commentary (II. i, pp. 220-221) on the Parāśarasmrti, where it has been quoted with the mention of the Vāmana-p. as its source. The derivation of Purāṇic verses from Mādhavācārya's works with the words 'mādhavīye purane' is not peculiar to Bhairava alone. There are other Nibandha-writers who have used the same words in the cases of some of the Puranic verses derived from Madhavacārya's works. See, for instance, Nīlakantha-bhatta's Ācāramayūkha, p. 107-

mādhavīye purāņe-

'yat phalam soma-yāgena prāpnoti dhanavān dvijaḥ / samyak pañca-mahāyajňair daridras tad avāpnuyāt //* It is to be noted that this verse (yat phalam soma-yagena etc.) is found quoted by Mādhavācārya in his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti (Ācāra-kāṇḍa, Adhyāya I, p. 413) with the words "purage 'pi."

14. The Mahesa Upapurana.

This work has been mentioned in two lists only, viz., those ascribed to the 'Brahma-vaivarta' in Mitra-miśra's Viramitrodaya and Gopāladāsa's Bhakti-ratnākara. Though derived from the same source, these two lists differ in texts as well as in the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In Mitra-miśra's list both the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga and the Māheśa have been mentioned, but in Gopāladāsa's list the Vāsiṣṭha and the Māheśa have been named. In spite of this difference, we can safely take the Māheśa to be different from the Vāsiṣṭha-laiṅga (which was known as Vāsiṣṭha also and perhaps as Māheśvara too). It was also not identical with the Śivadharma, which is mentioned in Mitra-miśra's list under the name of 'Śaiva-dharma'. The mention of the 'Śaiva' or 'Śaivaka' (i.e. Śiva-p.) in the lists of Purāṇas given by Mitra-miśra* from the 'Viṣṇu-p.' and the 'Śrī-bhāgavata', shows that this 'Śaiva' (or 'Śaivaka') Purāṇa and the 'Māheśa' Upapurāṇa were not the same.

As to the date of this Upapurana, we can only say that

it must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

15. The Mrtyunjaya-upapurana.

It is only the Ekāmra-p, which mentions a Mṛtyuñjayaupapurāṇa. No commentator or Nibandha-writer is found to draw upon or refer to it. Its mention in the Ekāmra-p, shows that it must have been written earlier than 1100 A.D. but most probably not before 900 A.D.

16. The Naradiya Upapurana.

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas.**
In the majority of the lists it is called 'Nāradīya'; but in a few it is mentioned as 'Nāradokta', and in one, as 'Nāradīyaka'.

According to Kāsīrāma Vācaspati, the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāņa is the same as the 'Bṛhannāradīya'.* But this view is not at all acceptable. Had the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāṇa and the 'Bṛhannāradīya' been identical, there

" For these line see Vol. I, pp. 4-13.

¹² Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāša, p. 12.

⁴º Sec Răstrăma Văcaspati's com. on the Malamaso-tativa (cd. Candicarana Smraibhūsana), p. 213—năradiyam brhamaradiyam.

would be at least one list of Upapuranas in which the name of the 'Brhannaradiya' would occur in place of the 'Naradiya'. On the contrary, the Brhaddharma-p. and the Ekamra-p. mention both the 'Nāradīya' and the 'Brhannāradīya' in their lists of Upapuranas.

The Nāradīya Upapurāņa must also not be taken to be the same as the present Nāradīya-mahāpurāṇa. The latter was compiled mainly with the chapters of the Brhannaradiva.48 Moreover, Mitra-miśra says that the 'Nāradiya', included among the Upapurāņas, was different from the

Nāradīya-mahāpurāna.69

As the 'Nāradīya' Upapurāņa is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāņas, it must have been a popular work written at an early date. Yet no commentator or Nibandhawriter is found to utilise or refer to its contents. It is highly probable that this Upapurana became extinct quite early.™ According to the Revä-kh. (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revämāhātmya, it belonged to the Bhavişya-p.

17. The. Puskara-purana.

None of the lists of Upapuranas contains the name of this work, but nine metrical lines are found ascribed to it in Gadādhara's Kālasāra,71 two in Gopālabhaṭṭa's Hari-

[&]quot; Hazra, Puranic Records, pp. 127ff.

^{*} Viramitrodaya, Paribbūjā-praklija, p. 14—upapūrān-āntargate nāradiyabrahmända-puräne bhinne.

⁷⁶ Note, in this connection, the word 'para' in the line 'bhaviyye năradoktum ra stribhth kathitam pura' (occurring in the Reva-kh, of the Skanda-p, and in the Revamāhātmya) in which the 'Nāradiya' Upapurāņa has been attached in the Bhaviaya-p.

⁷¹ Kālasāru, p. 601-

citra-kpna-çaturdašī piakara-purāņekārttike bhauma-vāre tu yadā kṛṣṇa-caturdašij (asyām ārādhliah sibānur nayec chivaposam dhravam/) yam kameit meitam prapya krana-pakse caturdasim/ yomenāyām viieseņa niyatam tarpayed yamān// yamāya dharmarājāya mṛṭyave cāntakāya ca/ audumbarāya dadhyāya nīlāya paramenhine// vrkodarāya citrāya citraguptāya vai namab/ chnikasya tilair miśran trings tu dadyaj jalanjulin// iamvamara-kitam păpani tarksanăd cra naiyatif/"

bhakti-vilāsa,²² six in Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Nirṇaya-sindhu (which derives three of its lines from the 'Nirṇayāmṛta'),²⁴ and five in Anantabhaṭṭa's Vidhāna-pārijāta.²⁴ So, this Upapurāṇa must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D. Its nonmention in the lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it was a comparatively late work.

This Puşkara-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Padma-p. None of the quoted verses, mentioned above,

is found in the latter work.

18. The Rudra-purana.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas. A verse (on the result of fasting on the Ekādaśi Tithi) is found quoted from this work in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.⁷⁵ So, it must have been written not later than 1000 A.D.

The Rudra-p. does not seem to be the same as the present Siva-p., because the quoted verse, mentioned above, smacks of Vaisnavism and does not occur in the latter work.

¹⁹ Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, p. 1064—

... ... pujkara-purāņe-

'yasya yasya tu devasya yan nakiatrasp tiliti ca ya/ tasya devasya tasminii ca iayan-ayartan-adikam//

33 Nirpaya-rindhu, p. 145-

tashā ākāša-dīpa ukto nirmayāmņte puskara-purāņe— 'tulāyām tila-tailena sāyamkāle samūgate/ ākāša-dīpam yo dadyān māsam ekup harim prasi/ mahatīm iriyam āpnoti rūpa-saubhāgya-sampadam//

p. 148-

... tad uktarp puskāra-purluje—
'avāti-sthite ravāv indur yadi svātl-gato bhavei/
punca-tvag-udaka-māyi kṛtābhyanga-vidhir narah/
ntrājito mahālakṣmīm arcayan triyam aimue//

79 Of the five metrical lines ascribed to the 'Puşkara-p.' in Anantabhatta's Vidhāna-pārijāta, II, p. 676, the first three are the same as those quoted from the 'Puşkara-p.' in Nirpaya-sindhu, p. 148, and the last two are the following:

'indu-kṣaye 'pi saṃkrāntau ravau pāse dina-kṣaye/ tatrābhyaṅgo na doṣāya prātaḥ pāpāpanuttaye//'

** Caturvarga-ciatămaņi, III. ii, p. 152—

rudra-purabe-

'yah karoti naro bhaktyā ekādaiyām uposanam/ ka yāti visnu-sālokyam yāti visnoh sarūpatām//

19. The Saura-purana.

Besides the present Saura-p. which is a Saiva work, there was an earlier Saura which is now lost. Full information about this lost Saura-p, will be given under 'Saura-p.' in Vol. III of the present work.

20. The Soma-purana.

This work is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapuranas nor drawn upon or referred to by any of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. It is only Alberuni who mentions it in that list of eighteen Puranas which he committed to writing from dictation,76 So, this Upapurana must have been written earlier than 850 A.D., otherwise it could not attain so much prominence as to be included among the 'Purāṇas' in Alberūni's time.

21. The Tvastr-purana.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāņas. Of the commentators and Nibandha-writers it is only Devanabhatta who is found to quote one verse from this Upapurāņa in his Smṛti-candrikā." So, this work must have been written earlier than 950 A.D.

22. The Urdhva-purana.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāņas, but it is drawn upon in the Vākya-ratnākara of Govinda (son of Gaṇaka Sadāśiva Miśra).26 So, it must be dated earlier than 1550 A.D.

⁵ Sachau, Alberúnt's India, I, p. 136- ... (11) Soma-purâna î.e. the moun, ...

[&]quot; Smrti-candriks, V, p. 182-

sarpa-hate tv ayanı viseşas tvaşır-purâne darinab-'tauvarna-bhāra-nispannassı nāgam krīvā tathaiva gāmi viprāva vidbivad datrvā paur ānguyam āpauyāt()" 14 Shastri, ASB Cat., 111, No. 2799, p. 811.

23. The Uttara-saura.

Four metrical lines³⁹ are ascribed to this work in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 54-55, Nityācāra-pradīpa, p. 92, and Kālasāra, p. 230. So, this work must have been written earlier than 1200 A.D.

From the title of this work it appears that it claimed to form the latter part (uttara-bhāga) either of the present Saura-p. or of the earlier one. But, as a matter of fact, neither of these two Saura-purāṇas is known to have had any such part.

24. The Vamana-upapurana.

In their lists of Upapurāņas the Garuḍa-p., Bṛhad-dharma-p. and the present Kūrma-p. name a 'Vāmana' Upapurāṇa instead of the 'Mānava' mentioned in the other lists. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin also mentions a 'Vāmana' Upapurāṇa (in place of the 'Mānava') in his list which he derived from the 'Kūrma-p.'

The occurrence of the name of the 'Vāmana' in place of the 'Mānava' in these lists, was due either to the ignorance of the people about the real title and nature of the Upapurāṇa which they called 'Vāmana' or 'Mānava,' or to the fact that the Mānava-upapurāṇa was replaced by the Vāmana-upapurāṇa, or vice versa, at an early date. But as neither the 'Vāmana' nor the 'Mānava' is drawn upon or referred to by any author, we are quite ignorant of these two works.'

25. The Yama-purāņa.

This work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapurāņas, but five verses have been ascribed to the 'Yama-p.'

These lines are the following: guror madhyama-saṃkrānti-hlao yai candra-vatsarah/ adhitanpyatsarat taunin kārayen na saya-trayam// varjaolyā prayatoena pratisthā sarva-nākinām/ sphura-saṃkrānti-hloai cet ke 'py ihur adhimāxavat//

⁽These lines, as quoted in the Nityäeära-pradipa and the Kālasāra, differ in readings in some places).

at different places in Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaņi.80 Though the reading 'padma-' for 'yama-' occurs in two places in some of the Mss of the Caturyarga-cintamani, st and five of the quoted lines are found in the Systi-kh. of the present Padma-p., 12 the name 'Yama-p.', occurring in the Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, must not be taken to be merely a scribal mistake for 'Padma-p.' The existence of a distinct Upapurāņa named 'Yama-p.' is proved definitely by Sūramiśra who draws upon a 'Yama-p.' in his Jagannāthaprakāša (fol. 71a),81 The occurrence of some of the verses of the 'Yama-p.' in the Srsti-kh. of the present Padma-p. must be due either to the utilisation of the contents of the latter work by the former, or to the use of a common source by both these works. As a matter of fact, the verse 'amena vartayen nityam' (of which the second line is the same as Padma-p., Srsti-kh., 10. 32b) is ascribed to both the Kürmap. and the Yama-p. in Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, III. i, p. 1528.

The verses quoted from the Yama-p, show that this work dealt, among other topics, with Vrata, Śrāddha etc.

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" Caturvarga-cintāmaņi, II. i. pp. 23-24-
    yanna-purăne (v. l. 'padma-purăne')-
      habutvād iha dierāņām dharma-mūlam (ruti-antst)
      ititiasa-puranam tasmat tegu manah kethah@';
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and p. 560-

'lakymim abhyarcya pañcamyām upavāsi bhaven mpah/ samānte hema-kamalam dadyād dhenu-tamanvitam// sa caisnava-padam yāti lakṣmīr jaumani jaumani) etal laksmi-vratam näma dubkha-feka-vinäianam//

iti yama-purāņoktam lakķmi-vratum.

Rod., 111. i. p. 960-yad uktam yama-purāņe (v. 1. 'padma-purāņe' in M. W .-'emplatădin jape home druvăcămed dvijottamab/ wadin drytya tathaiyapi karnam va daksinam spises/";

and p. 1528-

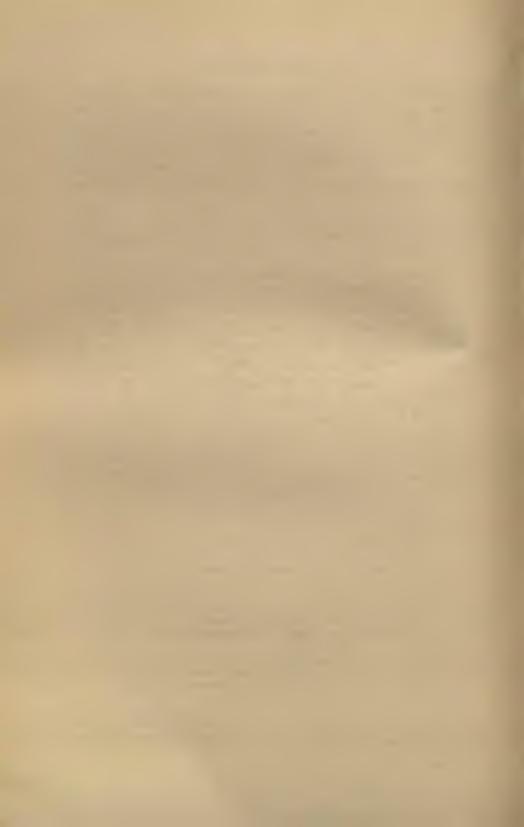
kürmaparäņa-ултаригацауоb—

'āmena vartayen mayam brāhmano vyasanānvitab/ renāguaukaraņam kuryāt piņelārm tematra nievapes//*

44 See the immediately preceding footnote.

The two verses, ascribed to the 'Yama-p.' in Catarvarga-cintimani, II. i, p. 568. are the same as Padma-p., Stati-kh., 20, 65-64; and the second line of the verse ascribed to both the Kürma-p, and the Yama-p, to Caturvarga-cintāmani, III. i, p. 1528, is the same as Padma-p., Spit-kh., 10, 32b,

¹³ Shattri, ASB Cat., 111, p. 137 (No. 2041).



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Ācāra-bhūṣaṇa of Tryambaka Oka.—Edited and published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Scries, No. 57. Poona, 1908.

Ācārādarśa (alias Kṛtyācāra) of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya.— Benares edition published by the Sūrya-Prabhākara

Press, Benares, Samvat 1939.

Ācāra-mayūkha of Nîlakantha-bhatta.—Published by the

Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1915.

Ācārendu of Tryambaka Māţe.—Edited and published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 58. Poona, 1909.

Adbhuta-sāgara of Vallālasena.—Edited by Muralīdhara Jhā and published by Prabhākarī & Co., Benares, 1905.

Agni-purāņa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsi Press, Calcutta, 1314 B.S.

Also occasionally used the editions published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona) and the Asiatic Society

(Calcutta).

Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā.—Edited by M. D. Rāmānujācārya.

Adyar, Madras, 1916.

Ahnika-tattva of Raghunandana. - See under 'Smṛṭi-tattva of

Raghunandana' below.

Amarakosa of Amarasimha.—Edited by V. Jhalakikar under the superintendence of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. Sixth edition. Bombay, 1907.

Annadā-mangala of Bhārata-candra (a Bengali work of the

Minor works, and those editions and manuscripts of the Puranas, Upaparanas etc., which have been referred to only occasionally in the present Volume, have not been mentioned in this Bibliography.

middle of the eighteenth century A.D.).—Edited by Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay and Sajani Kanta Das and published by the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat. Calcutta, 1349 B.S.

Ārya-manjuśri-mūlakalpa.—Edited by T. Ganapati Šāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos. LXX (1920) and LXXVI (1922).

Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini (with Bhattoji Dīkṣita's commentary Siddhānta-kaumudī).—Edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Sāstrī Paṇaśīkara and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press. Ninth edition. Bombay, 1924.

Atharva-veda (with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya),-Edited by S. P.

Pandit. Bombay, 1895-98.

Avadāna-sataka.—Edited by P. L. Vaidya and published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning. Darbhanga, 1958.

Bhāgavata-purāṇā (with Śrīdhara-svāmin's commentary).— Edited by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Fifth edition, 1334 B.S.

Also occasionally used Eugene Burnouf's edition published from Paris in 1940-47.

Bhavişya-purāņa.—Published by Kşemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1897.

Bhavişyottara.—Published as Book IV (called 'Uttaraparvan') of the Venkatesvara Press edition of the Bhavişya-purāņa mentioned above.

Bhāhmaṇa-sarvasva of Halāyudha.—Edited by Tejaścandra Vidyānanda. Third edition. Calcutta, 1331 B.S.

Also used the edition prepared by Durgamohan Bhattacharya and published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1960.

Brahma-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsi Press, Calcutta, 1316 B.S.

Brahmavaivarta-purāņa.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1888.

Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1314 B.S.

Also used the Bibliotheca Indica edition prepared by Haraprasad Shastri and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1888-97.

Brhannāradīva-purāņa.-Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B.S.

Also occasionally used the Bibliotheca Indica edition prepared by Hrsikeśa Śāstri and published by the Asiatic

Society, Calcutta, in 1886-91.

Brhat-samhită of Varāhamihira.—Edited by Kern. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1865.

Candi (ulias Candi Saptasati and Mārkandeya-candi).-Being the same as chaps. 81-93 of the Markandeya-

purana (for which see below).

Caṇḍi-mangala-bodhini (or, Notes on Kayikankana-caṇḍi of Mukundarāma Cakravartin).-Compiled by Charu Chandra Bandvopadhyay and published, in two Parts, by the University of Calcutta in 1925 and 1928 respectively.

Caraka-samhitā.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara,

Calcutta, Second edition, 1896.

Caturvarga-cintāmani of Hemādri.--

Vol. I (Dāna-khanda).-Edited by Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1873.

II (Vrata-khanda), Part I.-Edited by Pandit Vol. Bharata-candra Siromani, Bibliotheca Indica

(Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1878.

II (Vrata-khanda), Part ii.—Edited by Pandit Vol. Yajňeśvara Bhattacarya and Pandit Kamakhyanātha Tarkaratna, Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic

Society), Calcutta, 1879.

Vol. III (Parisesa-khanda), Part i.-Edited by Pandit Yajñeśvara Smrtirama and Pandit Kāmākhyānātha Tarkaratna, Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1887.

Vol. III (Parišesa-khanda), Part ii.—Edited by Pandit Yajňešvara Smrtiratna and Pandit Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgiša. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1895.

Vol. IV (Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa).—Edited by Pandit Pramatha-nātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1911.

Dāna-kaumudi of Govindānanda Kavi-kankaņācārya.— Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1903.

Dānasāgara of Vallālasena.—Edited by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya. Bibliotheca Indica (Asiatic Society), Calcutta, 1956.

Daņḍa-viveka of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya,—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha. Gaekwaḍ's Oriental Series, No. LII, Baroda, 1931.

Daśa-kumāra-carita of Daņḍin.—Edited by M. R. Kale and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay. Third edition, 1925.

Devi-bhāgavata.—Edited by Rāmateja Pāṇdeya and published by Vrajabhūṣaṇa Dāsa Gupta. Saṃskṛta Pustakālaya, Benares, Saṃvat 1984.

Also occasionally used the Venkar, edition (published with Saiva Nilakantha's commentary Tilaka) and the Vanga, (second) edition published in Saka 1832.

Devi-purăna.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pancănana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsi Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1334 B.S.

Dharma-purāṇa.—Printed in the Padma-purāṇa, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa (of which it forms chaps. 44-82 in the AnSS edition, chaps. 47-82 in the Vanga. edition, and chaps. 49-86 in the Venkat. edition).

Dīpa-kalikā (a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti) by Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by J. R. Gharpare. First edition. Bombay, 1939.

Durgā-bhakti-tarangiņi of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya.—Edited by Ishan Chandra Sharma Vidyavinod and published by Pramatha Nath Bhattacharya, Sylhet Girish Press. Šaka 1856.

Durgā-pūjā-tatīva of Raghunandana.—Edited by Satiśa Candra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa and published by the Sanskrit

Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta.

Durgotsava-viveka of Śrinātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.—It constitutes pp. 42-52 of the 'Durgă-pājā-viveka etc.' (of 'Mahāmahopādhyāyas Śūlapāṇi and others') edited by Satīša Candra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa and published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

Durgotsava-viveka of Šūlapāņi.—It constitutes pp. 1-27 of the 'Durgā-pujā-viveka etc.' mentioned immediately above.

Dvaita-nirnaya of Vācaspati-miśra.—Edited by Sūrya Nārāyana Šukla, Benares, V.S. 1995.

Ekādasī-tattva of Raghunandana.—See 'Smṛti-tattva of

Raghunandana' below.

Gaṇḍavyūha.—Edited by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki and Hokel Idzumi, Kyoto, Parts I-II (1934), Part III (1935), and

Part IV (1936).

Gangā-vākyāvalī of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya.—Edited by Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri and published as "Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III' (Calcutta, 1940).

Also used a Ms of this work of Vidyapati (for which

see Section II on 'Works in Manuscripts' below).

Garuda-purāņa.-Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkarama and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1338 B.S.

Also occasionally used Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition published from Calcutta in 1890 and the Venkatesvara Press edition published by Kşemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa,

Bombay, Samvat 1963.

Grhastha-ratnākara of Candesvara Thakkura.-Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tirtha. Bibl.

Ind. (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1928.

Guhya-samāja-tantra (alias Tathāgata-guhyaka).—Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LIII, Baroda, 1931.

Hāralatā of Aniruddhabhatta.—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛti-tīrtha. Bibl. Ind. (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1909.

Hari-bhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa.—Edited by Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta, 1318 B.S.

Hariyamsa (with Nîlakantha's commentary).—Edited by Pañcânana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1312 B.S.

Harşa-carita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.—Edited by A. A. Fürher.

Bombay, 1909.

Hiranyakesi-gṛhyasūtra (of the Black Yajurveda).—Edited, with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta, by J. Kirste. Vienna, 1889.

Jayākhya-samhitā (with a foreword by Benoytosh Bhattacharya).—Edited by Embar Krishnamacharya. Gaekwaḍ's Oriental Series, No. LIV. Baroda, 1931.

Jyotis-tattva of Raghunandana.—See 'Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana' below.

Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.—Edited by Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga Parab and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Seventh edition, 1932.

Kāla-nirņaya (also called Kāla-mādhava and Kāla-mādhaviya) of Mādhavācārya.—Edited by Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Śaka 1809.

Kālasāra of Gadādhara.—Vol. I edited by Sadāśiva Miśra. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1904.

Kāla-viveka of Jimūtavāhana.—Edited by Pramatha-nātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905.

Kālikā-purāņa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa. Veńkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. Śaka 1829.

Also occasionally used the Vanga, edition published, with a Bengali translation, in 1316 B.S. under the name of Pancanana Tarkaratna as its editor.

Kapisthala-katha-samhitā (of the Black Yajurveda).— Edited by Raghu Vīra and published by Mehar Chand Lacchman Das, Lahore, 1932. Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā (of the Black Yajurveda)—Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-çākhā.—Edited by Leopold von Schroeder. Published in 3 parts. Leipzig, 1900, 1909 and 1910.

Kavikankana-candi of Mukundarama Cakravarti.—Edited by Dinesh Chandra Sen, Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay and Hrishikesh Basu and published in two parts by the University of Calcutta. Calcutta, 1924. (This work is written in Bengali verse.)

Also occasionally used the Indian Press edition and

the Vanga, edition (Calcutta, 1332 B.S.).

Kena-upanisad.—'Astāviņišaty-upanisadaḥ' (pp. 3-7) edited by Vāsudeva Laksmaņa Šāstrī Paṇašīkara and published by Tukaram Jawaji, Nirņaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Fifth edition, 1918.

Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī of Kavi Karṇapūra.—Edited by Haridas Das. Haribole Kutir, Navadwip, 1941.

Krttivāsa-viracita Rāmāyaņa, Ādi-kāṇḍa.—Edited by Nalini Kanta Bhattashali and published by the University of Dacca, Dacca, 1936.

Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya.—Sec 'Ācārādarśa of

Śridatta Upādhyāya' above.

Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati-miśra.—Edited by Rādhānātha Nyāya-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya and Rāma-nātha Kṛti-ratna Bhaṭṭācārya and published by Kāśi-candra Bhaṭṭācārya, Benares. First edition, Śaka 1814.

Krtya-kalpataru of Laksmidhara,—Edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar and published in the Gaekwad's Oriental

Scries, Baroda.

We could use only the following Volumes of this work: Vol. I (Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa), Vol. II (Grhastha-kāṇḍa), Vol. III (Niyata-kāla-kāṇḍa), Vol. IV (Śrāddha-kāṇḍa), Vol. V (Dāna-kāṇḍa), Vol. VI (Vrata-kāṇḍa), Vol. VIII (Tīrtha-kāṇḍa), Vol. X (Śuddhi-kāṇḍa), Vol. XI (Rāja-dharma-kāṇḍa), Vol. XII (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa), and Vol. XIV (Mokṣa-kāṇḍa).

Krtya-ratnākara of Caudeśvara Thakkura,—Edited by Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛṭi-tirtha. Bibl. Ind. (As. Soc.).

Calcutta, 1925.

Krtya-tattva of Raghunandana, -See under 'Smrti-tattva

of Raghunandana' below.

Kumāra-saṃbhava of Kālidāsa.—Edited (with Mallinātha's commentary on Sargas I-VIII and Sītārāma's commentary on Sargas VIII-XVII) by Vāsudeva Sarman Paṇaśīkara and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Ninth edition, 1923.

Kūrma-purāṇa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī

Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1332 B.S.

Also used Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition and the As. Soc. (Calcutta) edition.

Lalitavistara.-Edited by Lefmann. Halle, 1902. Critical

Apparatus, 1908.

Also occasionally used P. L. Vaidya's edition published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1958.

Lańkāvatāra-sūtra.—Edited by Bunyiu Nanjio, Kyoto 1923

(Bibliotheca Otaniensis, Vol. 1).

Linga-purāņa.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1885.

Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla.—Edited by Madhusūdana Smṛtiratna. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1893.

Mahābhāgavata-purāṇa,—Published by Manilal Itcharam Desai. Gujarati Printing Press. Bombay, 1913.

Also occasionally used the Vanga, edition prepared by Pancanana Tarkarama (with a Bengali translation),

Calcutta, 1321 B.S.

Mahābhārata (with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).—Edited by Pañcāṇana Tarkaratna and published in two parts by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. 1826-1830 Śakābda.

Also used the Poona critical edition published by the

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Mahānārāyaṇīya-upaniṣad.—Edited by Colonel G. A. Jacob. Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXV. Bombay, 1888. (This work is the same as the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad forming the tenth Prapāṭhaka of the AnSS edition of the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka).

Mahābhāsya of Patanjali (being a commentary on Pāṇini's Astadhyayi).-Vol. I published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Benares, 1954.

Mahavastu (or, Mahavastu Avadana).-Edited, in three

Volumes, by E. Schart, Paris, 1882-97.

Maitrāyaņī Samhitā (of the Black Yajurveda).--Edited by Leopold von Schoeder, Leipzig, 1881.

Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana.-See under 'Smṛti-

tattva of Raghunandana' below.

Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana (with Kāśirāma Vācaspati's commentary).-Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Hrishikesh Shastri and published by the Vangaväsi Press, Calcutta, 1319 B.S.

Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana (with the commentaries of Kāšīrāma Vācaspati and Rādhā-mohana Gosvāmibhattācārya).—Edited by Candicarana Smrtibhūsana,

Calcutta. Second edition, 1306 B.S.

Mālavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa.—Edited by K. P. Parab.

Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1915.

Manu-smrti (with Kullūkabhatta's commentary).-Edited by Pandita Gopāla Śāśtrī Nene. Chowkhamba Sanskrit

Series. Benares, 1935.

Manu-smrti (with Medhātithi-bhāsya).-Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganath Jha and published in two volumes by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. I having appeared in 1932, and Vol. II in 1939.

Mārkaņdeya-purāņa.—Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vanga-

vāsi Press, Calcutta, Fourth edition, 1316 B.S.

Also occasionally used the Venkat, edition published

from Bombay.

Matsya-purāṇa.-Edited, with a Bengali translation, by Pañcanana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavasi Press, Calcutta, 1316 B.S.

Also used the AnSS, Venkat, and Jiv,'s editions accord-

ing to necessity.

Mīmāṃsā-daršana (i.e. Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra) of Jaimini.— Published, with the commentaries of Sabarasvāmin and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1929-34.

Mitākṣarā of Vijāāneśvara.—See 'Yājāavalkya-smṛti (with the commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijāāneśvara)' below.

Muṇḍaka-upaniṣad.—'Aṣṭāviṃśaty-upaniṣadaḥ' (pp. 28-35) edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Sāstrī Paṇaśikara and published by Tukaram Jawaji, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Fifth edition, 1918.

Nāradīya-purāņa.—Published by Kṣemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa,

Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1845.

Nirnaya-sindhu of Kamalākarabhattta.—Edited by Vāsudeva Šarman and published by the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. Third edition, Šaka 1848.

Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin.—Vol. I, edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaṭṭācārya. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1903.

Nityācāra-pradīpa of Narasimha Vājapeyin.—

Vol. I.—Edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaţţācārya. Bibl, Ind. (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1907.

Vol. II.—Edited by Pandit Vinoda Vihārī Bhaṭṭacārya and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sadāśiva Miśra. Bibliotheca Indica (As. Soc.). Calcuta, 1928.

Padma-purāņa.—Published by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte.

Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series. Poona, 1893.

It is printed in 4 volumes, Vol. I consisting of the Ādiand the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, Vol. II of the Brahma- and the Pātāla-khaṇḍa, Vol. III of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, and Vol. IV of the Uttara-khaṇḍa.

Also occasionally used the Vanga, and Venkat, editions published from Calcutta and Bombay respectively.

Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman.—Edited by M. R. Kale and published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1911-12.

Parāśara-smṛṭi (also called Parāśara Dharma-samhitā), with Mādhavācārya's commentary (Parāśara-mādhava or Parāśara-mādhavīya).—Edited by Vāmana Šāstri Islampurkar. Bombay Sanskrit Series, Bombay, 1893-1911. Pauskara-samhitā.—Edited by Yatirāja Sampatkumāra Rāmānuja Muni of Melkote, Bangalore, 1934.

Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci.—Edited, with Bhāmaha's commentary Manoramā, by E. B. Cowell. Second issue. London, 1868.

Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana of Trivikramadeva (with his own commentary).—Edited by P. L. Vaidya and published by Jaina-Saṃskṛti-Saṃrakṣaka-Saṅgha, Sholapur, 1954.

Prasthāna-bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.—Published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1912.

Prātimokṣa-sūtra.—Edited by Anukul Chandra Banerjee. Calcutta, 1954.

Prāyaścitta-prakaraņa of Bhatta Bhavadeva.—Edited by Girīśa Candra Vedāntatīrtha and published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bengal), 1927.

Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.

Preta-kaumudī of Pitāmbara Siddhānta-vāgiša-bhaṭṭācārya.
—Edited by Gopal Chandra Sharma. Assam.

Pūrva-mīmāņsā-sūtra of Jaimini.—See 'Mīmāṃsā-darśana of Jaimini' above.

Raghu-vaṃśa of Kālidāsa.—Edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśikara and published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1892.

Rāja-tarangiņī of Kalhana.—Edited by M. A. Troyer. Paris, MDCCCXL.

Rāmāyaņa of Kṛttivāsa.—See 'Kṛttivāsa-viracita Rāmāyaṇa' above.

Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.—Edited (with the commentary Rāmāyaṇa-tilaka) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vangavāsī Press, Calcutta, 1294 B.S.

Rāsa-yātrā-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Suresh Chandra Banerji and published in Saṃskṛta-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā, 1941.

Revā-kaṇḍa.—Forming Part iii of Skanda-purāṇa, Vol. V (Āvantya-khaṇḍa), for which see below.

Rg-veda (with Sāyaṇācārya's Bhāsya).—Edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājārāma Sāstrī Bodas and Sivarāma Sastri Gore and published by Tookaram Tatya.

Bombay, Śaka 1810.

Šabda-kalpadruma.—A Sanskrit Lexicon compiled by Sir Rājā Rādhā-kānta Deva Bahadur and published by Kālī-prasanna Sarmā. Calcutta, 1867.

Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (or, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra).— Revised edition by Nalinaksha Dutta. Bibliotheca

Indica (As. Soc.). Calcutta, 1953.

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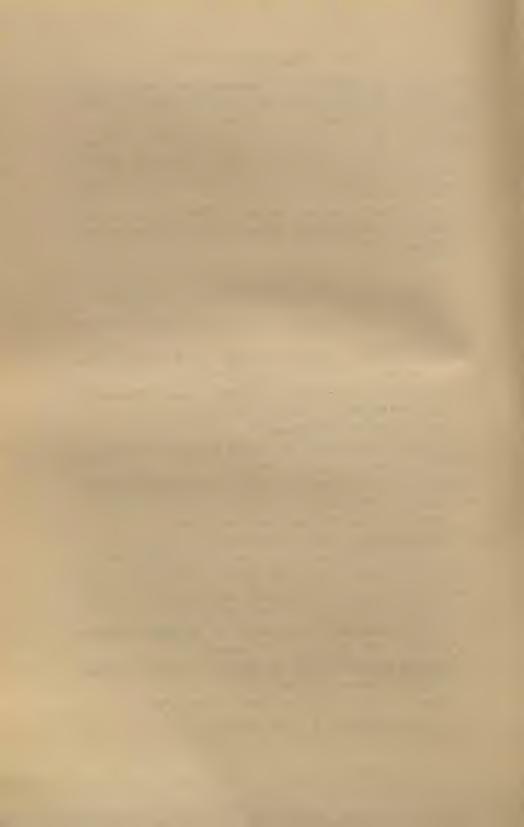
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Abhinavagupta, 345

Agamic (or, Agamika, literature, method

etc.), 310, 334, 362, 422, 444, 462 Abhira (a caste), 438 Agastya (a sage), 37, 39, 69, 70, 379, 405 Abhira (a tribe).-See under 'Tribes' See also under 'Sages'. below. Aghorá (a form of Devil, 49. See also Aboriginal drity, 21 under 'Devi .- Her different forms and Aboriginal tribes, 18-21 names'. Aborigines, 20 Agneya. -- See under 'Agui-pardan'. Acara. See under 'Sadacara' and Agreya-parans (genuine), 61, 82 'Customs and mago.' Agni, 24, 42, 46, 51, 54, 58, 66 (three Arcra-bhisana (of Tryambaka Oka), 478 kinds of), 205 (three kinds of), 212 Acaradaria (elias Krtydeara, of Sridana (Vadava-), 317, 321, 322 (there som Upādhyāya), 72, 294, 237, 478 of), 323, 332, 429, 500 Activa-mayakha (of Nilakanthabhatta), 190, Agni-purana (or, Agusto), 74, 81-83, 159, 470, 472, 473, 478, 480, 481, 486, 507 160, 239, 247, 248, 330 Arara-mirpapa-bhankara-sangraha (of Bhai-Agniverals, 223 raya), 506, 507 Agriculture, 406, 443, 484 (acience of). Ardrendu (of Tryambaka Māte), 259 Acarya-cuidamani.-See under Scinatha 499 Ahirbudhaya-sambita, 166, 178 Acarya-cudamani.' Anila-totto (of Raghunandana), 470, Acton, 46, 56, 61, 217 473 une er (a Rāksaal).—Sec Adada Airāvata (Indra's elephant), 422, 427 'Dhasindhā'. Aitareya-brahmapa, 135 Adbhuta. - Sec appl under 'Omeni Albetaka-upapurana, 501 partents'. Akhyāyikā (a branch of Sanskrit litera-Adbluto-sogue (of Vallalasena), 72, 73, ture), 91 479, 401, 487, 493, 500 Albertail, 231, 339, 479, 491-5, 511 Adhidevatās (of the four Vedas), 63 Alberunt'r India, 479, 491, 495, 511 Adhivāsa (or, Adhivāsana, of Devl), 3, 5, Allädanätha, 234 12, 15, 271, 278, 467, 472 Amara-keya, [Ade-purana (at, Adra-purana), 71, 79, 471, Amaranipha-tikā, 10 483, 495 Ambā (a form of Devi) 48, 49. See also Adiri, 52, 211, 272, 296, 298, 419, 420 under 'Devi.-Her different forms and Aditya (or, Adityas, their names), 51, mames". 379, 500, 501 Ambiks, 5, 17, 21-24, 25, 27, 29, 44, 51, (collect 73, 346, 429 Adityo-purana, 52, 55, 365 'Adityākhya-parapaka'), 457 477, 483, Ambika-pati, 24 490-501 Anutabba, lål Adi-pardha-purana, 389 Amilayus, 151 Adya-purana. See under 'Adi-purana'above. Amitener Satra, 151, 152 Adyā Sakti, 28, 29, 39 Amnesty (to prisoners), 47, 55 Acgean, 16 Amoghā (wife of Santanu).-See under Africa, 25 'Females' below. Agama (Sakta, Saiva, Saura, Vaispava Amusements and pustimes, 61 (of girls , and Găṇaputya), 58, 59, 91, 92, 145, 287-8, 981, 383-5 157, 165, 175, 179, 186, 191, 224, 233, Anantabhotta, 11, 72, 161, 235, 244, 370, 247, 248, 258, 264, 282, 283, 310 (anti-393, 484, 486, 491, 510 Vedic), 326, 331, 334, 414, 420, 426-(peur-bouse). -- Sec Anatha-mandapa 430, 463

under 'Public works'.

Andhras. See under 'Tribes'.

Angas (supplements to the Vedas), 36, 63, 91

Anilada, 235, 236, 255

Animal sacrifice, 23, 43, 59, 61, 216, 219 (details of), 240, 271, 295, 319, 405, 468-9, 472

Amiruddha-bhatta, 32, 33

Amedi-maigala (of Bhārata-candra), 49,

Апитагара, 434, 496

Antarikea (a sage), 42. See also under 'Sages'.

Antyaja, 59

Apabhramsa (a language), 106, 109, 117, 121, 143, 156, 166, 180-182, 187, 188

Aparājitā (a creeper).—See under 'Creepers'.

Aparājitā (a deity), 44, 45, 47, 48, 52

Aparājitā-pūjā (worship of the Aparājitā creeper in Duegotsava), 12, 13

Aparăjită-vidyă.—See under 'Vidyăs (mystic)'.

Aparārka, 70, 72, 73, 154, 157, 164, 181, 190-193, 233, 234, 236-8, 240, 243, 254-6, 370, 390, 391, 393, 479-481, 483, 484, 486, 491, 493, 495-7, 501

Apsarane (such as Adrika, Ghṛtāci, Rambha, Tilottama, Urvaii and others), 210-213, 229, 287, 289, 296, 300, 347-352, 364

Apre (V. S.), 91

Arat (a village in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal), 48, 403

Arcadia, 16, 23

Ardha-nārīkvara, 54, 57, 58, 213

Arjuna, 272, 298

Ārogya-iālā.—See under 'Hospital' below.

Arthasastra (an Upaveda), 63

Articles (upacara, including fish, meat, wine, etc.) offered to deities, 4, 45, 47, 54, 59, 65, 66, 93, 190, 215, 219, 220 (details of), 312, 319, 425, 435, 473, 499

Arum Colocasia, 10, 11

Arundhad (wife of Vasistha), 202, 203 (story of her marriage), 257, 313. See also under 'Femalm' below.

Arya-manjairi-millakalpa (or, Manjairimilakalpa), 97, 147, 151, 152, 184 Aryan, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25, 182, 183, 444 Āryašūra, 146

Asanas (modes of sitting for Yogapractice).—Their names (Padmaka, Svastika, Sthalika, Jalika, Pijhārdha, Candradanda and Sarvatobhadra), 42 Asanga, 184

sale Misses 16 25

Asia Minor, 16, 25

Asoka (the Maurya emperor), 188 Assam, 14, 33, 242, 252 (Lower), 358, 451 Artidhyāyi (of Pāṇini), 117, 152, 360

Asjasāhasrikā-prajāāpāramitā, 147

Astrologer 56, 61, 429

Astrology and astronomy, 429

Asura, 27, 211, 407

Aivagliosa, III

Asvina, 51, 304

Atharvan (in the word 'atharva-padadipani'), 41, 45

Atheres-veda, 18, 23, 62, 63 (divisions and schools of), 87, 146, 163, 359

Atri (a sage), 37, 196, 373, 385, 386, 390, 411, 413. See also under 'Sages'.

Attic relief, 16

Audra(-deia), 83

Aufrecht (Theodor), 195, 284, 285, 366, 367, 369, 385, 391, 392, 459, 474, 475, 478, 503, 504

Aulangia-upapurāņa (also talled Ulanaserita and Saukto Upapurāņa), 301-2

Austric, 32

Avadána-intaka, 147, 148

Avalokiteivara, 151

Ayana (a Gopa—cowherd), 272, 273 Ayurveda (an Upaveda), 63, 64 (praise of), 442, 484, 485. See also under 'Vidyās (branches of learning)' below.

Babylon, 23

Bahuli (a woman of note), 203

Bälnkhilyas, 38

Balarāma (cr., Rāma), 273, 290, 299, 394. See also under 'Halāyudha' below.

Balkans, 16

Baldchinthan, 16

Bana (au Asura), 209-211. See also under 'Demons'.

Banabhatta, 30, 76

Bandyopadhyay (Charu Chandra), 498, 458

Banerjea (J. N.), 347

Banerjer (Anukul Chandra), 146 Banerii (R. D.), 234 Banner, 45 (having the figure of Devi), 209 (marked with the symbol of the dunderbolti. Banner (of Indra), 37, 42-43 (method of its worship), 76 (hoisting of). Barhaspatya-praulta Sastra, 359. Bārhaspalya Upapurāna, 502 Barrenness of women, 55 (removal of). Barua (Birinchi Kumar), 32 Barun (K. L.), 245, 246, 254 Basattariya Brahmins of Kamarupa, 232 Basu (Baradaprasad, Roy Bahadur), 284 Basu (Haricharan), 284 Basu (Hrishikesh), 438 Baths (special), 54, 55, 375-6 Bauddha (Tantrik or otherwise), 59, 75-6, 145, 152-4, 328, 332, 445, 447, 457, Sec also under 'Heretical (pășanda) secis'. Beef, 32, 64 Bell (ghanta), 19, 21, 44, 52, 59 Benares, 2, 36, 80, 234, 244, 294, 306, 338, 358, 359, 456, 494, 500, 506 Bengal, 2, 4, 7-14, 19, 31, 33, 48, 49, 79, BO, 82-86, 90, 158, 159, 189, 232, 235, 239, 240, 242-4, 253, 261, 277-280, 282, 319, 343, 353, 356-8, 361, 397, 398, 439, 441, 446, 448-455, 457, 458, 460-462, 464, 467, 468, 471. See also 'East Bengal' and 'West Bengal' below.

Bhagadatta (son of Naraka), 211 Bhagavad-gitā, 360, 433, 456

Bhagarata (Daurga), 346

Bhāgareta-purāpa (also called Bhāgarata, Seimad-bhagaouta and Seibhaganula) 69, 79, 179, 194, 232, 240, 242, 260, 285, 336-341, 344-7, 357, 358, 412, 448, 465, 503, 508

Bhāgasata-upaparāpa, 502-3

Bhāgavata (Vaisnava), 378, 420, 463,

Phagavatt, 6, 20, 237, 261, 285, 341, 365, 300, 383

Bhagaralf-gitā, 260, 267, 279, 201 Bhagacati-parana, 1, 3, 4, 8, 15, 237, 258, 259, 337, 341, 346

Bhagiratha (a commentator), 67, 68 Bhairava (a deity), 213-5, 221, 223, 229-230, 250, 251, 258, 384

deman).-See umder Bhairava (2 'Demons' below.

Rhairava (author of the Active-nirgayahhāthara-sangraha), 506, 507

Bhairavas (a class of Tantriks), 330, 331, 334. See also under 'Heretical (pāgaņda) seets' below.

Bhakti, 309, 319, 321, 330, 363, 435 (nine kinds of), 436

Bhandarkar (D. R.), 493

Bhamlarkar (R. G.), 260, 280, 347

Bharata (author of the Natya-lastra), 188 Bharain-bhaiges (of Nanyadeva), 234, 254 Bhārata-candra (a vernacular poet of

Bengal), 49, 88, 280, 449

Bhārgava (i.e., Sukrācārya), 39, 41

Bhārgava Rāma. - See under 'Rāma (Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya)'.

Bhartchari, 395

Bhasa, 188

Bhaskurdharya Upapurdya, 49tt, 49t

Bhaskara-purdna, 492

Bhāskaravarman (king of Kāmarūpa), 30, 31, 252, 259

Bhattācārya (Padmanātha), 246, 249, 253 Bhattacharya (Bennytoth), 151, 152, 165,

Bhattacharya (Bhavaroch), 158 Bhattachneya (Dhirgamnhan), S

Bhattashali (N. K.) 464 Rhauma, 49, 249, 252

Blanva, 22

Bhavadeva-bhutta, 454

Bharaderiyo-niraayimpla, 480

Bhāyau, 197 (forty-nine), 408

Bhavesya-purdya (cir. Bhavesya or Bhavesyatparagea), 2-6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 29, 158-160, 194, 231, 238, 247, 265-6 (baying five Parvana-Brahma, Vaisnava etc.). 368, 369 (baying five or three Parvans), 370-372, 385, 386, 388-390, 395, 493, 501, 509

Bhaviyya-puranekta-durgajaija-paddhati, 14 Bhaviguettara, 2, 29, 159, 247, 145, 366-396, 493

Bhilge, 432. See also under 'Heretical (plipanda) sects' below.

Bhilippi-karmanicani, 147

Blakso-prakirpato, 146

Bhisena, 247. See also "Gangeya" below.

Bhoja (or, Bhojadeva), 3, 4, 8

Bhojakas (a class of Sun-worshippers), 161, 499. See also under 'Heretical (păşapda) sects below.

Bhoundeia, 49

Bhrātrbhāndā (a female deity).—See under 'Bhūta-mātā' below.

Bhggu, 37, 297, 304, 310

Bhrgus, 302 (slaughter of).

Bhūta (ghost), 19, 20

Bhūta-mātā (a female deity, also called Bhrātṛbhāṇḍā), 20, 383 (description of the festival and image of).

Bhūtamātrutsava (a featival), 20, 383. See also under 'Feativals'.

Bhūta-vaidya, 56

Bhūteivara (a Salva hoty place in Kashmir), 480

Bija (Tantric, such as Kāma-blja, Māyā-blja, Sārasvata-blja, Vāg-bija, etc.), 53, 287, 288, 292, 294-5, 300, 307, 306, 320, 323, 324, 336, 346, 351

Bilva (fruit or tree), 3-5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 15, 90, 190, 217, 271, 276 (praise of), 277, 402-3 (origin and praise of), 405, 424, 451, 467, 472

Birds (such as Baka, Kapota, Khanjana, Kukkuta, Mayūra, Sankha-cilla, Suka, Syena, etc.), 19, 21, 57, 64, 425, 432, 452, 490

Blood (offered to a deity), 206, 219, 433Bour (divine), 204-6, 232, 233, 311, 316, 385, 390. See also under 'Varáha'.

Bodhana (of Devi), 3, 4, 14, 90, 190, 217, 231, 278, 405, 451, 472

Boelleisattvalshümi, 147

Bone-cating (custom of), 32, 33

Brahma, 24, 42 (Sabda-, Para-), 200, 251 (Parama), 267 (-vijāāna), 276, 309, 320, 321, 329, 333, 412, 421

Brahmā, 3, 19, 26, 27, 34, 36, 38-40, 42, 44, 50, 53 (to be worshipped according to the Vedic method), 54-56, 58, 64, 65, 69, 70, 75, 99, 91, 196-8, 201-6, 208-210, 220, 225, 226, 231, 250, 257, 262, 265-270, 273, 285, 291, 292, 300, 301, 304 (creation by), 314-5, 322, 324, 359, 364, 365, 372, 373 (time, namely, Atri, Marici and others), 375, 376, 384, 389, 394, 395, 398, 409-416, 420, 424, 425, 427, 440, 450, 463, 473, 480, 485, 501

Brāhma (i.e., Brahmā-worshipper), l Brahmāism, 36 Brāhmans-sursurs (of Halāyudha), B

Brahmandakhya-purana, 457

Brahmüpdu-purāņa, 4, 73, 154, 164, 240, 339, 404, 456-7, 503, 504

Brahmända-upoparäna, 457, 503-4, 509 Brahmanism, 36, 462

Brahmapāla (king of Kāmarūpa), 31, 245, 246, 251, 252

Bechma-Jurdga, 3, 92, 164, 389

Brāhma (Purātia) 74, 82, 159, 160, 239

Brāhma Samhitā (of the Pāñcarātras).— See under 'Prājāpatya Samhitā' below.

Brahma-yāmala (-tantra), 254

Brahma-nairarta-puröva (or. Brahmarairarta), 30, 312, 343, 355, 389, 438, 477, 302, 504, 506, 507

Brahmāvarta, 213

Brhad-aulanasa-upapurāņa, 502, 504-5.

Brhaddharma-purāņa, 2, 30, 49, 80, 233, 244, 245, 253, 261, 276, 280-282, 356-8, 366, 396-465, 467, 470, 490, 492, 493, 495, 501, 504, 509, 512

Brhan-nandiketrara-paräna (also called Brhan-nandi-paräna and Brhan-nandiscaraparäna), 2, 3, 5, 6, 14, 19, 466-9, 470, 471, 474, 481

Brhan-nandikelvara-parāņokta-dorgāļnājā-paddhati (also called Brhan-nandikelvaraparānānugrhita-Bharissa-parānokta-durgāpājā-paddhati), 14, 460, 469

Behan-nondi-purana.—See under 'Behannandikelvara-purana' above.

Byhan-nandikuna-parāņa.—Sez under 'Byhan-nandikeitara-parāņa' abovc.

Byhamicadiya, 508, 509

Brhaspati, 38, 40, 42, 420, 427, 480

Brhaspati Rāyamukuja, 478

Hichar Adli-puragu, 196

Brhat-ramhità (of Varahamiliea), 75-77, 80, 92

Buddha, 40, 75, 145, 155, 159, 188, 252, 324, 342, 384 (Siddhartha-), 394, 416, 457

Buddhism, 75, 143, 145, 147, 159, 342 (Tantric), 381, 441, 462 (Tantric), 466 Buddhist, 33, 75, 147, 148, 152, 154, 157-160, 162, 181, 184, 186-8, 332, 356, 438 (Śrāvaka), 447, 462

Buddhist (work, text), 94, 96, 97, 99-102, 104-5, 107-9, 114, 116, 123-2, 324, 144, 145, 148, 157

Budha, 288 (birth of), 377

Buffalo, 17, 29, 45, 47, 216, 219, 295, 299, 319, 376, 379, 383, 468

Bühler (Georg), 78 Burdwan (district of West Bengal), 48, 85, 455 Burnell (A. C.) 195, 284, 368 Burnouf (Eugène), 338, 347

Cadak-pājā (also called Cairra-pājā and Gājan), 319, 451

Caitanya (of Navadvipa), 369, 460

Caitra-pūjā, -Sec under 'Cadak-pūjā' above,

Cakrapāņi-datta, 11

Camel, 229

Câmonda, 5, 10, 20, 26, 27, 29, 40, 384. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Căndăla (or, Svapaca), 32, 46, 260, 305, 306, 438, 439, 496, 513

Candeivara Thakkura (or, Candeivara),
2, 3, 12, 69, 72, 79, 83, 84, 191, 194,
234, 243, 247, 246, 393, 478, 480, 491,
493

Candi, 341, 359, 420, 433, 456, 457, 463, 464. See also 'Septafati-staten' below.

Candi (er, Candika), 2, 20, 26, 27, 29, 36, 379, 405, 420, 460, 464. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Candicarana Smrtibhājaņa, 467, 477, 481, 490, 508

Candikā-khanda (of the Devi-parāna), 189 Candikā-maigala-kārya (of Lālā Jayanārāyana), 458

Candiki-purina, 1

Candlemangala-bodhini, 458

Candi-mangala-kūvyas, 189, 357, 453 Candi-purips, 1, 259

Candradanda (a Yoganana).—See under 'Asanas' above.

Candramasi (aliar Candrabuddhi and Candravati, wife of demou Ghora), 41 Cane, 319

Caraka, 305

Garaka-sambitā, 64, 75

Car-festival (Radia-yātrā, of Devl, Sūrya and others), 45, 47, 53, 59, 375

Castes (pure, mixed and 'antyaja') and Airaman.—Their names, duties, etc., 31, 32, 45, 46, 56, 59, 92, 209, 224, 237, 253, 271 (no dimertion of), 286, 295, 316, 320 (Devalar, Ganakar, Gopas, Karmakāras, Rajakas, Raūgakārus, Svarņa-vaņīks, Vnidyas, etc.), 361 (Daivajāas, Devalas, Dhāvakas, Gaņakas also called Graha-vipras, Rajakas and Vaidyas), 365, 412, 425, 428-445, 446-9, 460, 499

Catarranga-cintámant (of Hernáldri), 3, 4, 7, 11, 32, 69, 72, 78, 158, 181, 189-193, 234-246, 337, 369-372, 388, 389, 392, 393, 396, 467, 470, 475-7, 479, 481-4, 406-9, 493-8, 500, 501, 510, 513

Cautrisa (a method of companition of Bengali verse), 421-2, 455

Chakravarti (Chintabaran), 36, 189, 195, 368, 397

Chanda (Rama Presad), 18

Chāyā-Kall, 265

Chāyā-Sati, 265, 266, 356

Chāyā-Shā, 317-8, 356

China, 342

Chinese (translation), 147, 148, 152

Clna, 342

Cina-mārga-ratas, 331-2, 342. See also under 'Heretical (pāṇaṇḍu) serts' below. Cioāṇpiuka, 48

Cities (puta), 55 (their varieties, viz., Aindra, Brāhma, Sāṃkara, Sārvahhaumika and Vaispava), 59

Cities, "Their names, such as Ayodhya, Bhogavati (in Kāmarūpa), Candraiobhāpura (capital of demon Ghora), Kilāgnirudrapura, Kālapura, Karavirapura, Udumbarapura, and so on, 39, 49, 51, 58, 213, 222

Citra (a king).—See under 'Citraseus' below.

Chiragopa (name of a place), 50

Citrangada (preciping of king Nepavahana), 38, 39, 68, 69

Citratikhandin Rya, 162, 163

(Josh, 220 (different kinds of).

Clouds (named Avarta, Drops, Puskara and Samvarta), 200

Cock (kukkuta). - See under 'Buds' above.

Codrington (K. de B.), 347

Cola, 362, 368

Calchrooke (Henry Thomas), 338, 347

Commissariat (M. S.), 316

Connectation (of tanks, wells, orchards, gardens etc.). See under Public works'. Construction of towns and forts .- Sec under 'Towns' and 'Forts (durga)' below.

Coomaraswamy (A. K.), 347

Copland (John), 318

Copying of manuscripts (method of), 36, 59-60, 485

Cown (slaughter of), 57, 205, 305, 497. See also under 'Sacrifices' below.

Creation, 37, 204 (adi-sarga, pratisarga), 281, 311 (by Manu), 314, 372, 412-3

Creepers (such as Aparājitā, Svetāparājitā, etc.), 6, 12, 13, 15

Cremation (of the deceased), 495

Crete, 16, 21

Crimes and punishment, 429, 430, 447-8 Cupid (Smara).-See under 'Kāma' below.

Customs and usages, 11-15, 18, 23, 32, 33, 36, 37, 80, 90, 159, 229, 258, 282 (Tantrie), 325, 377, 451, 452, 467

Cyavana, 304 (story of his blindness). See also under 'Sages' below.

Cyclades, 16 Cymbal, 21

Сургия, 16

Dadhici (or, Dadhica, a sage), 263, 373, 334, 413-4

Daitya, 17, 297, 380, 419

Daira (i.c., Deri-purana), 71

Dawajia, 361, 499

Dakya, 24, 196-204, 217, 252-5, 273, 301 (creation by and descendants of), 307-8, 310, 313, 334, 348, 357, 373, 381, 413-5, 449, 450, 453, 461

Dāksāyani, 29, 36, 44

Daksinā (wife of Yajña and a part of Prakreil, 322 (story of).

Tantriks),

Daksinācāra (or. Daksina, 49, 66, 73, 75, 190, 220, 338

Daksin-ray (or, Daksina-raya, a village god), 19

Dalai Lama (of Tibet), 33

Dāmalipta (Tamluk), 80

Damani (a form of Devi), 50. See also under 'Devi.-Her different forms and mames'.

Damayanti (wife of Nürada), 303 Dana.-See under 'Gifts and donations'. Dana-Laurendi (of Govindananda Kavikańkanācārya), 72, 244, 476, 478, 482, 484, 486, 493, 496

Danasagara (of Vallalasena), 71, 73, 74, 82, 83, 157-160, 234, 236, 238, 239, 243, 339, 370, 394, 479-464, 486-6, 493, 497, 498, 505

Dānava, 27, 378

Dāna-vālpācali (of Candesvara Thakkura), 72, 192

Dance, 61, 217, 381-3, 408, 409, 415 (tāṇḍava), 435, 468, 500

Dancers, 46, 61, 62, 217

Depla-riteka (of Vardhamana Upādhyāya), 192, 193

Darpana (offered to Devi), 4

D333, 229, 288, 443

Daia-bhimita-sutra, 146

Dašaburā, 229, 274, 401, 422, 462

Dain-kumara-carita (of Danglin), 18, 60, 90, 231

Daiaratha (king of Ayodhyā), 206, 269, 278, 296

Daayu, 18, 19

Dattötreya, 380, 416

De (Sushil Kumar), 247, 342, 344

Death (causes and results of), 275, 495-6 Dedication (of wells, parks, pools, bulls, etc.).-See under 'Public works' below.

Deities (description of) .- See under 'Images' below.

Deities (worshipped in groups of two, three, etc.), 53, 57, 58, 262, 366, 367, 379, 405

Denions such as Amayasura, Andhaka, Aruna, Baka, Bala, Bali (living on the northern bank of the Narmada), Bāņa, Bhairava, Bhauma, Canda, Dhundhu, Dundubla, Durgama, Durmukha, Ghora, Hālāhala, Hayagriva, Hiranyakasipu, Hiranyaksa, Flunda, Hutágni, Jambhāsura, Jvara, Knitabha, Kāla, Kālaketu, Karpsa, Khatva, Marihu, Mahādharmāsura, Mahisa (or, Mahisasura), Marka, Munda, Muru, Naraka (also called Bhauma). Praklada, Raktabija, Nisumblia, Rambha, Roru, Samhara, Sanda, Subala, Sulomanura, Sumbha, Suyena, Taraka, Tuhunda, Vajradanda, Vibbisaņa, Vigbnāsura, Yamēntaka and others, 17, 19, 26-31, 37-45, 47, 49, 50, 54, 58, 60, 64-66, 76, 152, 209, 211,

212, 217, 222, 228, 232, 233, 244, 257, 268, 272, 286, 288, 291, 294, 297-300, 303, 305, 307, 308, 311, 317, 323-5, 347, 380, 416, 419, 420, 424, 445, 446, 505

Deogarh (in Jhansi district), 347, 350, 352

Deoghar (in Santal Parganas), 403 Devakt, 272, 296, 298. See also under 'Females' below.

Devnnabhatta, 154, 164, 370, 491, 511
Devl. 1, 2, 4-7, 12, 13, 14 (aytādatabbujā, data-bhujā), 15-21, 26-29, 36-194, 216-7, 240, 249, 252, 260, 261, 265-7, 267-272, 275-8, 265-330, 356-8, 364, 366, 402-5, 445, 466, 473

Her attendants (such as Ajitā, Aparājitā, Jayā, Lakamī, Vāul, Vijayā and others), 40, 44, 55, 47, 52, 202, 271, 272, 400

Her different form and names, such as Aghora, Ajitā, Amhā, Ambikā, Aparājitā, Aparņā, Anunihatī, Bagalā, Bahurüpā, Balā, Bālā, Bala-pramathinī, Bhadrakali (or, Bhadra-Bhadel. kālikā), Rhairavī, Bhavāni, Bhīmā, Rhogavati, Bhramari, Bhuvanesvari, Camunda, Canda, Brahmacărioi, Camiramaodalā, Candinl, Candil, Caroā (or, Caroikā), Citi, Dākṣāyaṇi, Dakrina, Damani, Dhumra, Dhutima Drakal, (?), Dikkaravāsinī, Diti. Durgā, Ekānamsā, Ekapājalā, Gangā, Gauri, Gäyatri, Ghantākarnā, Guhyakāli, Himaā, Hingulā, livari, Jāmbūnadcivari, Jaya, Jayanti, Jayavati, Knitabhesvari, Kalarstri, lyeatha. Kaluvikariol, Käll, Kälikä, Kämäkhyä, Kamelvart, Kamika, Kandaváriol, Kanyā (or, Kanyakā), Kapālā, Kapālī. Kapālini, Kātyāyanī, Kauņikī (or, Kausiki), Khandamunda, Kotekrazi, Kşemankari, Laksmi, Kotimunda, Mahābhāgā, Laljrakāntā, Lalass, Mahakall, Mahāgauri. Mahadevi. Mahālakarel, Mahālasā, Mahārājā, Muhäiverl, Mahi-Mahanawati, tundā (or, Mahārundā), Māhesvari, Mahiyaghni, Manasa (also called Visahari), Mangala, Mangala-tandi, Maya, Manonmathani, Macangi, Mayürika, Minākal, Nandā, Nārāyani,

Nilasarasvati, Parvati, NIIamba, Pātalā, Pūrpeivari, Rādhā, Rajadi, Raktadantikā, Rati, Raudel, Revesti, Rudrant, Sakambhart (olige Satakal). Šankuvoni, Šāradā, Sarasvati, Sarva-Sarvatobhudra, Sauthi, mangali, Simhavaluni. Siva. Sri-Sävitrl. candrala, Sunanda, Sundari, Svadhā, Svābā, Svarga-lakymi, Svetā, Tārā. Tripura, Tripura-bhairavi, Tulasi, Ugracanda, Ugratātā, Vāmā, Veda-Vimata. mātā, Vetali. Vijava, Vindhyātavi, Vindhyavinini, Vannask, Yasā, Yoga-nidrā (Vaignavi), Yogewari, etc.; also Dhyti, Dipti, Kanti, Kuma, Pusti, Rddhi, Santi, Siddhi, Sei, Tusti. Unnati, Vrddhi, etc., 5, 10, 17, 20. 26-30, 33, 38, 44, 45, 47-52, 57, 59-62, 67, 70, 80, 189, 202, 208-210, 212, 214, 216-8, 220-3, 230-3, 251, 259, 262, 266, 268, 276, 300, 307, 309, 311, 315, 317, 321-5, 330, 333, 380, 417, 500

Her mount (generally a lion, but also a monkey, bull, swan, peacock, Garuda, buffalo, elephant, lotus or dead body under circummances), 45 See also under 'Lion' and 'Simha' below.

Her war with demons, 27,29, 44-55, 299-300

Her weapons (such as sermon, sweet, how, narden, falls, turk, lute, bell, etc.), 44, 58

Deci-bhilgorata, 1, 30, 79, 194, 243, 244, 284-361, 476, 489, 490, 492, 493, 493, 502-4

Devl-kein-vimocann (or, Devl-kein-vimmkana,—untying of Devl's hair), 4, 5, 231

Devi-māhāunya, 46, 76, 299

Devi-mūrti, 270 (Valdiki, Faurānīki, Tāmīriki), 271 (description of Faurānīki and Tānīriki mūrti), 283

Deriparanakta-dargapaja-padichati, 189.

Deri-purdus (or, Daire), 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 14, 17-20, 28, 29, 35-194, 291, 238, 243, 244, 249, 252, 257, 258, 337, 471, 474, 489, 508

Devi-purătuala, 79, 194, 242

Deci-rakarya, 1

Devi-lästras, 47, 48, 32, 91

Devi Śribhuvancivari (of Magnivipa),

209, 291-2 (description of), 307-311 (praise and worship of), 328, 329.

Devi-worship (or, Devi-pūjā), 2-4, 17, 18, 35, 45-47 (occasions for and places of), 52, 53, 80, 90, 233, 259, 267, 300 (Tantric, Vedic), 302, 310-311 (Vedic, Tantric; outer, inner), 312, 356 (by Kāma), 405-6, 412 (in spring and autumn), 505. Sec also under 'Durgā-pūjā' and 'Worship of various deities' below.

Devi-yajūa, 293, 320, 329, 330. Derl-ydmala (Tantra), 345

Dhanurvoda (an Upaveda), 63

Dhārā (name of a place), B

Dharma (a deity), 269, 272, 304, 306, 348

Dharma (and its nature, constituents, description, praise, etc.), 41, 92, 153 (Vedic), 155 (Vedic, anti-Vedic), 156, 157, 159-162, 204 (nivartaka), 237 (Saura-), 252, 253, 283, 297 (Jaina), 319 (Vedic), 325 (Srauta, Smarta), 327 (Śrauta, Smārta), 333-5, 338, 344, 359 (Srauta, Smārta), 372, 398-400, 410, 428 (its two ways-Agarna and Nigama), 447, 464 (preservation of), 497 (in the Kali age)

Dharmākaramati, 185

Dharmapala (an epithet of a sword which protects Dhaema), 245, 247, 248. Dharmapāla (king of Kāmarūpa), 31, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251-4

Dharma-purāņa, 31, 32, 250, 253, 397

Dharmarāja, 54

Dhurmarakşa, 147

Dharmitranya, 49

Dharmaiastras (tri Dalou. Manu. Svayambhū, Yājāavalkya and others), 156, 229, 258, 341, 359, 384, 411, 464, 464

Dhaundhā (sha Adādā, a female gollin), 382.

Dhutimā (? a form of Devi), 49. Sec also under 'DevL-Her different forms and names',

Dhvaja (flag).-See under 'Banner', 'Banner (of Indea)' and 'Flag'.

Digambara (Jain), 43, 76

Dig-gajan (quarter-clephants), 500 (names of).

Dināra (a coin), 148

Dipa-kalikā (of Sulapāņi), 237

Diptacakreivara (a sacred place).—See unifer 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities".

Diseases (such as dropsy, fever, phthisis, etc.), 22, 64 (causes of and medicines for), 203, 222, 302, 305, 326, 327, 499 Dugrāmatāna, 147

under *Gifts BUIL Donations, -Sec donations'.

Drākṣā (a name of Devi), 500. See also under 'Devi.-Her different forms and namer'.

Dramatic (or, Theatrical) performance, 382, 383

Drāvida visaya, 362.

Dreams (ampicious and inampicious), 43, 44, 54, 55, 75, 264, 266, 414, 500 Drekkana, 75

Drought, 28, 161

Drums (beat of), 21, 43, 435, 436 Drupadā (a woman of note), 203

Durga.—See under 'Foru (durga)' below. Durga, 1-3, 5, 6, 10, 17-18, 20, 22-24, 26-30, 39, 42, 44, 47, 48, 51 (ninc). 52, 79, 81 /having sixteen or eighteen hands), 194 (Bhagavatt), 217, 261, 262, 266-7, 270-271, 294, 320, 324, 332, 363, 375, 384, 400, 412, 420, 424, 425, 434, 463, 464, 494

Durga-bhakti-tarangiai Vidyāpati (0) Upādhyāya), 2-12, 15, 70, 72, 73, 84, 189, 190, 232, 235, 242, 244, 393, 478, 480, 484, 493, 494, 497

Durgá-pradipa (of Maheia Thakkura), 345 Dargā-pūjā, 11, 13, 14, 80, 61, 83-85, 159, 160, 235, 239, 269-272 (in autumn), 278 (m autumn), 313 (by Suratha and Rama), 324, 345, 358, 432, 435 (description of), 451 (autumnul), 457, 468 (method of), 471, 474. 494. See also under 'Devi-worship' and 'Worship of various deities'.

Durgā-pijd-paddhati (of Vidyābhūsana Blustacarya | 84

Durga-paja-totton (of Raghunandana), 2-8. 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 70, 72, 190, 195, 231, 235, 237, 239-241, 244, 258, 393, 467-470, 474, 483

Durgarra-kommedi (memioned by Kāsīrāma Vācaspati), 13

Dargaroung-kommudi, 13

Durgārcana-latina (mentioned by Kāsīrāma Vācaspati), 13

Durgi, 17, 24

Durgotsava.—See under 'Devi-wordhip', 'Durgo-puja', 'Festivals' and 'Worship of various deities'.

Diagotsava-paddhati (of Udayasiipha Rūpanārāyana), 5, 7-10, 84

Durgotsura-rineka (of Šrīnātha Ācāryacūdāmani), 2, 3, 5-8, 10-12, \(\frac{1}{5}\), 244, 258

Durgotova-ciecka (of Šūlapāņi), 2-8, 10, 12, 17, 72, 74, 75, 190, 195, 231, 237, 241, 244, 250, 393, 467-9, 471, 472, 474, 482

Durjana-mukha-capejikā (of Kāšīnātha Bhatta), 338, 350

Durjaya (a tquoutain in Kāmartīpa), 223, 250, 251. See also under 'Mountains' below,

Durjayā (or, Štidurjayā, capital of king Brahmapāta of Kāmarūpa), 246, 251

Durvāsas (a sage), 321 (story of his curse to Indra), See also under 'Sages'.

Dutta (Nalinaksha), 147

Dvaipāyana, 42

Draito-nirpago (of Vācaspati-mišra), 234 Dvipa (continent, such as Jambu, Kuśa, Krauńca, Puskara, Śāka, etc.), 28, 39-42, 49, 201, 311-2, 373, 440

Earth (Prthivī, a goddeu), 16, 21, 204-211, 233, 269, 274, 316, 377, 385, 390, 427

East Bengal, 33, 260, 356

Bast India (or, Eastern India), 4, 7, 11, 14, 15, 30, 79, 83, 85, 90

Eclipses, 51 (caused by Rāhu, a shadow), 57, 192, 387, 506

Edgerton (F.), 94-97, 99-105, 107-9, 114, 121, 135, 146-8

Education (of giels), 61

Eggeling (Julius), 1, 31, 35, 68, 79, 87, 158, 195, 196, 260, 284, 285, 338, 367-9, 371, 397, 409, 476, 477

Egypt, 17, 25

Ekidaii-tattva (of Raghunandana), 470,

Ekāmra.—See under 'Places nacred to Devi and other deities'. Ekāmra-purdņe, 71, 79, 466, 467, 470, 501, 504-6, 508, 509

Ekānaņsā (a form of Devl), 48. See also under 'Devl,—Her different forms and names'.

Ekapildo-epapurdne, 505

Etaparah (a name of Devi), 48

Ekapātalā, 44. See also under 'Devi,.... Her different forms and names'.

Ekavira (aliar Haihaya), 303 (story of the birth of).

Elam, 16

Eliot (Sir Charles), 147

Energy (Sakti), 2, 34, 285

Eulogy, 40, 44, 45, 47, 50, 58, 65, 197, 201, 204, 264, 265, 268, 271, 273, 268, 292, 297, 301, 320, 398, 399, 400, 415, 421. See also under 'Hymns' below. Evil spirit, 20

Famine, 305, 307, 328

Farquhar (J.N.), 75, 152, 245, 342, 344, 347, 363

Female deities, 1, 12, 17-21, 24, 25, 36, 40, 44, 65, 262, 333, 466

Female statuettes, 16

Females.-Their names: Amoghā (wife of Santanu), Arundhati (wife of Vasistha), Citringatil (aister of Tārāvati), Devaki (wife of Vasudeva), Gandhari (wife of Dhytaragyra), Indumati (a harlot), Kunkumā (wife of king Candramindra), Kunti (wife of Pandul, Madhavi (wife of Dharmadhvaja and mother of Tulad), Mādri (wife of Pandu), Mandodari (wife of Rāyana), Menakā (or. Menā, wife of Himalaya), Nilakuntalā (an attendant of Sati). Pivari (daughter of the Pitra), Prasūti (wife of Daksa), Renukā (a Vidarbha princess and mother of Rāma Jāmadagnya), Robini (mother of Balarama), Rukmini (wife of Kryna), Saci (wife of Indra), Savya (wife of king Hariscandra), Samjill (wife of the Sun), Salikala (daughter of Subalnu, king of Kaii), Satyabhama (wife of Krima), Satyavati (daughter of king Gādhi of Kānyakubja and wife of Reika, a Bhargava), Silamati (wife of demon Ghora), Taravati

(daughter of king Kakutaha), Vindhyāvali (wife of demon Bali), Vrndā (wife of Dharmadeva), Yadodā (wife of Nanda Gopa), and so on, 54, 57, 76, 211, 213, 225-8, 230, 250, 264, 266, 270, 272, 273, 286, 288-9, 301, 306-7, 313, 318, 373, 330, 401, 405, 413, 415, 417, 420, 423, 445, 465

Festivals (strava), such as Andolakamahotiava, Rhūtamātrutsava, Dama-Dipānvitā (or, Dipālikā), DOSAVA, Jagaranoisava. Durgotsava. mudi-mahotsava, Madana-mahotsava, Nīrājana-dvādašī, Pavitrotsava, Phālguna-pürnimotsava (also Dola-yātrā, Dolotsava and Holikā), Rasotsava, Rathouava, Sayanomava, Sivotsava (in Caitra), Syama-mahotsava, etc., 11, 13, 20, 93, 309-310, 316, 323, 375, 381-4 (description of), 396, 404-6, 408-9, 435, 451, 460, 494, 499

Fire-ordeal (of Sitā), 317

Fish, 50 (so be offered to Kyemańkari), 206, 217, 219, 361, 401, 431, 433, 454, 462

Five deities (pañez-deva), 320 Five topics of Purānas, 71, 285-6

Flag, 48 (divaĵa-dāna), 52, 191, See also under 'Banner' and 'Banner (of Indra)' above.

Flood, 34 (in Kāmarūpa), 250, 257, 451 Flowers, 54, 55, 66, 190, 321, 431, 402

Food, 64 (selection and classification of), 356, 392, 431, 432, 435, 434, 483, 497, 499. See also under 'Articles (upscara, including fish, meat, wine, etc.) offered to deities' above.

Forbes (James), 318

Forts (durga).—Their construction, varieties, maintenance, etc., 36, 47, 55-57, 90, 91, 228

Fowler (vyādha), 399, 410

Frog. 319

Fruits, 43, 232 (karuņa), 407, 435, 499, 500 (drākṣā).

Gadādhara (a Smrti-writer of Orima), 14, 72, 83, 231, 235, 244, 337, 370, 393, 467, 478, 491, 493, 494, 509 Gājan.—See under 'Cadak-pājā' above. Gajānana, 50, 64 (origin, description and worship of). See also under 'Ganesa' below.

Galeb Ali Khan (Nawah of Ducca), 459 Ganapati (a Smrti-writer), 478, 480

Gāņapatya (or, Gāņapa), 210, 320, 329-334, 377

Gāṇapatyism, 36

Ganas (Śiva'z attendants named Bhrūgi, Gancia, Mahākāla, Nandin, Vīrabhadra etc.), 34, 38, 48, 198, 200, 213, 215, 216, 221, 223, 224, 228, 263, 308

Gana-yāga (or, Vināyaka-yāga), 55

Ganda-vyāha, 146, 149, 150

Gandlarva, 29, 350-352, 364

Gandharva-lästra (an Upavrda), 63

Gapeia (also called Gapeivara, Gapapati, Gapanana, etc.), 52-54, 56, 90, 191, 192, 223, 230, 269 (stary of his birth), 274, 277, 313, 315, 319, 320, 322, 323, 326, 332, 342, 363, 366, 372, 375, 379, 384, 424, 425, 427 (story of his birth), 434, 453

Gang3 (a divine river), 30, 48, 262, 266, 273-5 (story of her descent on earth), 315, 316 (story and worship of), 355, 356 (origin of), 398, 400-401 (description of), 404, 412, 417-425 (her origin and descent on earth, her thousand names, her streams, and so on), 436, 450, 451, 453, 455-7, 460, 462, 463, 465, 496

Gangā-bhairava, 425

Gangā-bhakti-ternigini (of Ganapari), 237, 478, 480, 484

Gangaethara (commentator of the Dharma-rambita of the Sun-parana), 344, 345, 358

Gatgá-vályázali (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya) 72, 83, 192, 234, 237, 471-3, 478

Gangeya (Rhhma), 289 (story of the birth of).

Garga, 75, 385, 386, 390

Garuda (also called Suparna), 45, 220,

Garuda-parkina, 74, 81-3, 160, 389, 476, 505, 512

Gáruda (Purana), 74, 160, 239

Garada-parapa (carlier), 505

Gárada Tattea-rahaya (mentioned in Saiva Nilakantha's commentary Tilaka). 346

Găruda Upopurăna, 505

Garudavadin, 59, 76 Gāruda-vidyā, 47 Garudika, 56 Cacha, 184, 186, 404 Gauda (or, Gaudiya), 4, 13, 252, 240 Gauda-deia, 14 Gauda-nibandha, 4, 6, 7 Ganhati, 34, 246, 251, 253 Gauri, 44, 48, 52, 57, 62, 191, 212, 262,

307, 308, 311, 320, 379, 381, 384, 453, 475, 476. See also under 'Devi.-Her different forms and names'.

Gautania (a sage), 16) (story of his curre to sages), 165 (story of his curse), 206, 207, 328 (story of his curse). See also under 'Sages' below.

Güyatri, 44, 92, 203, 285 (Devi-), 319, 325-7, 329, 331, 333, 338, 344, 345, 359, 398, 429, 457, 464, 495

Genealogy, 82, 420-3 (of Sagara), 436 (of Vena), 446 (of Krina).

Geography, 311, 372, 495

Ghanta (bell). - See under 'Bell' above.

Ghātaka (or Ghataka, king of the Kirātas of Pragjyotisa), 31, 208

Ghatikā-yantra (for measurement time), 39

Ghora (son of the divine Boar), 204, 205 Ghost, 19

Gifts and donations (of cows-natural and artificial, gold, land, manueripts of books, paddy, etc.), 31, 36, 53-5, 59, 60, 62, 192, 236, 316, 319-321, 339, 366-8, 375-7, 385-390, 392, 395, 396, 424, 445, 483-4, 486-7, 497

Gitä. - See under 'Bhagarad-gita' above. Gita-gorieda (of Jayadeva), 58, 453, 458

Goenrma (a measurement of land), 498 Gode (P. K.1, 233, 254, 344

Gokarna (a sacred place), 49, 54. See also under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Gopalabhatta (author of the Hari-bhaktirilāta), 72, 83, 235, 339, 478, 488, 491, 509

Gossaladasa (author of the Bhakti-ramakers), 477, 502, 507, 508

Gepatha-brillmons, 135

Gorakhpur, 5

Goraksanagara, 5

Gotras, 63 (names of).

Govinda (author of the Fatro-ramitars),

Govindānanda (or, Govindānanda Kavlkadkaņācārya), 2. 12, 13, 15, 72, 82. 83, 235, 240, 244, 259, 399, 370, 393, 395, 467, 470, 472, 470, 484, 491

Govindarăja (the deity of the Vignutemple at Cidamharam), 362

Go-vivāha, 53

Graha, 74, 76

Graha-yaga, 53

Grāma (village), 56 (measurement and position of), 59

Grāma-devi (village-godden), 30, 313 Greece, 16, 21, 25

Grhnitha-ratuakara (of Capdelvara Thakkura), 72, 193, 234, 237, 478, 481, 484, 486, 493, 496, 497

Guakuchi (name of a place), 246, 253 Guliyakas, 364

Guhya-tomāja-tantra, 184

Gui (Shiva Chandra), 35, 68, 195, 284, 285, 369, 469

Gupta (Anand Swarup), 187

Gupta temple, 347

Guru (superior, or spiritual guide), 93, 309 (praise of), 311, 315, 325, 398, 399-400, 424, 430, 465, 500

Had-gila (bone-cating) Brahmins, 33 Haihayas, 302-3 (story of their origin and slaughter of Biggus).

Haimavati (Umā), 24

Hālāhala (son of Kālāgnirudra), 40 Hajāyudha (also called Hajadhara, Rāma and Boloracca), 272, 273, 446

Halayudha (author of the Brillmanssarzawe), 8

Hāralatā (of Aniguddha-bhaga), 32 Harappa, 1

Hari-bhakti-cildia (of Gopülabbaşta), 72, 83, 190, 191, 235, 478-480, 484, 487-9, 493, 494, 509-510

Haridrānneara, 403, 421

Hariscandra (top of Trišanku), 305-7 (story of), 342. See also under 'Kings'

Harizonia, 1, 17-19, 21, 67, 232, 394 Harjara-varman (king of Kamarupa).

Harlots, 46 (feeding of), 49 (worshipping the eight Vidyas), 59, 181, 193, 217, 320 Horsa-cerita (of Bāṇabhatta), 30 Hursapāla (king of Kāmarūpa), 31

Harsavardhana (king of Känyakubja), 342

Harvest deity, 23

Halla, 59

Hava, 197, 360

Hayagriva, 288, 338, 344

Hazra (R. C.), 8, 71, 74, 75, 79, 81, 82, 240, 241, 245, 247, 341, 343, 391, 394, 395, 503, 505, 509

Head-hunters (of Assam), 43

Head-huming (tribe), 33

Hells, 58, 92, 161, 312, 320, 321, 328, 335 Hema-candra, 109, 117, 121, 143, 144

Hemadri (author of the Cameorgecimboari), 3, 4, 7, 9, 32, 69, 72, 78, 156, 181, 189, 234, 240, 256, 337, 338, 346, 369-372, 388, 389, 392, 393, 395, 396, 467, 479, 461, 484, 486-8, 491, 494, 503, 510, 513

Hrmakūta (a mountain), 18, 44

Heretical (pāṣaṇḍa) secus, viz., Ārhatas, Bauddhas (Tantrik or otherwise), Bhuiravas, Bhilipus, Bhojakas, Carvakus, Cina-marga-ratue, Damaras, Jaines (including Digambaras), Klipflikas (also called Kapalas and Kapalakas), Kāpilas, Kaulukas (or, Kaulikas), Längalas, Lingadhärins, Lokäyatikas, Mahayanists, Minaketanas, Nakulas, Nāstikas, Nirgranshas, Pāricurātras, Pürva-paicimas, Saivas, Phisupatas, Šākyas, Sāmkhyas, Saugacas, Siddhaputras, Somas, Śrāvakas, Taptamitdrankium, Triidladhärim, etc., 54, 59, 76, 82, 83, 145, 152-7, 139-165, 205, 239, 297, 310, 325, 328, 330-332, 334, 335

Heruka, 218

Hill-tribea, 33
Himācala (also called Himādri, Himālaya and Himavat), 17, 18, 20, 24-28, 38, 44, 47-50, 261, 263, 266-8, 274, 308, 311, 313, 381, 414, 417, 421, 425

Himavat-pitha, 49 Hiralal, 195, 284, 397

Chirama' the The Shi

Hirograksii-gyhraniisa, 22

Holy places (tirtha), 57, 79, 83, 85, 211 (of Kāmarūpa), 398, 400-401, 403-4, 424, 451, 455-6, 505 (topography of). See also under 'Tirtha' below. Hismas (such as Ayuta-homa, Laksa-homa, Koji-homa, Naksatra-homa, Dhārā-homa, etc. and the methods of their performance), 41 (with human flesh), 45, 46, 52, 53, 57, 66, 92, 93, 191, 311, 327 (tāmika, paustika), 375, 387, 405, 406, 425, 468, 500

Homer, 21

Hora, 75

Horse, 190, 191, 216, 226, 301, 303, 483, 497

Home-sacrifice.—See under 'Swcrifices' below.

Hospital (ārogya-iālā).—Its foundation and equipment, 486

Hughli (in Bengal), 452, 455

Human corpse (as a seat for some deities), 45, 52, 205, 262

Human flesh, 41 (performance of Homawith), 205 (offer of), 206

Human sacrifice, 18, 216, 219, 223, 247, 433

Hūņa, 26, 49, 76, 342

Huviska, 23

Hybrid Sanskrit (Buddhist), 79, 94, 95, 116, 143, 146, 181, 184, 187, 188

Hybrid (or, Synthetic) Sanskrit (of the Devi-pacina), 94-186 (particularly 146 and 181).

Hybrid rexts (Buddhin), 146-8, 151, 152, 162, 182

Hymn (or, Stava, Stora, Stuti), 1, 44 (called Mahādandaka), 46-48, 67 (called Stava-rāja), 263, 274, 279, 281, 316 (Vincopadi-notra), 319 (Sāvitri-stava), 321, 366-8, 392, 398-400, 405, 406, 415, 420-422, 424, 427, 435-6, 445, 447, 457, 462, 473 (Indrākai-stava), 474 (Siva-stotra).

Images (pratima, of Devi and other delities such as Adityas, Agni, Brahma, Ganeia, Indra, Kusmanda, Lakami, Rudras, Siva, Vasus, Vidyas, and so on).—Their description, construction, consecration, etc., 45-47, 50, 52, 59, 61, 65, 75, 82, 83, 189, 191, 192, 217, 270, 271, 283, 294, 295, 362, 407, 408, 468, 500

Immaculate conception (or origin), 25, 28

Immersion (visarjana, of the image of Devi), 6, 11-3, 409, 468, 469, 472

Impurity (due to birth, death and miscarriage), 496

Incarnations (of Devi, Vigou and others),
1, 25-27, 29, 36, 37, 40 (ten, of Vigou),
75 (ten, of Vigou), 91, 145 (ten, of Vigou),
159 (of Vigou), 204-5 (of Vigou), 211, 233, 243 (ten, of Vigou),
296, 298 (of Vigou), 299 (partial),
311 (of Vigou), 324 (of Vigou), 324-5,
328, 342 (of Vigou), 359, 366, 368 (ten, of Vigou), 394 (ten, of Vigou), 416 (many, of Vigou), 445 (four, of Vigou),
447 (of Vigou and Šiva), 457, 466

Indo-Aryan Races, 18

Indra (affer Sakra), 37-40, 42-44, 51, 54, 58, 65, 69, 76, 210-212, 273, 296, 297, 300-301 (his killing of Visvarūpa and Vrtra), 305, 321, 322, 348-350, 405, 416, 419, 420, 422, 427, 500

Indra-dhvaja (Indra's banner), 42, 76 Indra-dhvaja-mahottava (also called Mahendra-dhvaja-mahottava and Sakra-dhvaja-mahottava), 42, 46, 229,

Indrapüla-varma-deva (king of Kâmarūpa), 34, 246, 249-251, 253 Indus Valley, 16

Initiation (Vedic, Tentric), 327, 328-9, 335, 336, 400

Itibāso, 59, 91, 410

Jagannātha (lord of Odra), 218 Jāgannātha-prakāta (of Sūra-mièra), 513 Jāhnavī (a fernale deity), 44

Jaimini, 154, 261, 262, 398, 412, See also under 'Sages' below.

Jainium, 75, 381

Jalandhara (or, Jälandhara).—See under 'Places sacred to Dévi and other deities'.

Jalauka (king of Kashmir), 479, 480 Jalika (a Yogasana).—See under 'Āsanas' above.

Julpkia (a deity), 214, 221.

Jalpięcivara, 217

Jamadagni (a Bhargava), 227-8 (birth and sons of), 296

Jāmadagnya, 34, 49, 225, 249-230. See also under 'Rāma (Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya)'. Janaka (king of Michila), 206-8, 287-8, 340, 347, 411. See also under 'Kings' below.

Janamejaya (a king), 290 (story of). See also under 'Kings' below.

Japa, 17, 66

Jaratkāru, 290, 323, 388

Jatādharācārya, 11

Jaiaka-mālā, 146

Jāvāla-iruti, 359

Jayadeva (author of the Gito-govindo), 58, 453, 458

Jayadurga, 259

Japākķņa-samhitā, 164, 165, 175-8

Jayanta, 364

Ilia (Ganganath), 338

Jimüravāhana (author of the Kālavirska), 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 73, 337, 370, 393, 467, 471

Jīmūravāhana (a Vidyādhara prince), 342

Jiva Gosvāmin, 369

Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 81, 475, 476

Jāana, 302, 308, 309, 319, 330

John Marshall (Sir), 16, 17

Jyotih-fästra, 3, 59, 91

Jyonisa (a work), 3, 5, 8

Jyoth-tattra (of Raghunandana), 470, 473

Kaca (son of Byhaspati), 50 Kidemberi (of Ranabhayya), 76

Kadrū, 379

Kaivaria (fisherman), 48

Kaivarti (fisherwoman), 41

Kakati (Bani Kanta), 32

Kölüdaria, 235

Kalagnirudra, 40, 58, 473, 474

Kälägnirudropanisad, 473

Kála-kantha (alias Káll-puršna), 236

Kala-mādharēja (of Mādbavācārya), 235 Kāla-niraga (of Mādbavācārya), 72, 234,

337, 370, 393, 396, 493, 512

Kilasira (of Gadādhara), 3, 11, 14, 17, 70, 190-192, 231, 235, 244, 337, 393, 457, 478, 482, 484, 486, 492-5, 509, 512

Kall-sästra, 19

Kelariteks (of Jimütavihana), 2-4, 6, 8, 41, 12, 15, 73, 258, 337, 393, 467, 471, 474

Kalhana, 479, 480

Kalhapa's Raja-turangipi, 480

Käli (or, Bhadrakáli or Mahākāli), 2, 19, 20, 24 (a toegue of Agni), 26, 27, 50, 34-36, 44, 48, 196, 242, 264, 265 (Chāyā-), 268 (description of), 272-3, 275-6, 381, 401, 404, 405, 407-8 (description and method of worship of), 414, 420, 445, 449, 450, 453, 462-4

Kali (age), 155, 156, 165, 253, 276, 277, 282, 286, 301, 316, 332, 343, 446-7 (description of the state of religion and anciety in), 460, 465, 497 (acts to be avoided in).

Kālidāsa, 67, 68, 72, 83, 212, 243, 257

Kalika, 2, 5, 10, 20, 26, 30, 34, 35, 48-50, 58, 198, 256, 325. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names' above.

Kiliki-parina, 1, 3-9, 11, 14, 15, 17-19, 30-32, 34, 35, 78-81, 83, 194-259, 275, 340, 346, 457, 470, 477, 483, 488, 489, 503

Kálikō-purdna (enriier), 233-243, 470 Káli-purdna, 1, 195, 196, 236, 241, 245, 254, 255, 259, 415, 457

 Kalkin (or, Kalki), 40, 324, 394, 447
 Kalpa (a period of time), 19, 205 (Varsha), 345-6 (Sărasvata), 495

Kalpataru, 3, 73 (Naiyata-kālika-).

Kāma (or, Kāmadeva, Kandarpa, Madana or Cupid), 38, 54, 190, 196-8 (birsh, names and exploits of), 200, 203, 212, 257, 262, 268 (Siva's burning and reviving of), 274, 296, 348, 350, 351, 382, 405, 413

Kdmadherm, 73

Kamākhyā, 20, 30, 34, 49, 83, 208-210, 220, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 266, 273-7, 355, 356, 358, 404, 421

Kāmākhyā-giri, 49

Kāmākai (a mother goddens), 34

Kamalākara-blutta (or, Kamalākara), 3, 2, 3, 7-11, 235, 244, 470, 472, 506, 510 Kāmarāpa, 3, 4, 7-10, 14, 17, 30-35, 50, 51, 79, 80, 83, 85, 90, 208-9, 214, 217-225 (names of holy places, mountains, lakes, rivers, pools and deitier of, and story of the spread of Vārnācāra Tantricism in), 231 (reason for the name oi), 232-3, 236, 244, 245, 248-253, 257, 261, 265-6, 273, 275, 277, 280, 355, 402-5, 416, 417, 445, 451, 455, 457, 465

Kāma-dastra, 359

Kārna-intiva, 41

Kāmeivara (a deity), 251

Klimikā Vidyā.—See under 'Vidyās (mystic)' below.

Kanaka (son of the divine Boar), 204, 205 Kane (P. V.), 234, 235, 241, 247, 363

Kanyairama, 49

Kānyakubja, 50, 226, 374

Kanya-kumārī (young virgin), 24

Kanyā-vikraya, 321, 361

Kapāll-bhairava (also called Śmaśānabhairava and Mahābhairava), 205-6

Kāpālikas, 43, 205 (rijes and practices of), 263, 330-332, 334. See also under 'Heretical (pāṣaṇḍa) secti' above.

Kāpālika (Šaivism), 31, 32, 233, 253

Kapālin (a Mieceha tribe).—See under 'Tribes' below.

Kapilo (a sage), 41, 205, 311, 318, 416, 420, 423

Kāpila-iāstra (on Sāmkhya philosophy), 311

Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṃhitā (of the Black Yajursada), 21

Karāli (a tongue of Agni), 24, 52

Karman, 319

Karma-vipāka, -- See under 'Results of actions' below,

Karttika (oc. Körttikeya), 38, 53, 58, 68, 83, 268 (bîrth and exploits of), 375, 377, 378, 424, 474-6.

Kaahmir, 248

Kaitaisha Bhatta, 338, 358

Kāšīrāma Vācaspari, 13, 14, 467, 481, 490, 508

Kātī-tatten-prakāšikā (of Raghunāthendrafivayogin), 196

Kāimira.—See under 'Places mered to Devi and other deities' below.

Kaiyapa, 272, 296, 298, 304

Käiyapa-parisarta, 146

Kāthaka-ramhitā, 21, 22

Karwa (a subdivision in the district of Burdwan), 48

Kāsyāyana, 3, 24, 217, 244

Kātyāyani-dloka, 3

Keurma (Purāna).—See under 'Kūrmapurāna' belaw.

Kauma (Upapurāna).—Sec under 'Kibmaapapurāna' below,

Kautuka, 500

Kavaca (viz., Devi-kavaca, Kāmākhya-kavaca, Mahāhhārata-kavaca, Nava-graha-kavaca, Saraavati-kavaca, Tri-purā-kavaca, Vināyaka-kavaca, Vināyaka-kavaca, Vināyaka-kavaca, Vināyaka-kavaca, Vināyaka-kavaca, vic.), 55, 179, 220, 221, 264, 276, 279, 283, 315, 310, 412, 414, 447, 457, 462

Korikaikana-ragdi (of Makundarāma Cakravarrin), 438, 439, 449, 453, 455, 458

Kavi Karnapūra, 10 Kāvyakūta (?), 235, 236, 255

Kdipa-sangraha (of Rājajīvana De Dāsa), 260, 459

Kedárn-kalpa, 474

Krith (A. B.), 146, 195, 284, 368 371, 473 Kena-apanipad, 24, 328, 359

Keia-saspskāra-dravya (for Devi), 4

Khāndava forest, 230

Khāravela (a king), 188

Khasa (or, Khasa, --a tribe). -- See under 'Tribea' below.

Kheja (or, Khejaka), 43, 56 (measurement and position of), 59

Kikaja, 357, 425, 465

Kiipnara, 29.

Kings, such as Anga (father of Vena), Armya (father of Satyavrata Trišanku), Aśwapati, Bhagiratha, Bhagya, Candramindra, Candraickhara, Citrangada, Citraratha, Citrasena (of Draviçia vişaya), Dharmadhvaja, Dhetaraştra, Duryodhana, Gādhi, Hariscandra, Janaka, Janamejaya, Jarasandha, Jayadratha, Kākakarņa (of Kikaja), Kakutatha, Kalayavana (ruling over Mirechas), Kamua, Karna, Kâriavirya, Kuśadhvaja, Kuvalayāśva (Dhundhumāra), Mahāhhişa, Māndhārr, Nahusa, Nimi, Nrpaváliana, Pandu, Parthait, Paundraka, Pausya, Priyavrata (son of Sväyamlahuva Mann), Pipritravas, Roghu, Raithya, Rajasena, Sagara, Sālva, Sāntanu, Saryāti, Sašabindu, Satadham, Satyavrata Triianku, Seinpāla, Sriiklavāhana, Subāliu (of Kāši), Sudariana (son of Dhravasandhi of Kosala), Südraka (of the Kadambari), Sudyumna, Sumedhasa, Suratha, Taladhvaja, Vasu Upacicara, Vena, Vicitravieya, Vijaya, Vikuka, Vrsadhvaja, Yudhājir, Yudhişthira, and many

others, 31, 34, 38, 39, 41, 43, 49, 53, 57, 65, 68-70, 76, 153, 212-5, 225-7, 229, 230, 250, 272, 274-5, 288-290, 292-4, 298-304, 313, 316-9, 323, 328-9, 359, 362, 374, 379-380, 382, 420-421, 425, 426-7 (of the Solar and Leman dynastics), 436-440, 445, 446

Kirātas (a tribe), 208 (description of), 209. See also under 'Tribes' below.

Knossus, 16

Kogrām (a village in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal), 49, 403

Kokāmukha.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other delities'.

Końka-veńkajavanaka (a name of Śira), 415

Koiala, 5 (Northern), 292, 293. See also under 'Places sacred to Devl and other deities'.

Krama-dipikā, 234

Krana, 25, 40, 211, 262, 270, 272-3
(Kali's birth as), 277, 280, 298-9
(birth and exploits of), 313-6 (conception of and origin of the universe from), 320-324, 328, 332, 333, 340, 348, 356, 366, 367, 371-3, 377, 384, 385, 394, 395, 408, 416, 424, 435, 445-6, 453, 478, 486

Kryna-candra (Mahārāja of Nadia), 280

Kṛṇāhnika-kaumadi (of Kavi Karṇapūra),

Krynānanda Āgamavāgiia, 235, 244 Kritivāsa (a vernacular poet of Bengal), 464

Krtyā (malevolent rite), 152

Kriyêcêre (elîm Ācērēdoris, ed Šridata Upādbyāya).—See under 'Ārērēdoris' above.

Krim-cintánagi (of Candeivara Thakkura), 234

Kripe-cintămani (of Văcaspati-miira), 7, 8, 72, 73, 192, 234, 393, 470, 472, 473

Kriro-kalpaturu (öf Lakamidhara), 3, 73, 78, 84, 157, 101, 191, 193, 234-9, 242, 370, 479-461, 463, 484, 486, 493-8, 560

Krims-Americani, 235

Kytya-mahirpara (of Vicaspani-misra), 13, 73, 235

Kripo-ratnikara (of Clandrivara Thakkura), 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 69, 72, 79, 84, 196-192, 194, 234-9, 243, 247, 475, 478, 480, 481, 484, 486, 493, 497, 498, 500

Ketya-tattes (of Raghunandana), 13, 248 Ketya-tuttvārpars (of Štinlitha Ācāryacadamani), 2, 3, 5-8, 10-12, 72, 190, 244, 250, 389

Kşatra-veda, 443

Kşetrapāla, 218

Kula-marga, 50

Kulottunga I and II (Cola kings), 362

Kumāra-sapibhava (of Kālidāsa), 67, 68. 212, 243, 257

Kumacila-hkasta, 155, 156, 161, 180, 363, 365, 447

Kurma-purápa (or, Kaurma), 1, 71, 161, 162, 165, 240, 343, 360, 364, 365 (having four Sambitas-Brahml, Saurl, etc.), 389, 466, 470, 476, 477, 481, 482, 490, 502-4, 512, 513

Kürma-upapurasa (or, Kaurma Lipapurana). 505-6

Kürma-vihhäga (or, Kürmänga-samsthana), 51, 76

Kurulgetra. - See under 'Places sacrost to Devi and other deities'.

Kuşmanda (a female deity scated on a human corpue), 52

Kinvera, 56

Laghu-brahmavasvarta-purápa, 506 Lainga (Purana), 4, 74, 82, 159, 160, 239, 389, 474

Lakes (such as Apunarbhū, Bhairavacaras, Bindu-saras, Brahmakūţa-saras, Brhallohita, Kama-saras, Lohita, Sipra, cic.), 207, 203, 222, 223, 225, 228, 250, 302, 403

Lakamanasena (king of Bengal), 73

Laksmi, 14, 48, 52, 57, 220, 262, 276, 303, 313-5, 318, 321-2, 355, 402, 404, 406, 407, 417, 425, 500

LAM Jaya-mirāyana (author of the Candika-mangala-kanya), 458

Lalitavistera, 79, 81, 94, 95, 97, 99, 103, 109, 120, 143, 146, 147, 149, 150

Lama (of Tibet), 33

Language of the Devi-purana, 86-90. 94-188

Lanks, 269, 270, 317, 405. See also under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities', Laskāvatāre-altre, 147, 151

Lauhitya (a river and son of Brahma), 34, 208, 210, 217, 218, 225-8 (story of the hirth of), 249 (wason for the name of), 250, 257, 266, 275, 276

Lihivati-upapurápa, 506

Linga (of Siva), 57, 60 (characteristics and praise of), 262, 221, 222, 239, 265, 277, 310 (Bána-), 316, 402, 412, 416, 424, 456, 473, 480 (worship of), 486, 494

Linga-dhārin, 325, 330, 331

Lingo-purips, 2, 4-9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 73, 164, 258, 362, 389, 474. See also under 'Lainga (Purāņa)' above.

Lion (the mount of Devi and a wild beast), 16, 19, 21, 23, 26-28, 36, 40, 44, 45, 47, 271, 276, 295-7, 299, See also under 'Simha' below.

Lists of Puranas and Upapuranas. - See under 'Purāņas' helow.

Local custom, 11, 12, 14, 240

Local deiry, 30, 466

Local (or, Popular) dialect, 180, 181, 188, 485

Lokapālas, 46, 53, 364

Lokas (worlds or regions, such as those of Brahma, Visnu, Siva, Durga, Gaurt, Surya, Brhaspati and others; also Atala, Vitala, etc., and Bhūb, Bhuvab, Svab, etc.), 39, 51, 58, 261, 270, 277, 304, 312, 315, 321, 322, 329, 373, 402, 465, 480, 495, 499

Macdonell (A. A.), 347 Machine, 49, 56, 59 Madana. -- See under 'Kama' above, Madanapāla, 72, 234, 370, 491 Madana-pārijāta (of Madanapāla), 72, 234, 235, 237, 493, 497 Madami-ratus-prodific (of Madanasimha-

deva), 234, 235, 237, 238

Madagasintha-deva, 234

Madavat (son of demon Naraka), 211 Mādbavācārya, 72, 234, 235, 237, 937, 338, 370, 372, 293, 395, 396, 478, 487, 491-3, 497, 507

Mādharl-perāpa (7), 505-7

Madhu. See under 'Vasanta' below.

Madhuparka, 32

Madhupura (or, Mathura), 273

Madhusüdana Sarasvatl, 344, 477.

Madhya (or, Mathyacarya), 446 Marlhyadesa, 39 Madya, 19 Māgha (the poet), 243, 257

Magadha, 380

Magha-mahitmya (claiming to be a part of the Uttara-khangla of the Padmaparriga), 302

Mahābhāgavata-purāņa (or, Mahdbhdgarate), 1, 30, 80, 81, 83, 259-283, 356-8,

Mahābhārata, 1, 17-20, 24, 30, 32, 87, 135, 162-4, 182, 183, 187, 226-8, 231, 232, 244, 247, 248, 286, 341, 344, 352, 353, 359, 376, 379, 394, 410-412, 433, 456, 464, 492, 493, 497

Mahābhāya (of Patañjali), 183, 188 Mahādandaka (a hynnn).-See under

'Hymun' above.

Mahākāla.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Mahahala-samhita, 195, 254, 255

Mahāmāyā, 26, 206, 211, 215, 216, 221, 259, 458

Mahdmäyüri, 147

Mahāmoha, 152

Mahanarazaniya-apanisad, 360

Mahānavamī (a Tithi), 3, 29, 40, 46, 81, 159, 220, 405, 451

Mahānavanil-pūjā (of Devī), 3, 29, 45, 46, 375, 451

Mahāpitha.—See under 'Pīthus' below. Mahārājā (a form of Devi), 49. See also under 'Devi.-Her different forms and namer'.

Mahārāstra, 58, 244, 344

Mahlmidra, 414

Muhāširşa (son of demon Naraka), 211 Mahastami (a Tithi), 29, 45, 46, 263, 405, 451

Mahāstani-paddhati-kāra, 14

'Devl.-Her Mahadvera. -- See under different forms and names'.

Mahá-Vaipulya-sāma, 152

Mahirusty (or, Mahirustu Acadina), 79, 81, 94, 95, 99, 101, 103, 104, 109, 135, 143, 145-9, 152

Mahāvidyās (ten, - Kāli, Tārā, etc.), 264, 267, 276, 296, 307, 325, 342, 414, 463

Maheia Thakkura, 345

Mahrie Upaparapa, 507-8

Midhelpura. - Sec 'Varighte-laitga' below.

Mahidhara (a commentator), 22 Mahisamardini, 54, 56, 217

Mahodava. -- See under 'Places mered to Devi and other deities'.

Maiden goddess, 25, 36

Maithila, 8, 12, 31, 32, 82 (writers), 242 Maithila Brahmim of Kamarupa, 31-33,

Maitrdyani Samhitä (of the Black Tajurrada), 21, 22

Malumāra-tatten (of Ragbunardana), 79, 466, 467, 470, 477, 481, 490, 491,

Mülarildgaimitte (of Kälitäsa), 23

Māmsa, 17-19, 41 (mahā-), 93 (mahā-).

Manasa (or, Nilgadevi,-a deity), 313, 315, 325 (story and worship of), 333, 404, 425, 432

Mānava Upapurāpa, 512

Manaviya-samhita, 492

Mandala (a medium of worship). - See under 'Medium of worship' below.

Mangala-candi (or, Mangala-candikā), 323 (story of), 357, 403, 445, 453, 459. See also under 'Devi.-Her different forms and namer'.

(or, Mangalko), Mangalakosthaka village in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal), 48, 49, 403, 455

'Mangalakonthaka' Mangalkop. Sec above.

Manifestation (prädurbhāva), 364 Mantra. - Its description, the method of and materials for writing it, its varieties, and so on, 4, 17, 19, 29, 41, 42, 46 (mūla-, hṛdaya-, astra-, etc.), 49, 55, 57 (Tantric), 60 (Vedic), 61 (-uddhāta), 65, 67 (kavaca-, astra-, etc.), 80 (abhicara-), 92, 93 (Tantric), 143 (Tantric, Vedic), 146 (Tantric), 159 (Purăpic), 179, 183 (Vedic), 203, 212, 214-6, 218, 219, 221 (-puraicaraon; different kinds of), 224 (Vedic), 238 (Purănic, Vedic), 259, 264, 275 (-puralcarana), 282 (Tantric), 283, 292, 295, 298, 300, 314, 315, 316 (Radbika-). 310 (Rádhika-, Kṛṣṇa-), 320 (Sakti-). 322, 335 (Vnidika, laukika), 336, 364, 378, 399-401, 406, 414, 417, 430 (for Súdras), 446, 462-4, 465 (Visnu-), 472, 480, 486, 499

Manu, 37, 51, 69, 204-5 (Svāyambhuva),

262 (Svāyambhuva), 286, 304 (Vaivawata), 311 (creation by and descendants of), 317 (Dakya-rāvarni), 323, 324-5 (Svārocija, Utuma, etc.), 373, 386, 413, 425-6 (names of fourteen).

Manu-myti, 161

Manyantara (Bhautya-, Vaivasvata-, etc.), 27, 42, 71, 204, 257, 286, 298, 373, 425, 434, 500

Măra, 198, 257

Märkendena-candi.—See under 'Candi' above,

Märkandeva-paräne, 1, 17, 19, 20, 26, 27, 76, 92 (called Mörkandeva-monistrythaparäne), 240 (Mirkandiva-), 306, 341, 342, 433, 457

Marriage and its forms (such as Brähma, Daiva, Gändharva, Svayamvara, etc.), 191, 198, 199, 203, 226, 263, 266, 268, 288-290, 293, 316, 358, 367, 375, 376, 392, 413, 417, 432, 473, 496 (its forms named and described, with duties of married life), 497

Mirranda-purina (or, Mürtando), 385, 386, 389-390, 493

Maruts, 51

Atlaniévan, 37

Māthara (an authority on Sun-worship), 52-53, 91

Mathara-cytti, 91

Matriarchal system of society, IB

Mātp (or, Mātpkās,—mother guidesses ruch as Brahmāni, Māhesvari, Vaisnavi and others), 27, 29, 35, 38, 46, 47, 52-5, 57-9, 65, 73, 76, 91, 190, 364, See also under 'Saktia of Brahmā and other goda' below.

Maty-tautes, 74, 91

Matya-purapa (or, Matya), 240, 250, 308, 337, 358, 360, 364, 367, 365-8, 390, 395, 456, 457, 475, 479, 481, 491, 492, 501

Māyā, 24-27, 35, 38, 48, 52, 196, 199, 200, 209, 230, 233, 239, 256, 296, 299 (-iakti), 314 (Vinna-), 346, 373-4 (Vinna).

Māyā (a name of Kāmarūpa), 424
Measurement by heaping, 430
Measurement of distance, 55
Measurement of land, 430, 498
Measurement of length, 55, 430
Measurement of time, 51, 59, 204, 312, 404

Measurement of weight, 430, 458

Meat (and its use in the worthip of various deities), 18, 50, 52, 54, 64, 65, 93, 206, 208, 217, 295, 304 (of a hare), 305 (of a dog), 401, 431-3, 462, 473, 481, 486, 499

Atedhamini, 161, 203

Medicine, 36 (science of).

Medium of worship (such as fire, water, Mandala, Yantra, image, tons, Sālagrāma stone, etc., and also trees, plants, fruin, esc.), 41, 45, 52-5, 57, 59-62, 78, 93, 189, 215, 216, 218, 220, 264, 283, 295, 300, 310, 322, 323, 336, 358, 378-9, 435, 462, 498-500

Mesopotamia, 16

Metals, 47, 52, 53, 55, (89, 190, 220, 229, 431, 443, 487,

Military expedition, 20

Mimanud-duriana (of Jaimini), 155

Mimanus-sitras, 360

Alinakeranas, 82, 159, 160

Minaon style, 16

Mideila, 2-4, 7-10, 12, 14, 15, 51, 32, 82-84, 232, 235, 379, 451

Mitramiira, 78, 180, 235, 244, 337, 370, 470-473, 502, 504, 507-9

Mitra (Rajendra Lal), 1, 35, 36, 68, 158, 195, 260, 284, 337, 341, 367, 360, 384, 391, 392, 397, 459, 471, 477, 492, 503

Mitrasena. - Same as 'Citrasena' mentioned above.

Mixed language (for religious instruction), 180, 485

Mleecha, 17, 32-34, 43, 183 (words), 221, 224, 231, 253, 282, 297, 299, 316 (-63stras), 320, 343, 383, 433, 440, 447, 458, 460-2

Micochi, 433, 458, 460

Micocha-bhāṣā, 152, 157

Mleccha-dialect (called Paisfaciki bhāṣā), 32

Mleocha (or, Mech) dynasty (of Kāmarūpa), 31, 32, 34

Mohenjo-daro, 1

Moon, 203 (story of), 209

Mother (or, Mother, divine), 17, 91

Mother Earth. See under 'Earth' above,

Mother Goddess, 6, 22, 23, 34. See also under 'Mātrs' above.

Mother of evil spirits, 20

Mother of the gods, 16, 21 Mother-worship, 16 Mountain-goddess, 17, 24 Mountain-Mother, 16, 21

Mountaine, such as Arvenia, Bhasmacala, Brahmācala, Candrabhāga, Candraparvata, Citra, Dropa, Durjaya, Gandhamādana, Govardhana, Himālaya, Jafadhūraka, Jārudhi, Kailāsa, Kāmagiri, Kāmākhyā-giri, Kiskindhyā-parvata, Kola, Mahendra, Mainaka, Mālavya, Malaya, Mānasācala, Man-Manikaroa. dākņa-parvatu, parvata, Meru, Nājakācala (Nājakašaila), Nātakeivara, Meākļa-parvata, (Nila-parvata), Nipadha, Nilakūja Saltyo, Samdhyacala, Samvartaka, Šrigiri (Šrišaila), Sumeru, Sveta, Udayācala, Veda-parvata, Vindhya, Yugamdhara, etc., 3, 18, 20, 25, 27-29, 36, 38, 40-44, 47-51, 54, 59, 60, 65, 162, 196, 198-203, 209-212, 214, 215, 217, 218, 220, 221-3 (including many others of Kāmarūpa), 225, 226, 228, 249-252, 262, 274, 302, 309, 311-2, 317, 321, 323, 324, 343, 350, 373, 403, 417, 418, 422, 446, 452.

Музунбјаув-праригана, 508

Mudrãs (Tantric), 46, 57 (sixteen kinds of), 61, 67, 93, 190, 215, 216, 219, 326, 410, 425

Muhammadan, 262, 343, 458, 461, 462 Muhammadanism, 462

Mukiaka (a Tantric Boddhist), 186

Mukundarāma Cakravartin, 438, 439, 449, 455

Mala-prakrti, 30, 65, 319, 320, 323, 330, 332, 414, 416

Afüla-sarvästicadu-vinaya, 147

Mundakopanisad, 24, 360

Music (vocal and instrumental), 61, 217, 381, 406, 409, 418-9 (science of), 435, 463, 469, 500

Mymensing (a district of East Bengal, now in East Pakistan), 33

Nadi-durga (river-fort), 91
Nāgānanda (of Harşavardhana), 342
Nagaras (viz., Chiona-karna, Dubathita,
Durbala, Kria, Rucaka, Sarvatobbadra, Svastika and Vināsa), 56 Năgari (script), 78 (Southern).
 Năgărjuna, 147
 Năgas, 99, 54, 297, 379, 420, 435 (worship of), 436

of), 436 Nagan, 41, 64, 133, 154

Năgoji-bhatta, 344

Naimiya.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Naksatras (Kruikā, etc.), 77

Nandā (or, Natuli), 60-62 475, 476, 478, 481. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Namja-gopa, 27, 273

Nanda-pandita, 235

Nanda- (or, Nända- or Nanda-) purășa, 470, 479

Nandikeivara (or, Nandiévara, Nandiéa or Nandikeia), 41, 42, 432, 479, 480

Nandikeiraro-purāpa (alias Nandilparepurāpa and Nandikeia-purāpa), 2-8, 14, 79, 465-9, 470-474, 481, 482

Nandikehara-yugma, 467, 470, 481, 482
Nandin, 41, 145 (called Viresa), 263, 413
(originally a logician and attendant of Daksa), 415, 427, 476, 476, 478

Nandi-mahākāla, 364

Nandi-nagara (script), 78

Nandi-purāpu (nlint Naudā-purāpa, Nāndapurāpa, Naudī-purāpa, Skānda-purāpa, Vāyaniya and Saukeya-purāpa), 73, 180, 181, 469-471, 474-488, 489, 491

Nanyadeva, 233-7, 240, 243, 254-6

Nărada (his marriage etc.), 38, 41, 42, 44, 199, 200, 206, 207, 212, 257, 258, 262, 263, 266, 267, 287, 291, 298 (called 'kalaba-priya'), 303, 364, 507, 373-4, 380, 386, 392, 411, 413-9, 425, 501, See also under '5ages' below.

Narado patentatra, 258

Nărudiya-parăpa (or, Năradiya), 240, 339, 365-6, 369, 504, 509

Naradiya Upapurāņa, 504, 508-9

Naraka (alias Vajrachvuja and Vajraketu), 206-211 (story of his birth and activities). See also under 'Demosa' above.

Nărakâla.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Nara-Nārāyaņa, 205, 296-8, 347-353, 416 Narasiņska, 205

Nărasiyola (Purăția), 261

Narasinpha-purina, 477, 483, 491

Narasinha Vājapeyin, 70, 72, 78, 82, 234, 242, 370, 371, 477, 478, 480, 480, 491, 512

Narāyaņa, 57, 269, 296, 311, 314, 317, 321, 384, 406, 411, 412, 417-9, 465 (liquefied), 468

Nārāyaņabhajja, 491, 494

Nardyanopanipad, 17, 24

Narmadā (a river).—See under 'Rivers' below.

Notya-iastra (of Bharata), 168

Nava-durgă, 51

Nava-durgā-sthala.—See under 'Places eacred to Devi and other deities'.

Navadvipa (i.e., Nabadwip in the district of Nadia in West Bengal), 460

Nava-patrikă (the nine plants used in Devl-půja), 5, 6, 10-13, 15, 90, 468

Nava-patrikā-praveša, 5. See also under 'Patrikā-praveša' below,

Navarātra-vṛsta, 9, 17, 294-5, 300, 357 Navya-vardhamāna, 73

Nāyikās (of Kapāli-bhairava), 206 Nehru (Sri Jawahar Lul), 33

Nepāla,—See under 'Places sacred to

Devi and other deitier'.

Nibandha, 2-13, 15, 19, 69, 84, 85, 189, 392, 467

Nibandha-writer, 8, 71-72, 193, 195, 338-9, 371, 392, 393, 454, 491, 492, 502-4

Nidhanpur, 252

Nigama, 420, 428

Nilakantha-bhatta, 470, 472, 473, 478, 507 Nilakantha (commentator of the Mahāhhārata), 19, 244, 344

Nilakantha (Saiva), 78-79, 194, 243, 244, 284, 283, 338, 344-6, 358

Nilasarasvati, 276, 325, 342

Nilaypa, 53, 54 (definition of), 495

Nirājana (Iustration), 53, 190, 217, 229, 231-2, 379

Nisāda (a trībe).—See under 'Trībes' below.

Nisāda (son of Vena), 43

Niti-iāstra (ascribed to Brahmā), 258
Nitydošra-paddhati (of Vidyākara Vāja-peyin), 190, 234, 493

Nitritora-pradips (of Narasimha Vajapeyin), 70, 72, 78, 190, 191, 234, 235, 237, 239, 242, 243, 370, 371, 475, 477-480, 487, 489, 493, 494, 496, 502, 512 Non-Aryan, 16-18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 33, 232, 253, 440, 444

Non-duality of God, 26

Northern India, 79, 165, 308, 358, 494 Nypavähana (a king).—See under 'Kings' above.

Nginha (king of Orina), 234

Nyāsa, 56 (şadadga-), 93, 220, 300, 311, 326, 394

Odra (or, Udra), 218. See also under 'Places sacred to DevI and other deities'. Omens and portents, 43, 53, 487, 500

Ommo (mother-goddess), 23. See also 'Umma, Umml, Ummu' below.

Orissa, 3, 11, 14, 71, 79, 62, 83, 234, 467 Ornaments, 61, 201, 220 (names of different kinds of), 361, 377, 402, 408, 409, 410, 421, 444, 487

Păda-division (of Devi-parăna etc.) 35, 37, 38, 67, 68, 365, 373

Padamālā-vidyā.—See under 'Vidyās (mystic)' below.

Padmä (or, Padmävati,—a river), 274, 278, 315, 316, 355, 358, 401, 421, 423, 427, 452

Padmaka (a kind of Yogasana).—See under 'Asanas' above,

Pudma-parāpa (ne, Pādma), 31-33, 256, 308, 339, 345, 346, 358, 360, 362, 391, 397, 510, 513

Paišāciki bhāṣā,—See under 'Miecchadialect' above.

Palcatine, 16

Pali, 105, 183

Pañca-deva, 320, 342, 363

Pañca-parvan (Kṛṣṇa-jaumāṣṭamī, etc.), 320, 357

Pancarâtra, 1, 74, 83, 162-3 (pro-Vedic), 175, 178, 191, 193, 330, 378, 494. See also under 'Heretical (pāṇaṇḍa) secu' above.

Pāncarātra Samhitās, 157, 160, 163-5, 186

Patentantra, 395

Pańcayatana-pūjā, 91, 326, 342, 363, 364, 395, 484

Pandavas.—Their origin, descendants and activities, 288-9

Panini, 117, 143, 151, 152, 181, 182, 184, 187, 315, 360

Paraiara, 42, 287, 289, 411, 457

Pardiard-meti, 234, 237, 372, 393, 478, 407, 492, 493, 495, 497, 507

Pardjura-upapurāņa, 477

Paraiurima, 50, 225

Pargirer (F. E.), 187, 347

Parisistas (of the Vedas), 63

Pärenti, 5, 20, 24, 26, 29, 213, 266-9, 383, 427. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Parvadyas (i.e., the local people, including Bruhmins, of Kāmarūpa), 32-34.

Parsēra-minārtha-koja (of Jajādharāchrya), []

Pâşanda (or, Pâşandin), 43, 46, 47, 59,
76, 82, 152, 153, 158-160, 162, 238,
328, 332, 362 (extra-Vedic), 432, 446,
458, 460

Pāṣaṇḍa-śāstra, 71, 157, 158, 298

Pāšuputa, 1, 75, 193, 330, 331. See also under 'Herctical (pāṣaṇḍa) secti' above.

Pääupata Vrata, 164

Pātakas, Mahāpātakas (beinom crimes), 430, 447-8

Patañjali, 183, 180

Patriarchal system of society, 18

Patriko, 7-10

Patrikā-praveia (or, Patri-praveia), 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 490, 231, 271, 272, 278, 467, 472

Patrika-pūja, 5, 7-9, 217, 231

Patta-dorn, 4

Pavitra (sacred thread), 217 (names of different kinds of).

Pagagnias, 16

Paupkara-sambitá, 165-175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 186, 187

Penance (prāyašoina), 32, 65, 66 (various kinds of), 193, 327 (Göndrāyana, etc.).

Pennia, 16

Personal marges, such as Alarka, Damana. Dharmudeva, Gosvārnin (of a Brahmmagriculturist), Kālakeru, Krtabodha (of a Brahmm), Kuladeva, Strahhadra (of a Vaiiya farmer), Šrimanta Sadāgara (of a merchant), Suvarens, Taskaravallatība, Tulādiāra (of a fowler), Tumburu, Uparicara, Vinatāiva (or, Vinitāšva), Yajnašarmā, etc., 58, 213, 214, 385, 390-391, 399, 401, 445, 453, 458

Phoenicia, 25

Phrygian, 16

Physician (cikitsaka), 56, 61, 321, 429, 432, 486

Please (a disease), 22

Piśāca, 19, 20, 46, 54

Pischel (R.), 143

Pitāmaka (Brahmā), 500

Pitâmbara Siddhântavāgita, 32, 53

Pitha-mirmaya, 49

Pithándha (a Yoghana).—Ser under 'Asanas' above.

Pithas, 49, 50, 146, 214, 218 [names and position of], 223, 224, 254, 265, 266 (fiftsone), 273 (Yoni-), 277 (fiftyone), 308 (siddha-), 357-8 (siddha-), 405, 456, 465

Pür-blahti (of Sridauta Upādhyāya), 192
Pitra (patriarcha), 51, 197 (Agniyvātta, Barhiyad, Somapa, Sukālin, etc.), 203, 364, 429 (starpano), 487 (classification)

of), 495, 496, 500

Places sacred to Devi and other deities. Their names: Amareia, Ameliaktivara. Anga, Avanti, Ayodhya, Badari, Bhadravata, Bhairava, Bhottadesa, Bratimatirtha, Campa, Cidambaram, Clas. Cirragopa, Cola, Dandaka, Devadāruvana (or, Dāruvana), Devikuja, Dharmaranya, Dipta- cakreivara, Dviyavatī, Ekahamus, Ekāmra-kņeira (or, Ekāmra), Gundakl-sangama, Gangldvāra, Gangā-sāgara (Gangā-sāgarasamgama), Ganga-tira, Gaya, Gokarma, Haridvara, Hariharakşetra, Hantinapura, Jalandhara (or, Jälandhara), Jambūkanātha, Jambukcivara, Japyn-(vara, Kajlāsa, Kāmākhyā, Kāmarūpa, Kamerusthele, Kanakhala, Käñcî (vis., Siva-kāncī and Vippu-kānci), Kaņvāiruma, Kānyakubja, Kāsī, iruma, Kāšikāvana, Kāšmīra, Kāvertsamgama, Krdāra, Kiskindhyā, Kokāmukha, Kolápura, Kolu, Kolala, Kotstirtha, Kurnissetra, Kmanhala, Kusasthall, Lanks, Mahābāla, Mahāsthāna, Mahismati (capital of Kartavkyārjana), Mahodaya, Makota, Malaya, Manakya, Mandara, Manidelpa, Mathura, Marrpura, Mundipitha, Naimija, Nākula, Nārakāla, Nava-durgā-athala, Nepāla, Odra, Oyadhiprastha, Prabhāsa, Prayaga, Prihadaka, Pundarika, Pundravardhana, Pürnagiri, Purusattomaksetra (also called Purasottama or Sripurasottama), Pinkara, Rādhā, Rāmešvaru, Rudra-mahālaya, Samatata, Samkareivara, Sarasvati-tata, Simbala, Śrīnagara, Stri-rājya, Sukalānta, (Tīrabhukti), Trikuja, Triveni (Muktavegi), Tryambaka, Tuljāpara, Turanda, Uddiyāna, Udra-deia, Ujjayanī, Ujjayini, Valdeba, Vaidiša, Vaidvanārba, Vanga, Vārāņati, Vardhamāna, Varendra, Vedāraņya, Vemidaņda, Vidilā, Vikaţā, Vinašana, Viraja, Vrndāvana, and so on, 47-52, 54, 57, 60-62, 67, 79-80, 83, 85, 146, 161, 201, 202, 208, 214, 216-0, 226, 231, 249, 261, 274, 284, 294, 297, 300, 302, 308, 309, 317-320, 323, 326-7, 358, 359, 373, 379, 380, 398, 401-4, 419, 422, 424, 451-2, 455-6, 465

Planets, 38, 42, 46, 51 (sacrifice to, and names, classification, etc. of), 54, 57, 76, 223, 312, 376 (pacification of), 379, 431 (worship of), 434-6

Poets (praise of), 410

Poison-girl, 41

Poleman, 285, 330, 473

Policies of statecraft, 41

Political theories and works, 40 (of Brahmā, Sambhu, Usanas and Vianu) 91 (of Sambhu and others).

Politics (rāja-phi), 39, 228 (discourse on), 462

Popular hymna and songs, 161, 165

Pracina (Smrsi-kāras), 14

Prahelika, 484

Prajapari, 196, 262, 373

Prāgiyotisa (also called Vajradheajapura), 32, 207-211 (city of), 217, 232, 233

Prāgjyotijapura, 245, 246

Prajapatya Sambita, 179

Prakrit (language), 94, 103, 103, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151, 156 (Māgadhu, Dākṣi-ṇātya, etc.), 166, 180 (Māgadha, Dākṣiṇātya, etc.), 181-4, 187-8, 446, 465

Frakritism, 148, 149, 186

Prákyto-prakáša (of Vararuci), 143, 144

Präkta-labdämiðrana (of Trivikrumadeva), 109, 122, 143, 144

Prakṛti (Ādyā, Mūla-, Pacā), 24-26, 30,
 42, 200, 233, 261-3, 268, 276 (description of), 313 (five forms and innumerable parts of), 315 (fivefold), 321, 322,
 329, 412, 413

Pralaya, 201, 205 (ākālika).

Pramathas, 205 (classification and description of), 263, 265

Penthina-bheda (of Madhusudana Saraivati), 477

Prátimokra-nitra, 147, 148

Pratyangirā-devi, 50

Präyaleitta-prakarana (of Bhavadevahhappa), 454

Propulcitu-rivda (of Šūlapāni), 72

Preta-kaumudi (of Pitärnbara Siddhā:navāglia), 32

Printz, 344

Procession, 42, 47

Prostitute, 56, 62, 217

Proverbs, 360-361, 454

Prihivi (the Earth-goddess).—See under 'Earth' above.

Pribe (son of Vena), 440-5 (story of the birth and activities of). See also under 'Kinga' above.

Public women, 43. See also under 'Harlots' and 'Prostitute' above.

Public works (such as establishment of hospitals and poor-houses, construction of dams, planting of trees, digging of wells and tanks, and so on), 192-3, 375-6, 385, 486, 496

Půja-mandapa, 5, 7

Pukkada (or, Pukvasa),—See under 'Tribes' below.

Putinda (a Mieccha tribe).—See under 'Tribes' below.

Pundravardhana, 326, 356, 358. See also under 'Places sacred to Devl and other deities'.

Punic Africa, 25

Pura.—See under 'Gities (pura)' above.
Purânas.—Their elassification, numbers, titles and extents, 71, 285-6, 373, 398, 409-410, 458, 476-9, 481, 482, 490, 491, 501-512

Paranic method of worship, 29

Purānic Śāktism.—See under 'Śāktism' below.

Puri (in Orissa), 83 Purusa, 24, 42

Purusartha-cintamani (of Viscoubhatta Adavalya), 488

Purusottama (also called Purusottamakettra and Sripumeottama,-Puri).-See under 'Places sacred to Devl and other deitien'.

Pürra-mináguá-vátra (of Jaimini), 154, 155 Pürva-sindhu, 49

Puphara. -- See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Puşkara-dvipa. - Sce under 'Dvipa' above.

Pujiara-parāna, 509-510

Puspahhadra (name of a place), 31, 253

Pugpadanta (a Gana), 48

Puppākhya-vidyā. - See under 'Vidyān (mystic)' below.

Pusya-snāna, 46, 54-5 (method of), 229 (method of).

Rādhā (or, Rādhikā), 262, 270, 272, 273, 277, 280, 313-5 (conception of, and origin of the universe from), 316, 318, 321-4, 330, 340, 356

Rādhā.—See under 'Places sucred to Devi and other deitim'.

Ragas. - See under 'Songs' below.

Raghavan (V.), 196, 234, 235, 243

Raghunandana, 2, 10, 12-15, 70-73, 78, 79, 83, 92, 180, 231, 234-6, 239-241, 244, 248, 258, 339, 370, 389, 393, 466-470, 472, 473, 477, 478, 481, 482, 484, 488, 490, 491

Raghunāthendra-iivayogi, 196 Raghuvenuia (of Kälidāsa), 23 Răginii.-See under 'Songi' below. Rāhu (a 'chāyā-graha'), 51

Rāja-jivana De Dāsa, 260, 459

Rajaki (washersonnas), 41

Raja-mārtanda (of Bluoja), 3, 7-9, 393

Rajand .- See under 'Devi .- Her different forms and names'.

Rajasena (a king).-See under 'Kings' allove,

Raja-taraigini (of Kalliana), 179

Rajaniti-iastras, 258 (of Brhaspati and Uinnge).

Rajal (wife of Surya), 379

Raksas, 20

Rākyasas (nigh as Kumbhakarya, Vibhlsana and others), 28, 29, 39, 54, 207, 265, 269-271, 293, 301, 332

Raktadautikā, 5, 10, 28

Rāma (i.e., Balacāma). —Ser umler 'Hulāyudha' above.

Růma (lihârgava or Jāmadagnya), 226, 226-B (story of his birth and activities). 257, 416, 501. See also under 'Jamadagnya' above.

Rama (son of Daiaratha), 3, 4, 206, 217, 231, 269-272 (story of intoduction of Durgā-pājā in autumn by), 278, 281, 293, 295 (his performance of Navaratravrata at Kişkimthya), 296, 290, 299, 313, 317, 356, 357, 405, 416, 424, 464 Rāmārasu (of Valmiki), 87, 182, 183, 187, 269, 295, 290, 299, 376, 379,

394, 398, 405, 410 (called Mahakavya), 411, 412, 456, 464

Ramayapa (of Kruivasa), 464

Rangacharya (M.), 195, 492

Rāsa-kridā (or, Rāsomava or Rāsa), 272, 313, 314, 316, 320-322, 406-9, 446, 451, 460

Rasar (sentiments, viz., Spagara, Santi, etc.), 342 (nine), 360 (nine), 416, 419 Rassinla, 39

Risa-ratea-rissis (of Sülapäņi), 244 Rāši (zodiacal sign), 52, 65, 75, 243, 280, 341, 354, 486, 492

Kästrapäla-parippahä, 146

Ratha-yatra (of Devi and other deities). -See under 'Car-festival' above,

Rati (wife of Kamadeva), 54, 197-9, 200, 296, 348, 950, 351

Ratnapāla (king of Kāmarūpa), 251 Rama-padcaka, 500

Rāvaņa, 3, 4, 206, 207, 217, 231, 269, 270, 272, 296, 313, 317, 336, 405, 416

Results of actions (karma-vipāka), 30. 58, 296, 319, 320, 374, 424, 487

Revá-khauda (of the Skanda-purdpa), 476, 479, 492, 502-4, 509

Reval-mahatmya (of the Shanda-paraga), 478, 479, 503, 504, 509

Revanta (son of Sitrya), 303

Revati, 44, 48

Recede, 23, 62 (divisions and schools of). 87, 135, 163

Rhinoceros, 219, 319

Rice (Lewis), 204

Rites, I. 2, 7-9, 11, 12, 31, 43, 45, 80 (malevolent, pacificatory), 81, 83-5, 152 (malevolent), 153, 164 (non-Brāhmanical), 165 (extra-Vedic), 251, 362 (Vedic), 406, 442 (Vedic), 444 (Vaidika, Smārta, Āgamika), 451, 460 (to be observed in Āgāḍha, Kārttika, Māgha and Vaiāākha),

Rivers, such as Ajaya (in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal), Alakananda, Bhadra, Bhagirathi, Bhavika, Brahmapurra (atm called Brahma-mida, Lauhitya and Lohita-gangā), Camļrabhāgā (also called Puppabhadrā), Devikā, Dryadvati, Gandaki, Ganga, Godavari, Gomati, Hughli, Iravatl, Jajodhhava, Kāntā, Karatoyā, Kaušiki, Kāveri, Mahisona, Narmada (called the centre of the earth-malifi-madhyam), Padmä (or, Padmāvari), Pāpaharā, Revail, Sarawati, Sarayû, Sindhu, Siprā, Sītā, Subhaga, Tāpī, Vaitaraņī, Vaņikņu, Vetravati, Vindhyā, Virajā, Yamunā, and so on, 26, 43, 47-9, 51, 55, 57, 61, 79, 92, 153, 192, 201-3, 208, 209, 212-5, 217, 221-3 (including many others of Kāmarūpa), 225, 228, 230-231, 245, 266, 274, 279, 297, 302, 311, 315, 318, 320, 324, 342, 348, 373, 401, 403, 420, 422, 423, 452, 457 Romahamana (Sõta), 298

Roy (Jogesh Chandra), 245, 254, 448, 455, 457, 461
Rudra (or, Mahāzudra or Rudras), 21, 22, 24, 25, 38, 44, 51, 52, 58, 69, 204, 291, 340, 364, 373, 413-5, 473, 460, 500
Rudradbara Upādhyāya (or, Rudradbara), 3, 5, 11, 72, 294, 237, 306
Rudrākṣa, 325-6 (origin of).

Roth (R.), 195, 260, 397

Revindaka (a song), 237

Rintra-mahālaya.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Rudra-purdna, 510

Rutra-yamala-tautra, 195, 254-6, 474 Ruru (a descendant of Bhygu), 290

Sabda-candrikā (of Cakrapāņi-dasta), 11 Šabda-kalpadrama, 71, 466, 470, 478, 481, 489, 504

Sachau (E. C.), 479, 491, 495, 511

Saci (wife of Indra), 54, 405. See also under 'Females' above,

Sacraments (saṃskāra), 420 (uāmakaraņa, upamayana), 442. See also umier 'Vīdyārambba' below.

Sacrifices, such as Asvamedha, Comedha,
 Naramedha (Mahamedha, Purnsamedha), etc., 52, 57, 200-1, 205, 206-7, 263-5, 273, 288, 290, 293, 301, 302, 304, 322, 323, 396, 413-5, 433

Sadācāra (or, Samācāra or Siņpācāra), 12, 229, 258, 325

Sadāšiva Mišra (Gaņaka), 511

Şad-deva (six deities—Gaņesa und others), 322, 323, 332

Saddharma-pundarika, 97, 143, 146, 147, 149, 150

Sagara (a king), 420-1. See also under 'Kings' above.

Sages (such as Agastya, Ajigarta, Angiras, Antarikşa, Aruna, Asina, Aşılıvakra, Astika, Atri, Aurva, Babyrca, Balaja, Bālakhilyas, Bharndvāja, Bhrgu, Brhaspati. Cyavana, Durvāsas, Gautama, Jahnu, Jātūkarņa, Jāvāli, Kamatha, Kapila, Kāpota, Kātyāyana, Kāvya, Kratu, Krtanjaya, Maudavya, Marici, Markandeya, Nara, Narada (called 'kalaha-priya'-fond of quarrel), Nārāyana, Pulasiya, Rcika, Sanaka, Sanatkumāra, Sārasvata, Satānanda, Saunaka, Sverāšvatara, Trichāman, Trivrsa, Vasistha, Visvāmitra, Yavakrita, and others) and their activities, 34, 37-39, 41, 42, 65, 67, 69, 70, 179, 196-7, 199, 200, 202, 204-7, 210-215, 217, 221, 223-4, 226-9, 231, 235, 236, 255, 257, 258, 261-3, 266, 274-5, 277, 285, 286, 294, 297-9, 302, 305, 307, 310, 311, 318, 321, 323-4, 372, 373, 382, 396, 411-2, 422, 427-8, 300, 301

Saha-marana, 496

Sihiya-da papa (of Visvanātha), 82

Saiva, 25, 26, 31, 94, 42, 47, 179 (worka),
180 (teachers), 233, 277, 282, 310, 327,
329-334, 335 (Vodic), 344, 362 (extra-Vedic), 377, 404, 417, 448, 462, 464,
480, 481 (Puranic).

Saint (being the same in Stra-purapa mentioned below), 240, 508

Sairadharma (being the same as Siradharma mentioned below), 508

Šaivaka, 500. Sec 'Šios-purāņa' beļow. Šaiva-šāstra, 359, 360

Salva Yoga, -- Its description, 42, 92

Śaivism, 31, 32, 34 (popular), 36, 345 (Ágamie), 462 (Tantrie).

Sāka-dvīpa.—See under 'Dvīpas' above. Sāka-dvīpi Brahmins, 440

Sakambharl, 20, 28, 29, 44. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Sākatāyana (a grammarian), 315

Šakra, 19, 37, 70, 229 (-pūjā), 320 (-pūjā), 348-351, 364

Sākta, 34, 194, 233, 238, 277 (Śniva-, Vaispava-), 282, 310, 320, 327, 330-334, 340, 341, 359 (Smārta-), 417, 460, 462-4

Sákta (deity, cult, theology, philosophy, work, etc.), 1, 15, 20, 22, 30, 36, 49, 179, 231, 254, 308, 320, 329, 330, 333, 377, 464, 448, 464, 481, 489

Šakti, 1, 2, 27, 28, 34, 36, 40, 46, 49, 59, 197, 233, 276, 285, 286 (sātrviki, rājast, tāmast), 288 (rāmast), 292 (Mahāsarasvati, Mahātakņut, Mahātakņut, 307, 320, 322-3, 330 (sātrviki, rājast, tāmast), 331, 333, 340, 427, 463, 464, 481

Sakti (a weapon), 209, 211, 226 Sakti-ratnākara, 459

Šaktis (of Brahmā and other gods).— Their names: Aindri (or, Māhendrī), Brahmāṇī (or, Brāhmī), Kaumārī (or, Kārttiki), Māhesvarī, Nāraniphī, Vaippavī, Vārāhī, etc., 5, 10, 27, 44, 49, 52, 58, 65, 292, 293, 297, 401

Sāktiam, 16 (Purāņic), 17, 30, 34 (Tantric), 35, 36, 67, 230, 233, 276, 283, 340, 462 (Tantric), 464-6

Sakti-worthip, 1, 15-17, 78, 80, 195, 333, 415

Saktri (father of Parasara), 42, 398

Sākya (Buddha), 155, 156

Sălagrăma-filă, 316, 318 (classification and praise of), 319, 322, 323

Sălastambha (king of Kāmarūpa), 92

Sālavāhana (or, Srlādlavāhana,—a king), 445, 459

Sali (rice), 499

Samidhirāja-nitra, 146

Samutata.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'. Sama-reda, 52, 63 (divisions and schools of), 163, 316, 321, 323, 359

Samque-pradipa (of Sridaus Upādhyāya), 3, 72, 234

Sámba-parána, 77, 236, 243, 483, 491, 492
 Samdhyā (prayer), 326-7 (method of performance of), 332, 429, 431

 Saindhyā (the mind-born daughter of Brahmā), 196, 203, 262, 268, 276, 413
 Sainkarācārya, 363, 365, 325, 422, 447, 457

Sämkhya-karika, 91

Sänjikhya (system of philosophy), 24-26, 42, 44, 155, 193, 311, 363, 373, 416, 420 Sanjikranti, 45 (different kinds of), 46 Sanjikranti-pradijia, 2, 3, 5-8, 10-12, 15, 73, 235 (Gauda-), 260, 370, 371, 393,

470, 472, 473 Samwatsaras, 51 (sixty kinds of);

Sanaiscara, 201, 202, 231

Sanatkumāra, 42. Sec also under 'Sagra' above.

Sankrit literature.—Its branches such as

Akhyāyikā, luihāsa, Jyotih-fāstra, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Vaidya-fāstra, Vioāfāstra, etc., 59, 91. Sec also under 'Ākhyāyikā', 'Itihāsa', etc.

Săntanu.—See under 'Kings' above. Sănti (pacificatory rite), 80, 191, 376 (Gralus, Vinăyukas).

Santideva, 146

Saptalati-states (i.e., Candi), 312

Sarabha, 204-6, 216, 219, 251

Såradå-molgala-kdopa (of Šiva-carulra Sena), 280

Saradd-partine, 488-9

Saruha, 185

Sărawaja.—See under 'Sages' above.

Saracvat, 44, 49, 203, 262, 274, 314-7, 320 (-p0j5), 375, 377, 401, 404, 410, 412, 417, 419, 424, 425, 427, 447

\$arat (autumn),—See under 'Scanopa' below.

Sarma (Tirthonath), 246, 251, 252, 254
Sarva-lästrärtha-samgraha (of Madhusüdana
Sarasvati), 344

Sarvatobhadra (a Yogāsana).—See under 'Āsanas' above.

Şaşthi (a deity), 313, 323 (story of), 425
Śastras (of Devi, Mangala, Nanda and others), 47, 48, 52, 91, 156

Sastri (P. P. S.), 195, 285, 368, 369, 371, 473, 492

Sasya-veda (science of agriculture) .-See under 'Virtyas (branches of learning)' below.

Satakratu-mahouava.-The same as Indea-dhyaia-mabouaya mentioned above.

Satapatha-Iráhmana, 22, 87

Satarūpā, 262, 413

Satasāhasrikā-prajāāpāramitā, 147

Sati, 2, 26, 44, 49, 196, 199-204, 211, 230, 231, 233, 245, 262-5 (marriage of), 265-6 (Chāya-), 260, 281, 307-8, 357, 358, 413-8, 423, 455, 458, 462

Sati-purano, 1, 259, 336

Sat-karma (six matevolent acts-marana, uccățana, etc.), 264, 282, 365, 414, 422

Satru-bali, 9, 10, 45, 80-85, 90, 220, 229, 271, 278

Sattrimian-mata, 154, 164

Sālvata-samhitā, 165, 178, 179

Satya (an author), 3, 6, 19, 258, 474

Satyavat (husband of Sāvitri), 319

Satyavati (Matsyagandhā), 44, 286. 287, 288-9 (story of the birth and marriage of).

Sankeyer (Upurpurana), 478, 489, Sec also uniter 'Yandi-parana'.

Soukra (Upapurāna).—Sec under 'Aniaнам-праригала а воус.

Saura, 282, 310, 320, 329-334, 377, 376,

Saura-params (or, Saura), 240, 389, 491-3. 511, 512

Savara (a Miccelia tribe).-See under 'Tribes' below.

Sāvarotsava, 6, 7, 11, 19, 90, 217, 231, 278, 451, 468

Savitri, 33, 44, 203, 262, 318-321 (story of her birth and taying her husband's life), 320 (-pājā), 321, 379, 412

Sayana (ur. Sayanacarya), 22, 87

Sayyā-dāna-vidhi, 33

Scribe, 36, 60, 316, 361, 376, 441, 485

Seasons (such as autumn, spring, winter, etc.), 2, 3, 20-23, 211, 220, 269, 204, 340, 381, 382, 472, 495

Sect-marks (Tripundra, Crdhyspundra, Taptamudra, etc., and also those of Sankha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, etc.), 325-6, 328, 430, 473, 494

Sen (Dinesh Chandra), 438, 439, 455 Seraka (or, Sera,-a measurement of wright), 430, 458

Sexual promiseuity, 19 Shafi (Mohanunad), 243

Shastri (Durgashankar), 347

Shastri (Haraprasad), 36, 158, 195, 196, 235, 254, 260, 279, 280, 284, 338, 344, 345, 368, 397, 457, 469, 471, 473, 474, 476, 478, 488, 492, 504, 505, 511, 513

Shastri (Hrishikesh), 35, 68, 195, 284, 285, 369, 469

Ship (pers, pers, pert), 54, 90

Siddhu (a semi-divine being), 20

Siddha-hema-iobdánaclásana [04] Hemscandra), 106, 109, 117, 121, 143, 144

Siddhanta-iāstra, 59, 193

Sightha-pithas, -See under 'Pithas' above. Siddha-senānt, 20

Sidbo, 18

Sikrā-samueraya, 146, 147

Silver. -- Ita origin, 467

Simba, 19, 26, 30, 219

Simbola.-See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deiries'.

Simhavähini, -See under 'Devi.-Her different forms and names',

Sins and sinners (their classification), 374-5

Sircar (Dinesh Chandra), 293, 254

Sista, 5, 8, 9, 12, 468

Simpile-radha (of Magha), 243, 257 Sita (wife of Rama), 207 (story of the birth of), 269 (Laksmi reborn as), 270, 293, 295, 298, 299, 317-8, 379, 405 Siva (also called Hara, Ma, Isana, Mahādeva, Sambhu, Samkara, etc.), 24-29, 31, 34-42, 44, 47-9, 57, 61 (different forms of), 62, 64, 65, 69, 74, 90, 145, 161, 164, 165 (-Pasupati), 191, 193 (-iāstras), 196-204, 209-210, 212-5 (names of his faces, etc.), 224, 228, 239, 251, 256, 258, 261-9, 273, 274 (called 'manya-priya'-fond of fish), 285, 307-8, 310, 316 (his song), 317. 321-6, 330, 332-4, 342, 356 (bit song), 357, 363-5, 372-3, 375, 381, 384, 398, 400, 402, 403 (Vaidyanātha), 404, 412-421, 425, 427, 434-5, 447, 460, 461, 463-4, 473, 480, 481, 485, 491, 500 Siva, 5, 10, 17, 26, 29, 37, 39, 49, 54,

58, 321-3, 326, 332-342

Siva-carita, 49 Siva-carita, 49 Siva-dutarno, 470, 471, 476, 482, 500 Siva-dutarnostara, 179, 180, 471 Siva-duti, 27 Siva-linga.—See under 'Linga' above

Siva-linga.—See under 'Linga' above. Sicompta, 215, 258

Siva-piijā-krama, 460

Sion-purina (or, Sains or Sainaka), 79, 240, 344, 346, 358, 508, 510

Sina-punina (Bengal), 79, 194, 242

Sina-rahagya, 13

Sivercano-dipikā, 344, 358

Siva-sahasra-ndma-stotra, 279, 281

Siva-siddhāntas, 52, 91

Sica-stotta, 474

Siva-tattva, 41

Śivotsava.—See under 'Festivals', (1) in the same as 'Caitra-pūjā', for which see above).

Skanda, 39, 46, 51, 54, 311, 313, 323, 476, 478

Skanda (a malevolent deity), 9, 80, 81, 84

Skanda-purāņa (ar, Skānda), 17, 231, 284, 337-9, 352, 389, 475-480, 491-2, 501-4, 509

Skānda Upaparāna, 476-7, 489. (It is the name as the 'Nondi-purāņa', for which see above).

Smaria, 9, 31, 75, 157, 241 (Sakia).

Smith (Vincent), 347

Smrti, 5, 7, 12-15, 84, 155, 161, 325, 333-4, 420, 501-2

Smpti-candrikā (of Devanabhatta), 154, 164, 492, 493, 495, 500, 511

Smrti-nihandita, 2, 71, 158, 193, 473, 483, 495

Snyti-ratnahāra (of Britaspati Rāyamukuṭa), 478

Surri-tuitee (of Reghunardana), 2-8, 13, 14, 71, 72, 92, 180, 190, 192, 193, 231, 234, 235, 237, 240, 244, 248, 258, 389, 393, 408, 472, 473, 476-6, 480, 481, 484, 486, 489, 491-3, 495-7, 500, 504

Smrti-writers, 3, 8, 12, 13, 82-4, 157, 159, 189, 235, 242, 370, 372, 468, 482, 493

Surgyartha-sara, 493

Sodara (a holy spring in Kashmir), 479, 480

Soka-rahitā, 5, 10

Soma, 287, 288, 304, 379, 384 Soma-partina, 511

Songs, 43 (of public wanners), 58, 59 (of females), 165 (popular), 237, 273, 316, 356, 381, 383, 405 (amorous), 408 (Mālasī), 409, 418-9 (detailed with the names of Rāgas, Rāginis, etc.), 435, 450 (Mālasī), 451 (amorous), 453-4

Sonitapura (capital of Bāpāsura), 209 Sonihem India, 3, 8, 11, 14, 17, 82, 318, 357-8

Spartan, 16

Spiritual guide (gum).—See under 'Gum' above.

Sparious Purāņas (viz., Tārkyra, Brābma,
 Agnera, etc.), 74, 82, 159-160, 239
 Śrāddha, 33, 153, 154, 192, 289-290,

312, 322, 392, 405, 425, 432, 487, 493, 495, 513

Śrāddha-cintāmoni (of Vācsupati-midra), 72, 192, 493

Śniddha-humudi (of Govindānanda Kavikaŭkaṇācārya), 72, 83, 190, 192, 244, 493

Sråddha-rierka (of Rudradhara), 72, 192 Śrāddha-rierka (of Śūlapāṇi), 72, 192, 235 Śri.—See under 'Devl.—Her different forms and names'.

Sribhdaya (of Ramanuja), 178

Seidama, 272

Scidatta Upādhyāya (or, Schiatta), 2, 3, 72, 74, 234, 478

Sridhara (gens of Saiva Nilakantha), 344 Sridhara Svāmin, 338, 344, 345

Seighosa-vajensanana, 50

Srikara, 74, 75, 241

Śrinacha Acarya-côdamaci (or, Śrinacha), 2, 5-8, 10-12, 15, 72, 235, 244, 258, 989, 454

Srittirtha-syamin, 260, 459

Sruti, 135, 161, 325, 333-5

Stava.-See under 'Hymn' above.

Stein (M.A.), 284, 368, 369, 397, 474, 480

Sthalika (a kind of Yoguana).—Serunder 'Asanas' above.

Stotra. See under 'Hymn' above.

Stri-rajya, 50

Subhankara-physica, 253

Subhāpus-triisti (of Bharupari), 395 Suddhi-ciutimam (of Vārsapati-mikra), 234,

237

Suddhi-kaumudi (of Govindāmanda Kavikankaņācārya), 83, 244

Saddhi-riveka (of Rudradbara), 234, 237 Südra, 56, 59, 66, 93, 164, 193, 229, 277, 286, 300, 216, 320, 332, 361, 400, 428, 430 (duties of), 437, 439, 441, 442, 446, 448, 449

Sulums (a country), 80

Suhma (a tribe).—See under "Tribes" below.

Suka (son of Vyāra), 57, 287-8 (story of the birth of), 340, 341, 398, 412, 461

Sukulänta.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other delties'.

Sulhdenti-cyaha, 146, 149, 151

Šukra (or, Šukrācārya), 39, 41, 47, 48, 60, 69, 70, 420

Sukthankar (V.S.), 344

Salapāci, 2, 4-8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 72, 74, 75, 190, 195, 231, 232, 235, 241, 244, 245, 258, 370, 393, 467-9, 471, 472, 482

Sumalin (son of Naraka), 211 Somati (beloved of Gajilmana), 50:

Sumedbasa (a king of Krauñca-dvipa),— See under 'Kings' above.

Sun (a god), 38, 91, 191, 209, 222 (-temple), 366, 272, 378, 494, 498 (twelve forms of), 499-501

Sunnhierdin, 302, 305

Sundarvam, 19

Suparna.—See under 'Garada' above, Sura, 17-19, 231, 448, 458, 459

Surubhi (the divine cow), 323 (story of), Süramiira, 513

Surnames (for Brahmins and others), 420, 449

Sürya (alan called Äditya, Bhānu, Rhānu, ctc.), 42, 51, 52, 54, 55, 61, 90, 230, 235, 236, 255, 347, 319, 320 (-pājā), 322, 323, 326, 330, 332, 342, 363-5, 384, 404, 425, 434, 494, 498, 500, 501

Surya parana, 493.

Sata, 187, 261, 262, 283-7, 363, 397, 398, 427, 437 (a caste), 443 (a caste), 493

Suvarna (a coin), 483, 487 Suvarnabhämtama-sürra, 146-7 Suvita (sun of the divine Boar), 204, 205 Swadka (wife of the Pires), 322 (story and worship of).

Svähä (wife of Agni), 322 (story and worship of).

Svāmi Vījāšnānanda, 284

Seara-bhakti (Anaptyxis), 140

Svasuka (a Yogāsana),—See under 'Asanas' above.

Svayamvara (marriage),—Its three varities, (See under 'Marriage' above).

Sverā.—See under 'Dovl.—Her different forms and names.'

Švetāparājitā.—See under 'Creepers' above.

Svetäloutara-upanisad, 300

Swing, 54, 382

Sylhet (district), 200

Syria, Ili

Systems of philosophy (viz., Vedānta, Mimāṇṇā, Nyāya, Pātaṇjala, Sāṃkhya and Valieṣika), 24-6, 42, 66, 155, 163-4, 193, 283, 311, 328, 363, 379, 416, 420, 447. See also under 'Sāṃkhya' and 'Vedānta'.

Sythian, 23

Taspatrikar (S. N.), 337

Tähekulä, 10

Taittiriya-aranyaka, 17, 24, 25

Taittiriya-brāhmana, 22, 23

Taittiriya-mathitā (of the Black Tajurreda), 21

Taksaka, 290

Tamil. 17

Tamluk, 80, 90

Tankn (a Mlegcha tribe),—See under "Tribes" below.

Tantra, 20, 22, 34, 46, 47, 59, 64, 71, 82, 83, 91, 92, 145, 152, 160, 179
(Sakta), 184 (Buddbint), 186 (Buddbist, Hindu), 246, 283, 310, 325, 331, 334, 335, 359 (Sakti-), 360 (Sakti-), 400, 414, 316, 417, 430, 462, 463, 465

Tantra-rüdümeni, 49, 403.

Tentráloka (of Abbinavagunta), 345

Tantras (such as Bāta-tantra, Bhūjatantra, Bhairava-tantra, Bhairavitantra, Devi-tantra, Durgā-tantra, Gāruḍa-tantra, Kāla-tantra, Kāmākhyā-tantra, Kāmeivari-tantra, Mātr-

tantra, Müla-tantra, Nityā-tantra, Sāradā-tantra, Tripurā-tantra, Ugracaņdā-tantra, Umā-tantra, Uttaratantra, Vaisņavi-tantra, etc.}, 41, 47, 59, 91-2, 145, 146, 216, 218, 259

Tantra-sāra (of Krypānunda Āgamavāgiša), 244, 507

Tantro-nārtiika (of Kumārila-hhatta), 155,

Tantzie (character, riemenu, influence, practices, etc.), 21, 34, 41, 57, 71, 73, 74, 82, 83, 92, 93, 145, 146, 159, 186, 194, 215, 238, 239, 241, 242, 245, 255, 266, 270, 271, 282, 283, 296, 300, 310, 315, 327, 335, 336, 339, 342, 347, 351, 394, 400, 406, 425, 430, 444, 458-9, 462, 471-3, 479, 505

Tanteleism, 34 (Vāmācāra), 82, 223 (Vāmācāra), 231, 239, 242, 245, 246, 255, 256, 282, 283, 336, 339, 462, 492

Tantrik, 75, 76, 82, 145, 158-160, 298, 330, 399

Tapta-mudrāfikitas, 325, 328, 330-332

Tara, 48, 51

Tarā (wife of Bṛhaspati), 288

Tärakcivara, 505 Tarkaraina (Pañcānana), 260

Tärkyra (Purāna), 74, 82, 159, 160, 239

Teipur, 252
 Temples (and their construction, decoration, repair, etc.), 46, 48, 52-54, 57-2, 61, 65, 80, 90, 233 (Saiva), 373, 425.

Third for, Thirving), 46, 58, 496

486 Third for Tibel, 33

Tibetan Buddhists, 33

Tibetan (translation), 152

Tiger (vyāghra), 19 (Royal Bengal), 21, 33, 219

Tilaku (a commentary on the Devibhigavats), 79, 284, 344-6, 258

Tilaka (a sect-mark).—See under 'Sectpurks' above.

Tilottamă (an Apsarus).—See under 'Apsarates' above.

Time.—Its division, praise, etc., 51, 204, 404 (called 'tirtha'), 409 (called 'tirtha'),

Tirabhukti, See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deiries'.

Tirchs (relating to time and place), 57,

60, 61, 404, 409. See also under 'Holy places' and 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Tirtha-cintămani (of Văcaspati-miira), 72, 83, 192

Tichi, 4, 11, 29, 45-47, 54, 59, 74, 158, 159, 190, 192, 199, 229, 238, 270, 271, 278, 294, 319-321, 375, 395, 398, 404-7, 431, 451, 498-500

Tithi-nimara (of Candesvara Thakkura), 191, 393

Tithi-tattor (of Ragimmandana), 13, 14, 235 (Ganda), 470

Tithi-eireka (af Sülapüni), 393

Tittiri (an authority), 22

Towns (and their construction), 35, 37, 43, 53-57, 90

Transcaspia, 16

Trees and plants (such as Assayavata, Amalaki, Amra, Arjuna, Asoka, Asvakarna, Asvatdia, Bilva, Bubūla, Candana, Dādina, Dhānya, Dhava, Haridrā, Jayanti, Kucci or Kacvi or Kacu, Kadali, Kinasuka, Madhūka, Mānuka or Māna or Māna-kacu, Priyangu, Rambhā, Sāka, Sāla, Tilaka, Tulasi, Udumbara or Udumbara, Vakula, Yava, etc.), S-7, 9-12, 14, 15, 43, 90, 226, 227, 276, 280, 312, 313, 315, 318, 348, 358, 377 (deified), 378 (deified), 401-3, 454-5

Triber (auch as Abhira, Andura, Candála, Húna, Kaivarta, Kāmboja, Kapālia, Khara, Khala, Kirāta, Miccela, Nīrāda, Pukkais or Pukvasa, Pulinda, Savara, Suhma, Tanka, Tudo, Vanga, Varvara, Yavana, etc.), 7, 16-21, 25, 26, 31, 33 (head-hunting), 43, 46, 49, 67, 93, 208, 231, 275, 288, 297, 320, 383, 440

Tridhaman (a rage).—See under 'Sages' above.

Trikanda-leja, 49, 403

Teimfieti, 34

Tripura (the city destroyed by Siva), 481, 487

Tristhall-sets (of Nāvāyanahhatta), 491, 494, 495

Trisūla-dhārins, 330

Trivikramadeva, 109, 122, 143, 144

Tranbindo, 234-6, 255

Tryambaka, 213

Tryambaka Māje, 259 Tryambaka Oka, 478

Trawley (a place), 33

Tudo (a tribe).-See under 'Tribes' above.

Tulasi, 317-B (story of the birth and marriage of), 333, 401-2 (story of the origin of), 406, 424, 425

Turanda. -- See under 'Places sacred to DevI and other deities'.

Turugka-dhūpa, 47

Tvaygr, 200-201

Trastr-puranu, 511

Udánavarga, 147

Udayasimba Rūpanārāyaņa, 5-9, 84 Uddiyana. - See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities."

Udradeia. - See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities',

Udumbarapura (name of a city),-See under 'Ciries' above.

Ugratārā, 34, 217, 223, 224, 276, 325

Uianí (a goddem), 49, 85 Ujānī (an ancient city in West Bengal;

also called Ujjayani or Ujjayini), 48, 49, 403

Ujjani (a godden), 48, 49, 85

Ujiayani (also called Ujjayini,-an ancient city in West Bengal), 48, 49, 85, 409, 455

Ujjayint.-See under 'Places sucred to Devl and other deitier'.

Umā (daughter of Himālaya), 17, 20, 23-26, 28-30, 36, 39, 40, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 268, 359, 405, 417, 423-4

Um4-K5fi, 3ft

Umā-pati, 24

Lima-Samkara, 54, 57

Umma, Ummi, Umma, 23

Uplinga, 36, 63

Upopurana.-Their number, titles, etc. (See under 'Purăņas' above).

Upavedas, 36, 63 (names of), 91, 484 Ordhea-purina, 511

Usanzs, 40, 91

Utathya (slies Sasyatapas and Satyavrata), 292

Urpāta. See 'Omem and portents' above.

Littarn-saura, 512

Unerance of abusive words (restrictions and prohibitions on), 6, 405, 408, 432-3, 451, 472

Vacaspati-miles, 13, 72, 73, 83, 234, 393, 470, 472, 473, 491

Vadariklárama, 348, 351, 352, 398, 412, 450

Valiana (mount), 19, 23, 26, 40, 41, 299, 427

Vahni-purāpa (or, Vahnija-purāpa), 61, 240 Valdeha (name of a place),-See under 'Placer sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Vaidika, 331, 333, 334, 336

Vaidiša.—See under 'Places sacred to Devl and other deities'.

Vaidya (C.V.), 347

Valdyanātha (author of a commentary on the Vindhya-mahalmya), 505

Vaidya (P.L.), 143, 147, 148

Vaidya-iastra, 59

Vaihasika (fun-maker), 18!

Vaikhānasa, 325, 330, 331

Vaipracitta Dānavas, 27

Vairidei (Purana), 240

Voispava, 25, 26, 31, 34, 232 (Purăpie), 233 (Sakto-), 277, 282, 310, 320, 326 (Ekāniin, Paramaikāntin, etc.), 327, 329-334, 343, 362, 377, 370, 404, 417, 435, 446, 448, 460, 463 (Sākta+), 464, 465, 479, 481

Foigure (Puräna), 74, 82, 159, 160, 239, 240

Vaisoaviem, 35, 464 (Bhagayara), 465, 510 Vajasaneyi Samhita inf the White Yajurveda), 22, 23

Vājikaraņa-yoga, 41

Vajrndbyaja, Vajraketu.-See under 'Naraka' above.

Vakreivara (a holy place in West Bengal), 403, 421, 455, 457

Vakrelvara-tirtha-midhatmya, 457

Vákys-ratnákara (of Govinda), 511

Vallālasena, 71-4, 82, 83, 157-160, 162, 181, 234, 236, 238-240, 242-3, 254-6, 338, 339, 370, 393, 479, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487, 491, 505

Vālmīki, 292, 410-412, 416, 456, 464

Vāma, 48, 224

Vämächra (or, Väma or Kämächra), 34, 66, 73, 75, 190, 220, 224, 231,

316, 330-2, 334, 462. See also under 'Heretical (pāṣaṇḍa) secta' above.

Vāmācāra-mārga, 19, 34, 49, 223-5 (story of the spread of).

Vāmana, 273 (Visou's birth as), 294, 420 (story of).

Vāmana-parāņa, 1, 240, 352, 366, 507 Vāmana-upaparāņa, 512

Vanamāla-varma-deva (king of Kāmarūpa), 252

Vanga.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other defines'.

Varāha (Yajūa-), 204 (story of Viṣṇu's activities in the form of), 205 (origin of sacrificial implements from), 206-211, 316

Varāhamihira, 75, 76, 80, 92

Vārāha (a Samhitā of the Pāňearātras), 179

Varāha-purājus (or, Vārāha), 1, 17, 346, 385, 386, 390-2, 394

Vararuci, 143, 144

Varāsana (a city in Kāmarūpa), 223, 251, 252

Varihamāna.—See under 'Places sacred to Devl and other deities'.

Varendra.—See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other delties'.

Varnäsrama-dharma, 31, 34, 156, 159, 162-5, 183, 229, 237, 252, 253, 267, 283, 381, 398, 410, 416, 428, 436, 439, 446, 461, 462, 464

Varja (continent, such as Hāvṛta, Ketumāla, etc.), 311-2, 422, 424

Varsa-kamundi (of Govindananda Kavikankanācūrya), 2, 4-8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 70, 72, 83, 190-1, 240, 244, 259, 393, 468, 470-2, 474, 473, 486, 493, 496

Varga-Appa (of Rudradhara), 72, 396Varuna, 211, 226, 296, 362, 305, 314, 377, 406, 451, 480, 498

Varvară (a deity), 52

Varvara (a Mleccha tribe).—See under 'Tribes' above.

Vasanta (spring personificit), 197-fl, 200, 348-351

Väsanti-rireka (of hälapäni), 471, 472, 482
Väsigha.—See under 'Värigha-luitga'
below.

Vasistha, 302 (nory of the birth of), 413, 421. See also under 'Sager' above. Vāristha-lainga (or, Vāsistha or Māhelmera), 508

Vasudāma, 272

Vanudeva, 272, 296, 298

Vamdeva, 296, 364, 372, 406

Vasuthārā-dāna, 46 (method of).

Vasus (eight), 51, 289, 500

Vatsaras, 51 (five kinds of), 312, 436

Vigurine (Upapurāņa), 477-8, 481, 489, (It is the same as the Nandi-parāņa).

Vāju-purāja, 73, 78, 164, 389, 456, 491, 502, 503

Veda, 17, 30-32, 40, 59, 61 (method of study of), 62-4 (divisions, schools, etc. of), 91, 92, 153-7, 159, 161-5, 183-4, 193 (-iastras), 226-7, 261, 283, 310, 320, 325, 327-336, 359, 362, 414, 429, 446, 463, 484

Veda-mātā, 44

Vedāngas (meh as Silejā, Kalpa, etc.), 59, 360, 484

Vedānta (system of philosophy), 24-6, 59, 66, 277, 283, 329, 363, 420

Vedavati (daughter of Kutadhvaja), 317 Vedic Aryans, 21, 24, 25

Vedic pantheon, 21

Vedic schools (Kāṇva, Kauthuma, Mādhyandina, etc.), 36, 315-6, 319, 323

Vegetation spirit, 20

Vena (a mythical king).—See under 'Kings' above.

Venudanda.—See under 'Places uncred to Devi and other deities'.

Vetāla, 19, 213-5, 221, 223, 229-230

Vetali (a name of Devl).—See under 'Devl.—Her different forms and names'.

Videha (Mishila), 206, 287

Vidhina-páriféis (of Amantabhatta), 11, 72, 191, 236, 244, 370, 393, 484, 496, 491, 493, 510

Vidarbha, 209, 227

Vidisi,—See under 'Places carred to Devi and other deities'.

Vidura, 289-290

Vidüzaka, IRI

Vidyāthūsana Rhatjūcārya, 84

Vidvā-dāna, 59-50 (method of), 78, 181, 484-6 (method of).

Vidyādhara, 39

Vidrikara-paddhati, 234

Vidyākara Vājapeyin, 234, 491

Vidyapa, 38

Vidyāpati Upādhyāya (or, Vidyāpati),
2, 3, 6, 8, 12, 13, 70, 72, 73, 83, 84,
231, 234, 235, 242, 244, 245, 393,
470-3, 478, 480, 491, 494

Vidyārambha, 315

Vidyās (branches of learning), 50 (sixtyfine), 249 (eight), 252 (eight), 484 (fourteen, and also Äyprveda, Sasyayeda, Kalā-vidyā, Šilpa-vidyā, Ātmavidyā, Paurāņi Vidyā, Dharmašāstrātmikā Vidyā, and so on).

Vidyās (myatic), such as Anjana-vidyā, Aparhjitā-vidyā, Guţikā-vidyā, Mālavidyā, Mohini-vidyā, Mattyunjayavidyā, Pospākhya-vidyā, etc., and also Bhelakhi (or. Bhelki), Mṛta-saṇjiyani, etc., 38-43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 66, 76, 83, 93, 145 (Tantric), 146, 179, 447, 457

Vidyāsāgara (Jivānanda), 248

Vidyanundara (al' Bhārata-candra), 449 Vidyesvara, 38

Vijayā (a deity). -- See under 'Devi, -- Her different forms and names'.

Vijayā-dalami, 11, 405, 451

Vikhrada-purāņa, 474

Village goddess.—See under 'Grāmadevi' above.

Vinit-distra, 91

Vinată (mother of Garuda), 290-1, 388
Vinăyaka, 51, 55, 57, 64-66, 364, 365, 375, 376

Vindhya, 324 (etory of). See also under 'Mountains' above.

Findiya-mahatmya, 490, 495, 505

Vindhyāṭavi (a form of Devī), 51. See also under 'DevL—Her different forms and names'.

Vindhyaväsini, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28-30,
 36, 40, 80, 90, 383, 505. See also under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.
 Vintner, 46

Viraja (in Orina),-See under 'Places sacred to Devi and other deities'.

Viramitrodaya (of Mitramisra), 78, 480, 195, 237, 244, 337, 370, 470-3, 475-7, 504, 507-9

Virana, 198

Virani (alias Asakni), 199

Virát, 294, 314-5 (Mahū-, Kşudra-).
Virgin (deity), 17, 28, 29, 93, 329, 380, 363.

Virgin girls (honouring and feeding of), 45-48, 59, 60, 62, 93-4, 190, 217, 295 (with different names at different ages), 300, 381

Vija-kanyā,—See 'Poison-girl' above. Vijākha, 9, 80, 81, 04

Visarjans (of Devi).—See under 'Immersion' above,

Viga-vaidya, 56

Vigou, 25, 26, 34, 36, 38-41, 43, 44, 49, 51, 53, 54, 58, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 75, 83, 90, 91, 161, 165, 196-211, 220, 224, 231-3, 239, 256, 262, 265, 266, 269 (born as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Satrughna), 273, 285, 307-8, 315-8, 321-4, 326, 330, 332, 333, 342, 357, 362, 364, 365, 373, 375, 384, 398, 400, 402, 403, 412-6, 420, 424, 425, 429, 434, 440, 447, 450, 463, 464, 473, 480, 485, 494, 496

Vinnubhatta Adavalya, 488

Figudharma, 152, 156, 180

Vigualiarmottana, 180, 247, 248, 258, 352, 389, 483

Visqu-mlya, 25, 197-9

Visnu-parána, 17, 73, 152, 153, 232, 411, 457, 478, 479, 508. See also under 'Vaispara (Purāna)' above.

Virga-pwāņa (English translation), 195, 338

Vignu-tutiva, 41

Visvakarman (the divine architect), 55, 92

Viinakoja (a Bengali encyclopáedia), 471, 476, 481

Viivamitra, 227, 305-6

Viávanātha Kavirāja, 82

Visivarupa (son of Tvastr), 300

Viávedovas, 51

Vivida-ramakara (of Candelvara Thakkura), 193

Vows (Veata, viz., Alsaya-tṛtiyā-, Ananta-tṛtiyā-, Anodanā-, Ārdrānantiakari-tṛtiyā-, Aiokāṣṭamī-, Āivinapaurbamāsi-, Rhimāṣṭamī-, Bhrātṛdvidyā-, Brahma-Sāvitri-, Candra-Rohiņi-, Devi-, Durgā-, Dūrvāṣṭamī-, Dyūta-pranipad-, Ekādaii-, Gaṇeia-, Guratna-, Govinda-dyūdad-, Gugadā-,

Jahnu-raptami-, Kṛṇṇa-caturdail-, Krana-janmästami-, Kunda-camethi-, Laksmi-, Lakymi-Parga-, jynişthi-, Mahālakşmi-, Mahānavami-, Mahastami-, Mākarī Saptami, Nāgapañcami-, Naksaira-, Nakta-, Nandā-, Navarātra-, Pada-, Pāiupata-, Phalasaptami-, Pradipta-navami-, Pradega-, Patrorpatti-, Rama-navamit-, Rasakalyāpini-, Ratanti-caturdati-, Ravi-Siro-Savitri-, Sivaratri-, Sravaņa-dvādail-, Sri-pancami-Magha and Caitra), Sukra-vara-, Sūrya-, Umā-Mahesvara-, Vijayā-, Visnu-Samkara-, etc.) and practices (such as Deha-tyága-vidhi, Syenagrāsana-vidhi, Vaiiākhī-vidhi, etc.), 36, 43, 46, 47, 54, 57, 62, 69, 76, 93, 159, 191, 199, 237-9, 309, 319-321, 326, 357, 366-9, 375-381, 304-5, 387-390, 392, 394-6, 404-7, 409, 434-5, 451, 493-4, 498-500, 513

Vrata.—See under 'Vows' above. Vrata-kila-ciecka (of Sūlapāṇi), 393 Vrata-padihati (of Rudradhara), 3, 5, 11 Vrsa, 34 (worship of).

Vrjabhānu, 272

Vipotsarga, 53

Vrtra, 273, 301 (birth and death of), 338, 344

Vyāsa, 91, 187, 261, 262, 285, 286 (named with twenty-six more Vyāsas), 287-8, 311, 340, 372, 384, 396, 410, 411-2, 416, 428, 474, 479, 480, 501

Vyavahira-tativa (of Raghunandana), 100 Vyūhas (arrays of troops), 50 (more than fortythree kinds of).

Vyūhas (of Madhunūdana), 55 (four).

War-godden, 20, 23, 90

Water-sport, 382

Weber (A.), 195, 284, 367, 369, 389,

Week-days, 75, 243, 280, 341, 391, 436, 492

West Rengal (or, Western Bengal), 46, 82, 63, 85, 455

Western India, 8, 11, 14, 32, 357-8

Whitney (W.D.), 87, 135

Widow, 46, 86, 400, 434

Wife, 50 (to be given to the consecrator of Devi's image), 400, 434, 496 Wilson (H.H.), 338, 347

Wine (and its use in the worship of various deities), 18, 50, 54, 65, 93, 193, 205, 266, 208, 217, 219, 223, 374, 375, 383, 401, 408, 433, 447, 448, 461, 499. See also under 'Madya', 'Skibu' and 'Sura' above.

Winternitz (M.), 146-8, 152, 184, 329, 347

Women.—Their position, dress, ornaments, duties, etc., 45-47, 49, 59, 61, 62, 66, 93, 94, 193, 286, 320 (different types of), 361, 301, 400, 424, 432-4, 446-9, 452, 496

Worlds.-See under 'Lokas' above.

Worship of various deities (including Brahmā, Vinau, Šiva, Vināyaka, Srī, Sarasvatī, Manasā, Şaşthī, Svadhā, Svāhā and many others), 29 (Purāpie method of), 45, 52-55, 57, 59, 64-7, 75, 90, 91, 159, 169-192, 215-223, 229, 237, 239, 293-4, 300, 310-1 (outer and ioner; Vedic, Tautric), 315 (Vedic, Tantric), 316-7, 319-327, 336 (Vedic and Tantric method of), 398, 404-8, 425 (Tantric method of), 435, 451, 466, 500

Writing materials, 55, 59-60

Yādayas (including Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma), 290

Yāga (auch as Gaua-yāga, Vināyakayāga, etc.), 55

Yajarredo, 21, 62, 63 (division and schools of), 163, 315-6 (White), 319, 323, 359 Yājāavalkya, 389

Fájitatullya-1991, 70, 73, 75, 154, 164, 181, 190-3, 234, 256, 237, 389, 390, 393, 411, 479-481, 483-4, 486, 493, 496, 497, 501

Yama (a god), 42, 58, 201, 723, 224, 294, 319-321, 335, 377, 369, 404, 424, 429, 495, 509 (different names of).

Yamınd (a name of Devi).—See under 'Devi.—Her different forms and names'.

Yantra (Tantrie).—See under 'Mediums of worship' above.

Yaiodā, 27, 29, 293

Latharda-matijari (of Scitischa-svinnin), 280, 459

Yava.—See under 'Trees and plants' above.

Yavana, 26, 320, 343, 433, 446-8, 458-462

Yavanī, 433, 458, 460

Yāvani bhāṣā, 448, 458, 459, 461

Yoga.—Its varieties, the method of its practice, and its power, 36, 42, 65-66, 91, 155, 193, 267, 298, 297, 308-9, 317, 348, 380, 413, 415, 433

317, 348, 380, 413, 415, 433 Yoga-maya, 25, 26, 28, 30, 201, 203, 204, 233, 288, 298

Yoga-nidrā, 25, 26, 29, 35, 36, 44, 197-0, 202, 204, 268, 211, 230, 239, 256, 291, 409 Yogin, 43, 193 (Siva-).

Yoginis, 216-7 (names of), 210 (sixty-foor), 240, 408, 471

Yudhighira, 70, 247, 252, 272 (named with his brothers), 371-2, 384, 391-5

Yugas (viz., Satya, Tretă, Dvapara,
 Kali), 37, 206, 209, 265, 273, 286,
 208, 301, 332, 410, 411, 426, 436
 (names and characteristics of), 447
 Yuga-dharma, 301

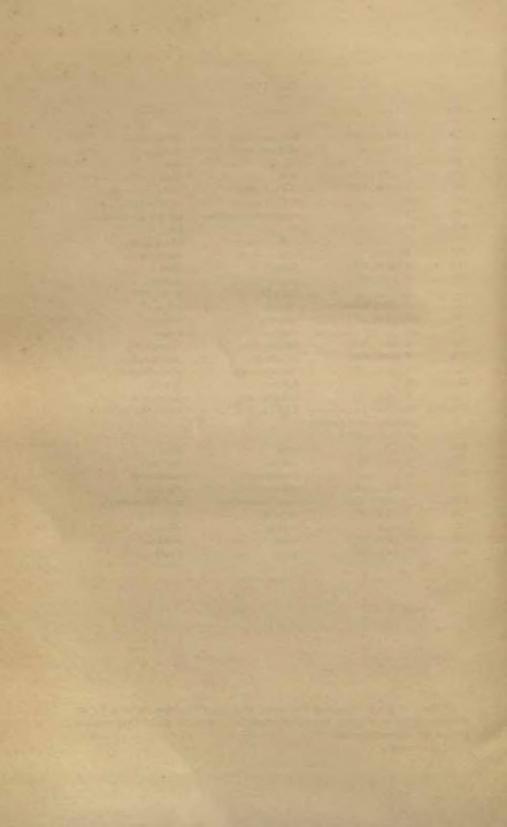
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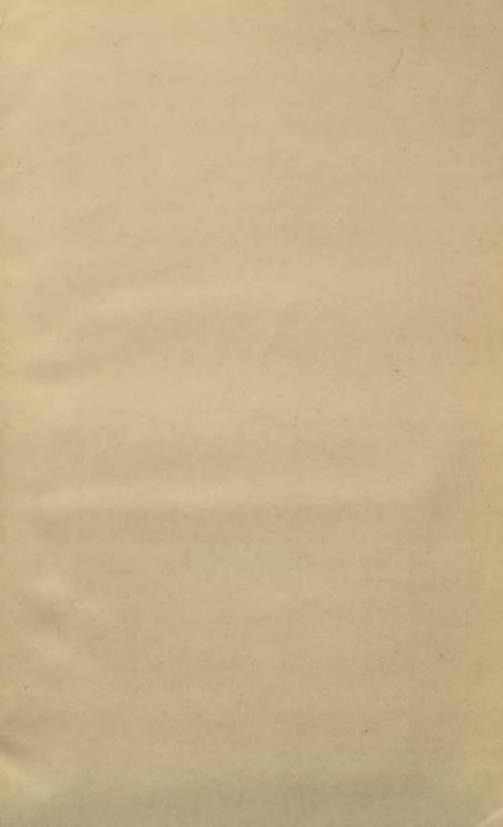
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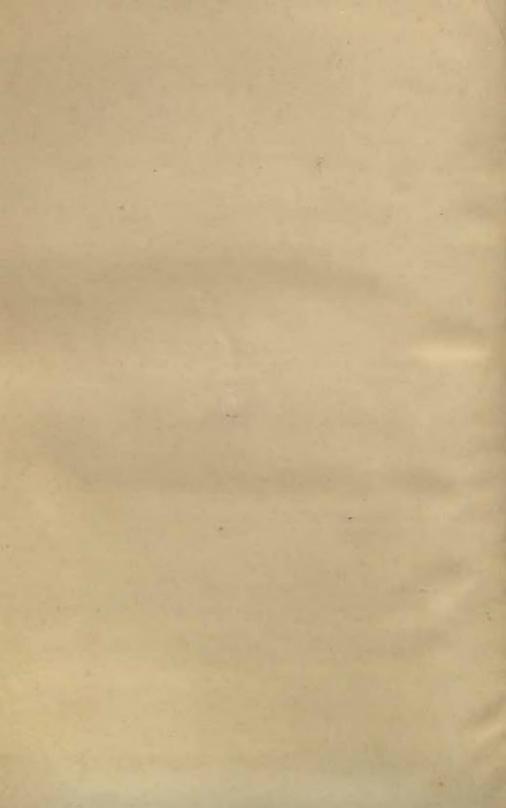
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| 68 | 5 (of fn. 148) | -ku a-, ratumin | -kula-, Brahmin |
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| 138 | 14; 34 | lalāta-; lolāta- | laiāja; laiāja |
| 147 | 6 (of fn. 298) | Elliot | Eliot |
| 163 | 4 (of fn. 335) | article. | variage |
| -1 | 5 (0 0 0) | 132-133 | 9, 132-133 |
| 172 | 2 (from the hottom) | tylyam | tulyam |
| 241 | 13 (of fa. 517) | 'srikarah' | 'srlknrah' |
| 273 | 18 | reigion | region |
| 295 | 1 (of fa. 669) | Śūrapagekhū | Sarpanakisa |
| 310 | 7 (of fa. 688) | -bhijkrtah | -bahigkṛtala |
| 313 | 2 (of fa. 699) | -kulodbhavah | -kalodhhavah |
| 357 | 18 | Kikata | Kilcagn |
| 13 | 2 (of fo. 804) | Kikatesy api | Kikagow api |
| 363-463 | The heading (of every | SĀKTA | NON-SECTARIAN |
| | alternate page bearing | | |
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| 372 | 1 (of fa. 28) | dhar a- | dharma- |
| 382 | 16 | worwhipped | worshipped |
| 408 | 3 (of fn. 108) | püyaytyur | příjayeyur |
| 409 | 16 (of fa, 112) | mag5hh1gavatam | mahābhāgavatam |
| -638 | 2 (of fn. 165) | 'varu ah' | 'varudah' |
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